The Land of Kizzuwatna. History of Cilicia in the Second Millennium BCE until the Hittite Conquest (ca. 2000-1350)

by

Andrea Trameri

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Lorenzo d'Alfonso

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Un uomo si propone il compito di disegnare il mondo. Nel trascorrere degli anni, popola uno spazio con immagini di province, di regni, di montagne, di baie, di navi, di isole, di pesci, di stanze, di strumenti, di astri, di cavalli e di persone. Poco prima di morire, scopre che quel paziente labirinto di linee traccia l'immagine del suo volto.

A man sets out to draw the world. As the years go by, he peoples a space with images of provinces, kingdoms, mountains, bays, ships, islands, fishes, rooms, instruments, stars, horses, and individuals. A short time before he dies, he discovers that that patient labyrinth of lines traces the image of his own face.

J. L. Borges – *El Hacedor*, Epílogo

Dedication

In Memoriam

Flavio Trameri (1960-1998)

Lorenzo Trameri (1927-2018)

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Würzburg (Germany), May 5th 2020

Abstract

Kizzuwatna was a kingdom located in south-eastern Anatolia – roughly corresponding to modern Cilicia – in the late second millennium BCE. Known in late 16th and 15th c. BCE textual sources as an independent polity, it was later incorporated into the Hittite kingdom, becoming a province of the vast Empire created by Suppiluliuma I (ca. mid-14th c.).

From a historical-political point of view, Kizzuwatna played a strategic role between the 15th and the early 14th c. in the clash between the Anatolian Hittite kingdom and the northern Mesopotamian kingdom of Mittani – the hegemonic power in northern Syria and the principal rival of the Hittites in the macro-area at the time. As a 'buffer'-state between the two neighbors' territories, it was involved in their diplomatic altercations and military conflicts. Kizzuwatna is also well-known in the field of Ancient Near Eastern studies for the remarkable influence which the local religious traditions and cults exerted on the Hittite kingdom's own religion and culture after its territorial incorporation. The consequence of this cultural process was a substantial transformation of the Hittite kingdom at many levels, a process which is at the basis of the New Kingdom – as modern research has named this new historical period (ca. 1350-1200).

While these aspects emerge from the Hittite documentation, the political history of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna itself is very obscure, particularly for the absence of local written sources. Given the lack of overarching studies on this regional polity, this dissertation aims at providing a comprehensive overview on the origins, political history and historical role of this kingdom from a multidisciplinary perspective, considering both the philological and the archaeological evidence. A regional focus aims at illuminating the local trajectories in a long term perspective, within the broader context of the Ancient Near Eastern history, and in particular within the history of Anatolia under the hegemony of the Hittite kingdom.

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Introduction

1.1 Topic

Kizzuwatna was the name of a kingdom and territory located in south-eastern Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age. First appearing in late 16th and 15th c. BCE sources as a self-standing kingdom, it was later incorporated into the Hittite kingdom, becoming a province of the Empire created by Suppiluliuma I (ca. mid-14th c.). Kizzuwatna is well-known in the Hittitological literature especially for the remarkable influx of the local religious traditions in Hittite context. This phenomenon is manifest both in the adoption and spread of the local cults in central Anatolia and the material importation and transmission of the ritual and cultic literature in the capital's archives at Ḫattuša, after Kizzuwatna was annexed. Presumably connected with these phenomena is also the diffusion of the Hurrian language in Hittite context.

While these cultural aspects have been the focus of intense research, especially for the considerable amount of ancient sources informing on these subjects, there are no comprehensive studies on the history of this polity, beside some concise (yet very valuable) articles or more cursory overviews in works dedicated to the history of the Hittite kingdom or in histories of the Ancient Near East.

The present study aims at providing a comprehensive overview of the origins of this regional kingdom, the local political history and the dynamics of interaction with the surrounding regions. This would help to define more concretely the cultural-political and historical role of Kizzuwatna in the broader context of Ancient Near Eastern history, and in particular within the history of Anatolia under the hegemony of the Hittite kingdom. It also aims at incorporating the archaeological evidence to create an integrated picture in a perspective of regional history.

This project requires one to face a variety of problems of documentary and methodological nature, which leads to specific choices in terms of research rationale and goals.

1.2 Research rationale, problems and questions

1.2.1 Chronological and spatial limits of the research

The project of writing a history of Kizzuwatna must deal from the outset with two basic questions: one is about time, and concerns the chronological limits in which to set a history of Kizzuwatna; the second is about space, and concerns the location and the extent of its territory. While this mainly overlaps with the region of Cilicia, there are still several problems in the reconstruction of a detailed historical geography.

Chronological limits. The kingdom of Kizzuwatna is attested since the end of the 16th c. on, in a treaty stipulated with the Hittite kingdom and in a contemporary seal issued by the local king. There is hardly any earlier textual information on Cilicia, indicating whether this kingdom existed previously. Since the origins of the kingdom itself are obscure, a choice was made to include in this work an overview of the Middle Bronze Age in Cilicia (ca. 2000-1550) as this can be seen – potentially – as a formative period. A discussion of this earlier age allows one to contextualize the later historical developments in regional perspective and within a point of view of *longue durée.* This choice requires to evaluate the archaeological and material-cultural evidence; only this kind of source may inform on this period, as textual sources on the region appeared only in the Late Bronze Age.

An ideally comprehensive history of Kizzuwatna may include its 'second life' as a province of the Hittite Empire (ca. 1350-1200). However, the new political status of subordinate province makes the local history a topic subordinated to the history of the Hittite kingdom. Additionally, historical information on this region in this age is particularly scarce and the significance of Kizzuwatna becomes almost exclusively connected with its cults and ritual traditions. For these reasons this study does not include a treatment of this period.

Historical geography. A whole chapter (chapter 2) is dedicated to the problem of the historical geography of Kizzuwatna, since the relevant sources are few and somewhat contradictory. This also works as a general introduction to the study, for the obvious implications on the historical-political picture and the variety of topics and sources involved in the discussion. As of today, it is not yet entirely clear what was the extent of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna – beyond its core certainly located in Cilicia – and even where its most important settlements were located.

Within these boundaries, the work is organized diachronically, each chapter evaluating a distinct period of history from the Middle Bronze Age (2000-1550) to the accession of Suppiluliuma (1350). The chapters on the origins and the history of Kizzuwatna proper (ch. 4-5) present the significant primary evidence and delve into particular problems and open questions on their historiographical interpretation. Ch. 6 is a brief overview of aspects of the culture, religion and social history of Kizzuwatna. Since these topics could not be exhausted in this work, and several relevant works already exist, the chapter aims at providing a synthetic picture of the state of the art with some suggestions for further research. Ch. 7 considers the phase in which Kizzuwatna began to be, progressively, incorporated in the Hittite kingdom; here the two histories tend to merge, but the discussion will focus on Kizzuwatna and its relation with the Hittite kingdom, rather than the other way around. The conclusion chapter provides an overview of the work's main results and a synthetic outline of the history of Kizzuwatna.

1.2.2 Nature of the primary evidence

Within the limits in space and time set for the present research, another constraint for a study on Kizzuwatna lies in the available sources. Written documentation *from* Kizzuwatna is almost non-existent. On the contrary, most information concerning the kingdom is supplied by external sources, chiefly from the Hittite archives. Additionally, these sources refer to either the spheres of politics and diplomacy, or – to a much larger extent – religious and ritual traditions. Quite differently from other contexts, economic

and administrative documents are almost entirely unavailable.[1] This peculiar documentary background hampers several historiographical approaches, for example one focused on the socio-economic and population aspects. At best, in these areas a discussion can be only hypothetical, and based on secondary evidence. But even those documents of more strictly political-historical content often present interpretative challenges, as it will be shown throughout this work.

Few "original" documents are important, as they were most certainly produced locally: these are a seal print of king Išpudaḫšu of Kizzuwatna (late 16th c.), found at Tarsus, and the tablet of a contract between king Pilliya of Kizzuwatna and Idrimi of Alalaḫ (AlT 3), presumably issued in Kizzuwatna but found in the Alalaḫ archives of level IV, dating to mid-15th c. An Old Hittite land grant found at Tarsus, instead, often considered a local document, was probably issued at Ḫattuša and brought in Cilicia at a later time, as suggested in the present study. Among important official documents are the tablets of the treaties between the Hittite kingdom and Kizzuwatna, all dating from the end of the 16th through the 15th c. It could be that some of these tablets are original documents, but this is uncertain; others are certainly archival copies. All these treaty tablets were found in the Hittite capital archives. Several of these tablets are contemporary but copies were made until the end of the Empire period in the late 13th c.

Other sources provide only secondarily information on Kizzuwatna. Some are texts of historical content but a vast amount of the documentation deals with ritual texts of therapeutic scope, descriptions of cultic and festival procedures, and other documents of religious interest, informing on the distinctive traditions of Kizzuwatna. While the documents of historical content present their own interpretative and methodological problems[2] – but still represent the basic source for historians – the religious texts have a

[1] The problem regards LBA Anatolia in general. Hoffner (2001) gathered the little textual evidence for trade in Hittite Anatolia. The few administrative documents invested with trade are concerned with the kingdom's activities at the highest level, and not with private enterprises: Hoffner sees merchants chiefly as "royal agents" ("not 'merchants' in the sense of ordinary purveyors of goods"; ibid. 189), but certainly private trading activities existed, although no documents were produced or remain extant.

[2] On Ancient Near Eastern and Hittite historiography see the notable contributions of Liverani 1973a, 1973b, 1977, 1993, 1996 and the introduction to *Antico Oriente* (Liverani 1988) and to Liverani 2004 (by Z. Bahrani and M. van de

more limited value for a historical discussion. Rather than their content, their existence as written materials at the Hittite capital's archives represent a significant – and unique – cultural-historical phenomenon. Ultimately, these documents regard Hittite internal dynamics, since they represent mostly the importation of an external tradition, not (only) the administration of cults of Kizzuwatna locally.

In consideration of these complexities, it was necessary to develop a research framework with clear goals and targeting specific research questions, here briefly presented after a necessary overview of the previous works on the history of Kizzuwatna.

1.3 Previous studies

Philology-based historiography. The secondary literature employed in this study includes mainly works in English, German, Italian and French. It seems appropriate to start a brief overview of literature with the seminal volume of Goetze (1940). The book can be regarded as the foundational study on Kizzuwatna. Dealing principally with the problem of geography, Goetze correctly identified its core territory in Cilicia. The book is also a useful reference point for the earliest literature, and remains quite valuable today for insight and for the collection of several primary sources, some of which have not been re-worked afterwards. After this volume, reference works are the entry of Kümmel (1980) in the *Reallexicon der Assyriologie* and especially the outline of political history of Beal (1986), still a major starting point for any discussion and with detailed references to older literature. A book of Desideri and Jasink (1990), in Italian, is one of the few ideally comprehensive works on Cilicia, covering both the

Mieroop); also Klinger 2001a, and 2008; Beckman 2005. These scholars maintain a skeptical view on the reliability of Hittite historiographical texts. An important overview on this topic and on the scholarly approaches is Singer 2011, 731-766 (=Singer 2013). In this article Singer posed a critique to the excesses of postmodern hyper-critical or hyper-skeptical historical approaches in Ancient Near Eastern and especially in Hittite historiography, leaning towards a more positive perspective on the employment of documents as historical sources. The main target is Liverani's semiological approach, although also the latter's position has changed significantly to a milder point of view through time (Singer 2011, 176-177 n. 16 and n. 17).

second and first millennium. This volume includes a chapter on Kizzuwatna (pp. 51-109), but the allocated space limits the scope of this study to an overview. One must also mention the articles of J. Börker-Klähn (1996), Houwink ten Cate (1998) and Freu (2001); their alternative views on the interpretation of some critical documents – and consequently the broader historical picture – highlight the complexity of some of the historical problems and the research questions.

Several historiographical problems have been discussed in more recent articles of A. Ünal (2014 and 2017). Notably, the author's interpretations of some sources and the proposed overall historical picture diverge at times consistently from previous studies. The same author published, with S. Girginer, a comprehensive volume on Cilicia, which includes a discussion of the archaeological evidence (2007); however, this book is not of easy access, since it is published in Turkish, and could not be employed extensively by the present author.

Although mostly dedicated to the historical geography, the recent article of Hawkins and Weeden (2017) is an important tool for its updated review of the philological evidence on Kizzuwatna.

In this brief overview of literature, it is also worth mentioning the most important studies on the religion and rituals of Kizzuwatna, to this date the three volumes of Haas and Wilhelm (1974), Miller (2004) and Strauss (2006). The book of Yakubovich (2010a) on the Luwian language, instead, includes substantial parts on the socio-linguistic environment of Kizzuwatna (in particular 68-73, 272-285).

The diplomatic documents constitute the bulk of the philological evidence on the political history of Kizzuwatna, and the main works on the treaties stipulated with the Hittite kingdom are an article of Del Monte (1981), and the recent translations of Devecchi (2015a, 63-92). Several treaties are edited in Kitchen-Lawrence 2012/1, but no comprehensive collective edition of this corpus of texts exists.

Beyond the works here listed, several important articles were published on various topics of interest by S. de Martino, M.C. Trémouille (especially on the rituals and religion), M. Forlanini (on the historical

geography) and especially G. Wilhelm, one of the most influential scholars in the field, whose invaluable scholarship spans philology, history, religion. He published extensively on Kizzuwatna, and he is the leading authority in the study of the Hurrian language. I am not listing here those overviews written in works dedicated primarily to the Hittite kingdom, which will be quoted throughout this work along with the bibliography on specific topics.

A caveat is in order; in consideration of the time span covered by this work, as well as the variety of research disciplines incidentally or systematically touched upon, this author is aware of the amount of other literature – not considered in this study – which deserved proper attention. The time constraints for the conclusion of a Ph.D. dissertation project obviously necessitate renounces. Similarly, several topics of discussion go beyond the competence of the author, leaving to the future (and to others) the endeavor for further research.

Archaeological literature. The archaeological literature on Cilicia in the second millennium and specifically Kizzuwatna is much more limited and sparser. Excavations have been published at variable level of detail, from preliminary excavation reports and – in minor part – final publications in volumes. For Cilicia, the publication of H. Goldman of the early excavations at Tarsus (in particular 1956) remains the most important work of scholarship; other sites are well published, in particular Kinet Höyük, on which several articles have appeared and for which a final volume is in preparation (see the titles in bibliography by M.H. Gates).[3] Archaeological surveys provide some important information, and the available data has been increasingly employed in recent studies; some useful overviews with detailed bibliography can be found in Jean 2010, 47-52, Rutishauser 2017 (in particular 124-137), Novák-Ruthishauser 2017, 136-137.

[3] Kilise Tepe in the Göksu valley is also well published, but this area falls outside the scope of this study (see ch. 2). For this site one can refer to the volume of Postgate and Thomas (eds.) 2007.

While individual publications will be quoted throughout the study, an important project has been started in recent years by a group of archaeologists working in Cilicia. This group produced a few preliminary works aiming at combining data for a revised regional chronology and stratigraphy (Novák et al. 2017, 2018). In a recent volume on Hittite geography, one also finds an updated overview on the archaeology of the region written by M. Novák and S. Rutishauser (2017).

Considering the sparse body of literature, a very useful work consulted for this study was the unpublished Ph.D. dissertation of E. Jean (2010), which is a comprehensive work on the archaeology of Cilicia covering the second millennium BCE.

1.4 Methodology, goals and historiographical conception

Having briefly introduced the nature of the evidence, the main research premises and the available scholarship, I will highlight here those methodological choices that characterize this work, also in comparison with previous studies. The first is the attempt to include the archaeological evidence in the discussion, for the reasons formerly highlighted. The second is the focus on a regional perspective. The third is the attempt to adopt a properly *historiographical* approach, distinct from purely philological or anthropological perspectives. Ultimately, these parameters are strictly interdependent, and functional to the aim for an ideally comprehensive historiographical picture of the defined period in the region of Kizzuwatna/Cilicia. One explicit 'model' of this approach is *Antico Oriente* of M. Liverani (1988, re-edited in 2011).[4] Especially in the preface to this work (prefazione, VIII), the author pointed out the essential characteristics of a historiographical method for the Ancient Near East:

> "(...) the complex set of materials available and the complementarity of the archaeological and textual evidence have prompted a more holistic reconstruction of the past (from material culture to ideology). This should long have been part of the work of the historian, but is so hard to find in many historical works.

[4] A recent English translation is Liverani 2014.

> Therefore, the historian of the ancient Near East is forced to take on the role of field archaeologist as well as philologist, to a degree unknown to other fields of research, whose areas of expertise appear better defined and seem to be working in a sort of consolidated production chain". (Liverani 2014, 6).

A regional historical work is thus an operation of research but also of coordination and synthetic evaluation. Of course, in comparison with the multi-regional history of Liverani, there are some essential differences – with advantages and disadvantages – in the regional perspective here adopted, as briefly addressed *infra*. As for the proper methodological components of the historical method a modern, concise overview of the goals and theoretical frameworks of historiography is J. Hall's *A history of the archaic Greek World* (2007), a book about historical method rather than history; this study has also been extremely influential in my view of historical research.[5]

A text-and-archaeology history. The inclusion of the archaeological evidence in this work of history corresponds to an idea of holistic history. An inclusive approach possibly allows a more thorough understanding of the origins of Kizzuwatna, its political history, as well as the nature of its cultural legacy. The choice of including the archaeological evidence did not have the goal to develop a comprehensive review of the single sites' stratigraphies and of other material cultural aspects. Rather, each chapter provides a background of the archaeological evidence for a given period and aims at highlighting regional trends in the material culture, functional for a historical synthesis. The archaeological sections delve into more details only when specific issues emerge that have critical implications for the broader discussion.

This multi-disciplinary perspective was one of the main challenges of the present study, as it required the development of a combined research with a scope including several disciplines, for example historical geography and linguistics, apart from philology, archaeology and material-cultural studies. In this sense it had to rely on previous studies, whose results are presented when deemed useful. Topics of

[5] See especially the first chapter (Hall 1997, 1-15) "the practice of history". For other theoretical literature, particularly dedicated to the Ancient Near East, see the contributions of van de Mieroop 2013, Richardson 2014, Veldhuis 2014 (on intellectual history).

significant interest, such as the religion of Kizzuwatna and the ritual tradition, could be only broadly overviewed: nonetheless, several aspects are analyzed in better detail, when there are significant open problems or research question. This study attempted, in this sense, to provide a sense of the current state of knowledge on various issues and layout a synthesis with some proposals for further discussion.

As for the textual sources, for reasons of time this study could not have among its goals the re-edition of all primary sources, although it would be a significant task for future research to collect in one place all the relevant evidence. For example, the Kizzuwatna treaties include several fragments which have not been properly edited. The recent translation of Devecchi (2015a) provides an updated reference, but the texts are not provided in transliteration and the minor fragments, although carefully considered in her study, can't be evaluated directly.

Still, significant passages or documents of interest have been here presented with transliteration when necessary. These are based on open access tablet photographs, previous hand copies and text editions.

A Regional perspective. Currently, research in Ancient Near Eastern history considers Kizzuwatna and its territory almost exclusively in terms of direct or indirect interaction with the more inquired Hittite kingdom, while the discussion of local historical trajectories remains a large gap in literature.

This shift of perspective, focused on the local history for its own sake, in a way counterbalances a chiefly "Hittite-centric" perspective. This situation is obviously connected with the history of studies and the disciplinary affiliation of most scholars who conducted research on Kizzuwatna. While it is true that, through time, the history of Kizzuwatna becomes increasingly connected with a history of the Hittite kingdom, eventually merging entirely, the shift in perspective still has the potential to provide a more informed framework for the final incorporation of this territory and the dynamics at the basis of the noted cultural and religious influx. While the intention is to focus specifically on the region and its

internal mechanisms, it will be evident that the interconnections with the surrounding regional historical dynamics are equally deemed significant, and analyzed extensively.

For this perspective, this work follows a line of research embodied by regional studies, whose goal is the creation of a micro-history of defined political realities which ultimately contributes to the broader spectrum of Near Eastern historical research (e.g. von Dassow 2008 on Alalaḫ, Gander 2010 on Lukka).

The regional approach is specifically implemented also for another distinctive aspect of the territory under discussion, which lies in its nature of "border-land" between Anatolia and Syria in both a geographic and cultural sense. It is also appropriate in consideration of the distinctive characteristics of the available textual evidence, which are very specific both thematically and eidetically.

Historiographical approach. As introduced, I employ here the term "historiographical" following the model of historical discussion implemented in Liverani's masterwork (1988), where he frames his approach as distinct from either a purely philological or an anthropological perspective.[6]

Liverani sees the history of the Ancient Near Eastern as "border between archaeology (proto-historical in particular) and textual history", and that a "coordinated use of sources different in nature" (my translation from Liverani 1988, prefazione VIII) indicates the need, on behalf of the historian, to move through different periods and geographical areas, to get in touch with their civilizations, their original languages, their material cultures and the long term phenomena accompanying their specific developments.

Applying this idea of historiography to a regional topic seems particularly appropriate, given the advantages in managing a less extensive amount of evidence. But this is also justified by the inherent characteristics of the region of interest and its documentation, which make it a well delimited, coherent subject of study. Additionally, the regional focus is suitable to the aspiration of a comprehensive work,

[6] This is explained in particular in "Historiographical approaches to the Ancient Near East" (Liverani 2014, 5-7).

and limits to some extent the disadvantages of a research of multi-disciplinary character, which remains one of the main challenges of a similar project. The same goes in terms of competence and expertise of the author, where the difference in vision between a work of regional scope and a global Ancient Near Eastern history like Liverani's becomes incalculable. Since a multidisciplinary and comprehensive historical evaluation of Kizzuwatna is still a desideratum in the historiography of Near Eastern second millennium, this also made this project a worthwhile pursuit.

The regional perspective allows to some extent to include in the discussion also those aspects Liverani could not evaluate in *Antico Oriente*, a work which necessarily focused on "Ideology, Society, Economy": the intellectual and religious history, and the socio-linguistic dynamics may be at least considered in the present study within their historical background. This task, indeed, is almost necessary, considering the particular nature of the evidence on Kizzuwatna. Here lies one of the most significant differences from other possible 'histories', as the present work must exclude the economic components from a discussion, for the almost total lack of evidence.

This study does not start from only one *model* of historiography, however. While not every type of history can well adapt to the evidence at hand, this also means that single interpretative and methodological models may turn out to be a limit, rather than a tool to exploit the available data in all circumstances. Liverani, for example, worked on a much larger time span, documentary basis, and with evidence of much wider type. The case of Kizzuwatna requires one to develop a methodology that, rather than imposing a *model* of historiography on the available evidence, *adapts* to the available evidence. Of course, this is ultimately true of any "history", but the caveat is particularly useful in the present case. The goal is to draw a history that depends on the sources, and that can be at times political, cultural, socio-linguistic, but neither of those specifically. As previously said, it is virtually impossible to "chase down the

mundane"[7] in Kizzuwatna, but one is potentially informed on the religious world at significant level of detail.

I am also indebted, in this respect, to the work of B. Trigger (2006). Although reflecting on archaeological thought and practice, several of his remarks, and the overall conception of his work, well apply to a discussion of historiographical thought. He pointed out that the problem with *models* is that they inevitably tend to adhere to the interests and concerns of the present, and/or those of the individual historian, with his scientific or personal experience.[8] For example, for decades models of "decline" in historiography were based on concepts such as invasion, or barbarization, while in modern times models have been more concerned with climatic and ecological-environmental issues for explaining dynamics of human life. Invariably, these choices ultimately express cultural trends and concerns that are contextually related.[9] Therefore, a methodology that tries *adapting* to the available evidence, albeit inevitably suffering – as a human product – from the same issues that Trigger points out, may be relatively free of other limitations specific of model-based narratives, and allows one to develop questions suitable for the data and that, hopefully, the data can answer.

A documentary *critique* must also function as a filter for these "many" different histories, evaluating the intrinsic characteristics of the available evidence to find models of interpretation that adapt well to them as explanatory tools. For example, an inherent problem of the sources on Kizzuwatna is that they probably over-represent a certain reality: the focus of the available texts on the religious sphere, from an epistemological point of view, is not necessarily representative of the significance of the *content* of the local traditions of Kizzuwatna per se, but rather of the Hittite concern in the domain of cultic

[7] As in the title of a recent article of Fleming (2014) on social history in the Ancient Near Eastern studies.
[8] Trigger 2006, 520-521: "As the social climate and intellectual fashions change, theoretical preferences shift toward either the materialist or idealist end of the theoretical spectrum" (520-521).
[9] Trigger 2006, 484: "there is no evidence that in their interpretation of archaeological data archaeologists today are less influenced by the milieu in which they live than we were formerly. Archaeological interpretations consciously and unconsciously (...) echo current concerns".

administration, which seems to be the prime motivation for collecting and copying documents of religious content (van den Hout 2005 and recently Gilan 2019).[10] Thus, these documents can be used primarily to investigate aspects of the Hittite reception of those traditions, rather than for the direct evaluation of those traditions.

For these various reasons, a distinctive aspect of this work is that throughout different *periods* the focus of the research shifts to diverse subjects and questions. This is particularly visible from the different approach between ch. 3 and the text-based history that characterizes the discussion of the later period (ch. 4-7).

My historiographical goal is also directed towards the "recognition of (...) interpretative problems and themes" (Liverani 1988, 11), thus to put forward historical hypotheses. This is a necessity of the systematic limitation of the evidence, and a historical synthesis legitimately attempts to provide a more complete sense of the evidence in its context, also through interpretative frameworks. In a way, the goal of a comprehensive historiography is to find which hypothesis *increases the likelihood of the evidence* more than others. It will be left to the reader to evaluate the merits or shortcomings of the views here presented, but it will always be made evident what is the state of the evidence and what is only inferred from it. For this reason, while this study is mostly a documentary history of Kizzuwatna, it also brings in some interpretative hypotheses whose goal is to enhance the broader historical picture.

[10] Other approaches also focus on the materiality of texts, and documents as archaeological artifacts; e.g. Zettler 1996, Hilgert 2010, several articles in Balke-Tsouparopoulou (eds.) 2016.

1.5 On chronology and absolute dates

This work makes little use of absolute dates, with the exception of the Empire period (late part of 14th c. and 13-12th c.). For this period a relatively reliable chronological outline for various Eastern Mediterranean regions does exist, and more synchronisms with Anatolia can be established. Instead, for the Hittite Old Kingdom and the Early New Kingdom, calendar years are intended as indicative, since generation counts and other uncertain data must be employed (tab. 3).[11]

Given the complexity of the problem of the second millennium chronology of the Near East and Mediterranean, it is necessary to account here explicitly for the choices made in this study. In the reference research literature one finds that different chronological systems are employed, which has obvious ramifications for some periods of interest – especially for the Old Hittite Kingdom period. Additionally, several archaeologists working in Cilicia, northern Syria and in the Levante employ a chronology different than that adopted in this study, thus I will first motivate here my preferences and in the following chapters address specific related issues when necessary.

This study adopts a Middle Chronology, in particular a *revised* Middle Chronology (Low-Middle Chronology) following lastly Manning et. al. 2016 and 2017. This chronology, eight years lower than the traditional MC, seems to provide – at present – the best compromise among all the dendro-^{14}C evidence and the text-archaeology-astronomy based evidence.[12] More in general, these and other recent studies confirm the overall consistency and validity of the MC not only for the chronology of second millennium Anatolia and Mesopotamia, but the broader Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean.[13] For Anatolia, a slightly

[11] On the problems for establishing an absolute chronology of second millennium Anatolia see Beckman 2000, Müller-Karpe 2003, Wilhelm 2004a, Klinger 2006. A brief introduction to Hittite chronology in Bryce 2005, 375-382.
[12] Manning et al. 2016, 22.
[13] MC dates based on calibrated ^{14}C – estimated with very small margins – are in good concordance with the high chronologies of the Aegean and Cypriot M-LBA (Knapp 2013, 28; Manning 2013) and the historical chronology of Egypt (Bronk Ramsey et al. 2010). Independent support to the MC comes from other studies of textual and astronomical records (see Barjamovic et al. 2012, Roaf 2012, Sallaberger-Schrakamp ed. 2015). The Egyptian Low Chronology may be equally dismissed for the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period (see Schneider 2008).

lower version of the MC was already foreshadowed from an archaeological and historical perspective by Genz and Mielke (2011, 17). The conventional date for the fall of Babylon according to this L-MC can be set in 1587 BCE.[14]

	HC (High)	MC (Middle)	**L-MC** (Low-Mid.)	LC (Low)	LC (Mebert) (Low)	NC/ U-LC[15] (New/Ultra-Low)
Fall of Babylon	1651	1595	**1587**	1531	1522	1499

Table 1. Chronologies of the Ancient Near East.

These recent studies seriously undermine the possibility of using other chronologies, in particular the Ultra-Low chronology (or New Chronology), which has become increasingly popular in some sectors of Ancient Near Eastern studies after a series of influential publications.[16] The topic remains object of extensive debate and, with the proliferation of amendments and other alternative chronologies, the situation has become particularly chaotic (Roaf 2012, 149 and n. 11).[17]

Notably for the present study, the LC is employed by some researchers working on the Syro-Levantine area,[18] and some archaeologists presently excavating in Cilicia, such as M. Novák, M. H. Gates and other scholars of the "Cilician Chronology Group", authors of a recent comparative stratigraphy of the region (Novák et al. 2017; they follow the LC of Mebert 2010). However, for Syria, Akkermans and Schwartz (2003, 13) maintained the MC, in consideration of the uncertainties for a conversion to the new low

[14] Even if one of these chronological schemes will ever be proved correct, it will remain uncertain that the date of this event can be fixed precisely (Roaf 2012, 169). Doubts on the reliability of the ancient astronomical observations at the basis of the framework of intervals led in fact some scholars to abandon the fixed dates (see Klinger 2006, 304, in part. n. 4, 6; also Roaf 2012, 156). At any rate, the L-MC, still, seems in good agreement also with the traditional astronomical arguments (e.g. Nahm 2013).

[15] Gasche et al. 1998. The original U-LC (e.g. Åstrom 1992) is not included: the proposed date of this extreme U-LC was 1467.

[16] Gasche et al. 1998, and the volumes of the "Synchronization of Civilizations" series, edited by M. Bietak and others.

[17] See the fervent articles of some advocates of the LC, e.g. Bietak 2003, 2013; Warburton 2011. The most important reference work on the various perspectives and problems remains Pruzsinszky 2009.

[18] van Soldt 2000, Gates 2000, Bergoffen 2003, 2005, also Eriksson 2005. For the importance of her study on Alalaḫ, the choice of a Low Chronology is critical also in von Dassow 2008 (5-11).

chronologies. More recently, Roaf (2012, 150 ff.) critically re-examined the Mesopotamian evidence on the basis of which Gasche et al. (1998) and other proponents of the NC/U-LC discarded the MC.[19] While there are margins of interpretation for the textual and archaeological data, the major problem of the low chronologies is that they do not match with the radiocarbon dates, which are systematically too high.[20] Then, even if it is ultimately uncertain that the MC is correct, the U-LC is probably wrong (Roaf 2012, 171).

From central Anatolia there are sets of near-absolute dates from Kaniš-Kültepe, as well as from the Sarıkaya Palace at Acemhöyük, and Barjamovic et al. (2012) showed that a link with the Assyrian Eponym List allows a connection between Anatolian and Mesopotamian historical chronology. There is good ground to synchronize the end of Kaniš level Ib (final years of the 18th c.) during the reign of Ḫuzziya of Ḫatti, two (if not less) generations before Ḫattusili I.[21] The other chronological reference point for Anatolia remains the accession date of Suppiluliuma I, that can be rounded off to 1350 BCE.[22]

This basic scheme (tab. 1) shows that a version of the MC matches with 1) dendrochronological data from Kaniš, 2) the traditional accession date of Ḫattusili I to ca. 1650, 3) the destruction of Alalaḫ in the late 17th c., 4) the fall of Babylon at the beginning of 16th c., and 5) allows sufficient generational time for the list of Hittite kings known in the evidence but whose reigns' lengths are unknown.[23] The LC creates instead several problems for Anatolian history, notably a gap of one or two centuries between the Old Assyrian/*kārum* period to the beginning of the Old Kingdom, a fact which requires explanation, especially

[19] The (U)-LC is based entirely on Mesopotamian data, in particular pottery sequences from southern Mesopotamia, textual evidence from broader Babylonia and Assyria, and astronomical information of the Venus Tablet and on the Ur III lunar eclipses.
[20] On this problem see Barjamovic et al. 2012, 30 n. 91-92.
[21] Beal 2003; Barjamovic et al. 2012, 49-52. On this period see recently Kloekhorst 2019, 266-268.
[22] Wilhelm 2004a. In a more recent article (Wilhelm 2012a) five alternative accession dates are considered plausible: I calculated 1364-63; 1353-52; 1352-51; 1348-47; 1341-40. Similarly, the date provided by Klinger (2006) is 1349, with an error of ±5 years.
[23] A fundamental historical source are the *Offering lists for the deceased kings* (CTH 661), informing on otherwise unattested rulers of the Old Kingdom; on these texts see recently Gilan 2014b.

considering that the periods are archaeologically identical in many respects (Schoop 2006, 263-264; 2009, 150).

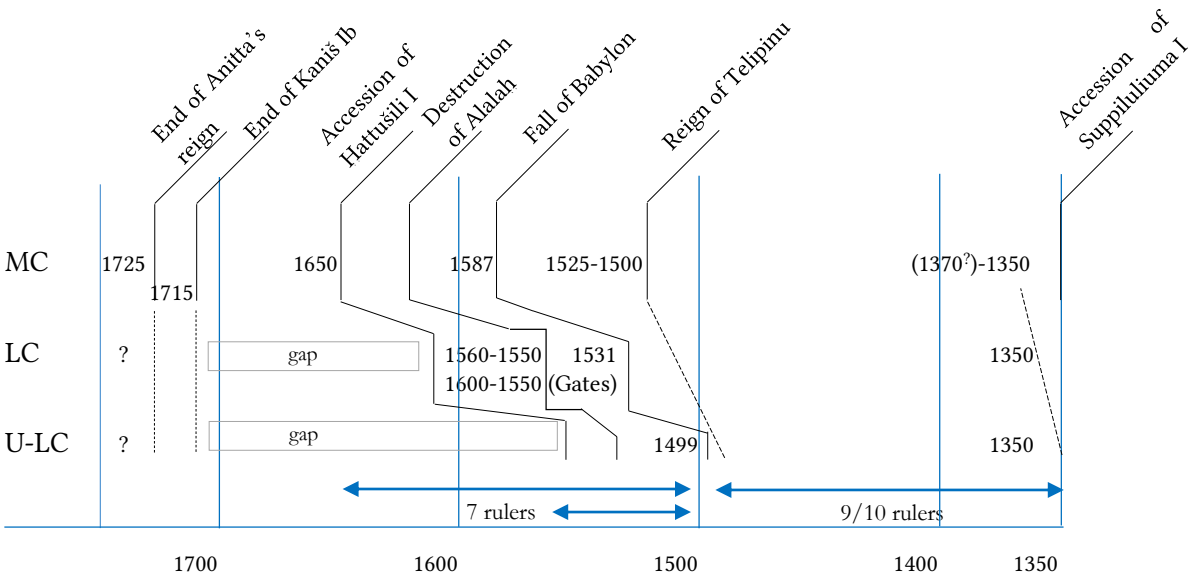

Table 2. Timeline according to different chronologies.

Indeed, the virtual absence of an archaeological *hyatus* corresponds with the historical view emerging from the dates of the Old Assyrian "Revised" Eponym List presented in Barjamovic et al. 2012. The end of the Waršama palace and the Ib settlement close to the end of 18th c. corresponds to the reign of Ḫuzziya I in Ḫattuša, and categorically excludes a late accession date of Ḫattusili I in the 16th c.

Generally, Hittitologists opposed quite firmly the Ultra-Low chronologies; Beckman (2000), for example, categorically rejected both U-LC and LC on the basis of generation counting for the Old Kingdom Hittite dynasty and other arguments. Differently, Wilhelm (2004a) showed that the only system certainly to be excluded is the U-LC in its extreme version (sack of Babylon in 1467), while all the other chronologies remain possible, at least in principle (see tab. 3).

Generation Interval	**n. of generations between Mursili and Suppiluliuma (excluded)**	
	max (11)	**min** (8/7)[24]
21.1 years[25]	ca. 1582	ca. 1519, 1498
25 years (mean between 20 and 30)[26]	ca. 1625	ca. 1550, 1525

Table 3. Estimate dates of the fall of Babylon according to different generation counts. The calculation proceeds from the accession date of Suppiluliuma I, rounded to 1350 (Adapted from Wilhelm 2004, 75).

However, even if the U-LC were possible, this does not mean it is the most likely chronology. As one can see, date ranges can vary greatly, depending on the number of generations reconstructed and the lengths of generation intervals. Note that Wilhelm now propends for a revised MC as well.[27]

While any argument based on generational lengths remains questionable, as there are no actual information on several rulers and their reigns beside the knowledge of their existence, one can't avoid noting the variable tolerance on generation counts in scholarly literature. Ultimately, the risk of circularity is great.[28]

Apart from the issues with generation counting, any version of the LC and the U-LC remains problematic for Anatolia in many other respects, in particular archaeologically (*pace* Simon 2010, 2011b and Novák

[24] Wilhelm indicated six generations as a *minimum* count between Mursili I and Suppiluliuma I. Most Hittitologists would maintain that a minimum number of generations of seven/eight is more likely (following e.g. Cammarosano 2017 and as already suggested by Beckman 2000; seven in Gurney 1974, 105).
[25] Rowton 1958 (*low*) apud Wilhelm 2004a. See also the remarks of Gurney 1974, 108 on generational length.
[26] Thirty years: e.g. Rowton *high* (31.7), British royal family (29/30) (quoted in Wilhelm 2004a). For similar high intervals Beal (2011, n. 2) refers to Henige (1974, 123–26): "66 percent of 737 dynasties worldwide averaged between twenty-five and thirty-four years of reign".
[27] Personal communication (Würzburg, December 2019).
[28] See already the critique of Gurney (1974, 105). It is sufficient to quote one example from Bergoffen 2005 (55; also 2003, 396): discussing the absolute chronology at Alalaḫ, 28 years per each generation of the Yamḫadite rulers are considered plausible – between the accession of Hammurabi I to the sack of Babylon (seven Yamḫad kings, parallel to six OB rulers, after Landsberger 1954, 51-53). Elsewhere, some twenty-five years per generation give a "terminal date (for Alalaḫ Level VII) of ca. 1560/1550" (ibid. 56). Instead, in the case of the (less fortunate) Hittite dynasty, many works imply unusually short generational intervals, presumably to accord with the low chronologies. It is true that some of the Old Kingdoms' rulers were assassinated, but at the same time some reigns appear to have been long (E.g. Tudḫaliya I and III, probably Arnuwanda and Telipinu). Quite often, instead, the problem is not discussed at all (E.g. Kozal-Novák 2017a, 302 n. 5).

2007) and historically.[29] The LC is excluded by Schachner (2009b, 10 n. 5; 11), on the basis of stratigraphic considerations and ^{14}C dates from Ḫattuša. Excavations and radiocarbon dates at Kuşaklı-Sarissa also indicate an early date of some Old Kingdom buildings, such as Temple C (second half of 16th c).[30] The LC would imply that some of these buildings date to the time of Ḫattusili and Mursili, and possibly even earlier than that. This is historically unlikely, and also according to recent studies on Hittite temple architectures:[31] it means that the process of architectural development observed for this building type should be compressed in a very short span of time – likewise the twelve kings attested between Ḫattusili I and Tudḫaliya I. These are considerable issues, and an overview of the problem was put forward already by Müller-Karpe (2003).

From an archaeological perspective, Hittite pottery can't be employed for a fine chronological approach.[32] Differently from other regions and periods, the central Anatolian pottery assemblages do not have the same key role in stratigraphic dating since they are characterized by strong homogeneity throughout the whole length of Hittite history. Although specific diachronic trends can be recognized, a well-defined relative periodization based exclusively on pottery traditions can't be established.[33] If pottery is not a suitable tool in support of one chronological system, the typo-chronological development of other

[29] See already Klinger (2006, 312). The U-LC is also problematic for the resulting chronology between the Old Assyrian and Middle Assyrian period (ibid. 310 n. 28). Basically, one should disregard, or provide a complex interpretation of the *Distanzangabe* given in Middle Assyrian texts. While Gasche and his co-authors (1998) were skeptical on these information, Eder (2004) employed them to support even a Ultra-High chronology. As Klinger (2006, 311) pointed out: "It must be stated that this significant reduction not only entails suggesting a reduction of the length of the Assyrian period of almost 200 years, (...) but also that a close link between the dynasty ruling in Yamkhad probably allows a link between the Old Hittite Period and the earlier periods, and that this simply cannot be reduced at will".

[30] Müller-Karpe 2003, 390 fig. 8.

[31] A summary in Zimmer-Vorhaus 2011.

[32] As pointed out by Mielke (2017, 18); on Hittite pottery see also Mielke 2006, Schoop 2009, 2011a.

[33] Schoop (2011a) proposed a roughly tripartite system, which distinguishes early (17th –early 16th c.), middle (16th-15th c.), and late (14th-13th) assemblages. The system is mainly based on quantitative trends in the distribution of fabric types, shapes, distinctive vessels (e.g. miniature vessels, beak-spouted jugs) and imports (RLW-m libation arms and spindle bottles) in recently excavated contexts.

important material classes, for example Hittite seals, appears to be hardly compatible with the adoption of a LC.[34]

Finally, the date of the destruction of Alalaḫ is critical for the confirmation of one or the other chronology. Establishing a precise dating of the destruction event of the Level VII palace is crucial for historical and philological implications, and for anchoring material sequences. The current excavators at Alalaḫ propend for the Middle Chronology, and more research is ongoing on this specific question.[35]

All this considered, a traditional or moderate version of the LC remains the only realistic alternative to the MC – although some scholars, like Beckman (2000) and Schachner (2009b) consider the HC also viable. Note that, since some researchers abandoned the traditional interval dates anchored on ancient astronomical observations, new chronologies independent from those fixed dates have been also employed in recent years. For this reason nuanced views between the MC and the LC exist as well; it is the case, for example, of Miller (e.g. 2013[36]), who sets the reign of Mursili between the 1560s and the 1540s, close to but unlike any of the traditional versions of the LC. A similar choice was made by Kühne (1999), with a chronology between the MC and LC that maintains a rather open date for the sack of Babylon (1541±37).

It seems inescapable that the most promising route for acquiring a reliable inter-regional absolute chronological system for second millennium Eastern Mediterranean and Near East is through a

[34] See the recent overview by Weeden (2018a), in particular for questions of dating.
[35] The team is working with various research methods with the goal to provide a reliable date of the event. The aim is: 1 - to obtain a new sets of high resolution ^{14}C and dendrochronology dates. Currently, these already provide a high date of the destruction event, to ca. 1690-1650, compatible with the High or Middle Chronology (M. Akar, personal communication). 2 - To reassess pottery sequences of *common ware* based exclusively on fine stratigraphic sequencing, and not on imports. Deep soundings in correspondence of former excavations made by L. Woolley are undergoing, to provide a complete pottery sequence for the Middle and Late Bronze Age, including the transition between lev. VII and lev. IV of the palace. 3 - To employ additional scientific methods to support finer dating, such as magnetic resistivity on mud brick architectures (high temperature firing has repercussions on the materials' magnetic signature). I thank A. Yener for having shared with me these information during a visit at Alalaḫ in July 2019. Yener is also organizing a workshop on chronology, which will take place at Columbia University in New York in March 2021.
[36] He follows Boese 2008, who dated the fall of Babylon in ca. 1545.

temporal framework based on calibrated radiocarbon data, especially since the research shows stable results and decreasing margins of error of the method for most periods. For this reason the growing body of data confirming the MC and its Low-MC version, acquired through solid coordinated data based on scientific dating methods, seems to indicate the most apt path for making strides towards a more solid picture.

1.6 Chronological tables and synchronisms

Synchronisms

Ḫattuša	Kizzuwatna	Alalaḫ	Mittani	Egypt
	(Pariyawatri)			
Telipinu	Išpudaḫšu			
Taḫurwaili	Eḫeya		Šuttarna/Saitarna	
?[37]	Paddatiššu			Thutmosis III[38]
Zidanza II	Pilliya	Idrimi[39]	Parsatatar/ Baratarna	
Tudḫaliya I	Sunaššura	Niqmepa	Sauštatar	Thutmosis III
		Ilimilimma[40]	Artadama I[41]	Amenhotep II
	Kantuzili (the priest)		Šuttarna II	Thutmosis IV
Suppiluliuma I	Telipinu (the priest)		Tušratta	Amenhotep III/IV
			Šattiwaza	/ Tutankhamon

The following dates referring to *ruling* years are to be intended as approximate. All dates in this study are intended as BCE, unless differently specified. For the dates of the New Kingdom I follow Miller 2013, unless otherwise specified.

[37] Ḫantili II? Ḫuzziya III?
[38] Thutmosis III: 1479-1425, according to Krauss et al. 2006, 492. Presumably his accession dates to the early 60s.
[39] Accession, ca. 1475 or a little after (von Dassow 2008, 42 and n. 98).
[40] Treaty between Ḫattuša and Tunip (CTH 135).
[41] EA 29; see Helck 1971, 163.

OLD KINGDOM

	Miller 2013	Beal 2011	Liverani 2013		Traditional LC
*(Tudḫaliya[42])					
Ḫuzziya (I)[43]	late 18th c.				
Labarna	?				
Ḫattusili I	1640-1610	(LC) 1590s-1560s	(MC) 1640-1610	1650-1620	1560-1550/1565-1540
*(Pimpira[44])					
Mursili I	1610-1586/0[45] †	1560s-1540s	1610-1594	1620-1590	
Ḫantili I	-		1594-1560		
Zidanta	- [46] †		1560-1555		
Ammuna	-		1555-1530		
Ḫuzziya 'II'[47]	- †		1530-1529		
Telipinu	1530/25-1500	1480s-1460s[48]	1529-1505		
Alluwamma	1500- ...		1500-1480		
Ḫantili II	-		1480-1460		
Taḫurwaili[49]	-		1505-1500		
Zidanza II	-		1460-1440[50]		
Ḫuzziya 'III'	- †		1440-1430		
Muwatalli I	... -1440/35 †[51]		1430-1425		

[42] On this Tudḫaliya see Beal 2003. Kitchen and Lawrence (2012/2, 39-40) argue this should be called Tudḫaliya I; however, it is very uncertain that this individual was a Hittite king at all (see e.g. Gilan 2014b, and previously Klengel 1999, 103 n. 78 on the lack of data concerning this early Tudḫaliya; this is also rejected in Taracha 2014, 957).

[43] Beal 2003, 31, on the basis of the *Cruciform Seal* and the offering lists for the royal ancestors. For this date for Ḫuzziya see Kloekhorst 2019.

[44] Brother of Ḫattusili I and likely regent for Mursili I; listed in the roster of royal ancestors' offerings; Beal 2003, 15-16.

[45] It is traditionally assumed that Mursili was assassinated briefly after his return from Babylon, although there is no actual information of this fact (Beckman 2000, 25).

[46] The reign of Zidanta might have been short, according to *Telipinu Edict* §19.

[47] Elsewhere "I"; see also de Martino 2016.

[48] These dates for Telipinu seem too low, and incompatible with the chronology of Idrimi at Alalaḫ. See *infra* note n. 51.

[49] The position of Taḫurwaili is not certain. Klengel (1999, 87-91) followed Carruba (1974), locating him between Telipinu and Alluwamma; this was based on the identification of this Taḫurwaili with an individual involved in events of the time of Telipinu. Kümmel (1976, 1980) and Wilhelm (2012b) proposed a lower dating, locating him before or after Zidanta, thus separating him from previous characters with the same name, following Otten (1971); Rüster-Wilhelm 2012 list his seal after Zidanza: "Falls Zidanza ein Sohn Ḫaššuilis, des Obersten der Leibgarde Ḫantilis II., ist, könnte Taḫurwaili wohl nur nach Zidanza regiert haben" (ibid. 57). Wilhelm later went back on the question (2013, 349-350); on the basis of the seal typology, Taḫurwaili's seal belongs to the group of seals between Zidanza and Muwatalli, and the only place he can be assigned, presently, remains either before or after Zidanza on the basis of the evidence available for the rest of the rulers. Chronologically, he may fit well after Zidanza (see also next note).

[50] These dates for Zidanza may be too low, since the synchronism with Idrimi and the paleography of AlT 3 suggest this was drafted early, rather than late in 15th (Weeden 2018b, 219).

[51] Assassinated by Ḫimuili and Kantuzili (KUB 34.40; see Bryce 2005, 115 n. 86).

NEW KINGDOM

EARLY NEW KINGDOM until Suppiluliuma I. After: EMPIRE PERIOD. [52]

*(Kantuzili[?])[53]				
(Tudḫaliya?)				
Tudḫaliya I	1430s-1400s	1420s-1390s	1425-1395	
Arnuwanda I	1400s-1380s	1390s-1370s	1395-1375	
Tudḫaliya 'III'[54]	1380s -1350s	1370s-1350s	1375-1351	
*(Tudḫaliya 'the young'[?]) †[55]				(Liverani 2014, 332)
Suppiluliuma I	1355-1330[56]		1351-1322	1370-1342
Arnuwanda II				1342-1340
Mursili II	1330-1300		1322-1285	1340-1310
Muwatalli II	1300-1280		1285-1269	1310-1280
Mursili III/Urḫi-Teššob	1280-1273		1269-1262	1280-1275
Ḫattusili 'III'[57]	1273-1245		1262-1240	1275-1260
Tudḫaliya 'IV'	1245-1210		1240-1210	1260-1220
*(Kuruntiya?	1228-1227)			
Arnuwanda III	1210		1210-...	1220-1200
Suppiluliuma II	1210-?		...-1177	1200-1182

ca. 1190-1180[58]	fall of the kingdom of Ḫattuša (Ramses III's Medinet Habu inscription, 8th year: 1188/1175)
ca. 1190	destruction of Ugarit

*insufficient evidence.

[52] I will not use the term Middle Kingdom in the periodization of Hittite history (see next §1.7). See Archi 2003 and 2005 for a discussion and previous bibliography, Bryce 2005, 6, de Martino 2016. Güterbock 1978 already considered Tudḫaliya I as the real founder of the Empire (see Archi 2005, 226-227).

[53] Note that Kantuzili was included in the roster of the offerings granted to the royal ancestors, along with other few members of the royal clan which were not kings (see Beckman 2000, 20 n. 14; also Miller 2004, 5). Beal (2002a, 60-61) thinks Kantuzili could be king, on the basis of the content of KUB 23.16 and KUB 23.27 (see ch. 7).

[54] While I am inclined, with most scholars, to consider that only one Tudḫaliya existed before Arnuwanda (i.e. there is no Tudḫaliya "0", immediately preceding Tudḫaliya I), the question remains very complex since some data is controversial, and matter of debate (see Taracha 2014, Carruba 2005, 2008). A brief review of the problem in ch. 7. While some scholars now re-number the sequence of Tudḫaliya, in order to avoid confusion I prefer to maintain nr. III and IV for the last two Tudḫaliya. De Martino 2016 counts them II and III, but there is the additional problem of the possibility that Tudḫaliya 'the younger' ruled at some point (see Miller 2004, 5-6 n. 4).

[55] CTH 378.1, vs. 16-19 (Mursili II plague prayer, ed. Singer 2002a, 61-62).

[56] For the accession date of Suppiluliuma, see various options discussed in Wilhelm 2012a.

[57] It is almost certain that there was no "Ḫattusili II" in the Early New Kingdom, but I maintain the traditional numbering for the sake of simplicity.

[58] For these dates and a discussion see De Martino 2018, 24.

1.7 Note on terminology and periodization of Hittite history, language and paleography

For references to original texts, when multiple copies exist, this study will employ the CTH numeration for brevity. Individual tablets or texts without duplicates, instead, will be quoted with their publication number in the autography series (e.g. KBo, KUB, etc.), or their excavation inventory number. A fundamental digital concordance can be found online in the *Hethitologie Portal Mainz* (HPM: Konkordanz).

Original names are generally rendered following transcription standards in research literature, and have been standardized when multiple spellings exist. However, in Hittite names <š> is simplified as <s> (e.g. Mursili, Suppiluliuma, Ḫattusili).[59] Hurrian names are standardized according to current transcription standards in Hurrian (e.g. Ašmunikal > Ažmo-Nikkal, etc.; Kušuḫ > Kužoġ).[60] I follow Kryszeń (2017) for the rendering of the Akkadographic cuneiform form *ḪA-AT-TI* as "Ḫattuša", rather than "Ḫatti", which is a misnomer: Ḫattuša identified in fact both the city and the kingdom.

For the historical periodization and the conventional definitions for Hittite cuneiform paleography and Hittite linguistic phases I adopt the following terminology and abbreviations:

Periodization:

OK (Old Kingdom)	ca. 1650-1450
Early OK	ca. 1650-1525 (until Telipinu)
Late OK	ca. 1525-1450 (between Telipinu and Tudḫaliya I); elsewhere "Middle Kingdom"
NK (New Kingdom)	ca. 1450-1200
ENK	ca. 1450-1350 (between Tudḫaliya I and Tudḫaliya III included)
Empire Period	ca. 1350-1200 (after the accession of Suppiluliuma I)

[59] On this topic see lastly Patri 2019, 217-221 (and n. 98 for previous literature); the author suggests, indeed, that latinization of Hittite syllabograms could in principle dispense with the use of <š>. In the names Sunaššura, Sauštatar, the first /s/ follows the spelling of this name at Alalaḫ, which clearly suggests differentiation between the series /s/ /š/. Hittite texts and Akkadian texts from Ḫattuša do not show this differentiation for the local syllabary conventions.

[60] Giorgieri 2000, Wilhelm 2004b.

Paleography: (following CHD; HPM equivalent in parenthesis)[61]

OS	(ah.)	"Old (Hittite) Script"	until ca. Tudḫaliya I (-1450)/his immediate predecessors[62]
MS	(mh.)	"Middle (Hittite) Script"	Tudḫaliya I-Suppiluliuma I (1450-1350); i.e. characterizing ENK docs.
NS	(jh.)	"Late (Hittite) Script"	Suppiluliuma I – Tudḫaliya IV (1350-1200)
LNS	(sjh.)	"Late-New Script"	Suppiluliuma II? (end 13th-early 12th c.)[63]

Hittite Language: (According to Melchert 2013b, 161 n. 7).

OH	"Old Hittite (language)" – until Telipinu (ca. 1500)
Late OH (Miller 2004, 450)/	
Early MH (Melchert 2013b)	Telipinu to Tudḫaliya I.
Late MH /Early Empire Hittite	Tudḫaliya to Suppiluliuma I
NH	"New Hittite (language)" from Mursili II

Philological symbology

//	paragraph line in original tablet
[ ]	lacuna
⟨ ⟩	emendation (omission)
!	emendation (wrong sign in original text)
( )	preserved in parallel manuscript
* *	erasure/ written on erasure
⌜ ⌝	damaged/ partially readable

[61] For a recent overview on Hittite paleography see Gordin 2015 (90-92) with previous bibliography. Some important works are: Rüster 1972, Starke 1985a, 21-27, de Martino 1992, Klinger 1998, Popko 2007, Archi 2010, Wilhelm 2010c, Rüster–Wilhelm 2012, van den Hout 2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2012, Miller 2004, 9-11, 2010, 2012, Weeden 2011, 2012, Cammarosano 2015, Gordin 2015, 83-94.
[62] Miller 2004, 463, n. 773; on the OS see also van den Hout 2009a, 28-29.
[63] The detailed subdivision of the NS remains somewhat problematic, as discussed in Weeden 2011, 49 ff.

Chapter 2. Kizzuwatna: historical geography

2.1 Tasks and methodological problems

The Hittite texts abound with toponyms (for regions and territories, cities, rivers, mountains), especially in reference to military events and campaigns, but also in the domain of religion, either from an administrative perspective or concerning cults and festivals in the territories controlled by the Hittite kingdom.[64] To draw a precise geography of second millennium Anatolia on the basis of these texts, however, is challenging, since it is only rarely possible to correlate certain toponyms with known geographic locations, archaeological sites or modern cities of ancient foundation. Consequently, this also applies to the geography of Kizzuwatna, which principally relies on Hittite sources.[65]

One methodological problem of a philological approach to geography is the necessity to deduce information that the texts do not explicitly provide. The variety of textual interpretation and the often incoherent or reciprocally conflicting geographies drawn on the basis of the same sources demonstrate the intrinsic difficulties in this field of study and the limits of philological reconstructions. The accumulation of uncertain elements and tentative identifications, on the basis of which other arguments and identifications are necessarily based, generates a multiplicity of possible solutions. The nature of the sources is a decisive factor in the challenge as well: in most cases, it is supposed that lists of toponyms follow a strictly geographical logic, or that they describe itineraries that are topographically rational.

[64] See Kryszeń 2014, 423 and 2016, 21 for a summary of the typologies of texts containing geographic information. In general, Hittite archives did not pass on texts of primary geographic interest, but recently Gerçek (2017a, with previous references) presented a few exceptional cases of texts with strictly geographical content. These remain extremely rare text types.

[65] For a synthetic overview on the study of historical geography in Anatolia see the Introduction (1-13) in Weeden-Ullman 2017; recently, also Kryszeń 2016, 7-20.

Instead, in several instances it appears that other logics determine the structuration, content and function of geographical lists.[66]

The geographical logic in texts of different genre can vary considerably, thus the nature and function of the single text should be also taken into consideration whenever possible. It is also advisable to employ models and methods of analysis of statistical-mathematical type with caution, because a generalized application of these tools is methodologically problematic. The application of analytical models in non-ideal conditions of dataset (abundance, consistency, etc.) does not grant – and in fact undermines – the statistical validity and the quality of the results. Considering for example the reconstruction of itineraries, spatial analysis based on criteria of economy and efficiency in transportation and communication routes, like cost-distance/ cost-path analysis, when rigidly applied, do not account for possible infrastructural, historical, cultural, pragmatic motivations and other anthropic factors in general. Thus, criteria like common sense or transportation economy are not sufficiently reliable either.[67]

The 'etymological'/comparative method, based on the possibility to identify locations on the basis of historical continuity in toponymy, is one of the few instruments available to scholars, but this method is notoriously dangerous since the consistency of the reconstruction is much affected by chance and/or imponderable historical factors: toponyms change their form and phonetics rather unpredictably over time, locations have their name changed under unknown or unclear circumstances, toponyms could be transferred or even multiplied for several reasons, like in the occasion of new foundations. Homonymy is another well-known issue, which further complicates the reading and interpretation of texts.[68]

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[66] For example, a counter-intuitive reading of toponyms in itineraries was suggested by Kryszeń 2016, 25: some places in lists might be mentioned because they *deviate* from a norm and are perhaps unexpected, and not because they are obvious in a regular itinerary, which would be less relevant to someone knowing the geographical context.
[67] An exceptional case is that of the commercial texts from Middle Bronze Age Kaniš/Kültepe. The texts are in high quantity, of limited and similar nature (economic-commercial content), stemming from a single center, produced in the context of the same functional logic and concentrated in a limited time span. In this case statistical studies seem to have high potential, as demonstrated by the works of G. Barjamovic (e.g. 2008, 2010, 2011).
[68] Just to make one example, there are at least three, perhaps four, different Zalpa, barely distinguishable in texts for minor orthographical differences (on Zalpa, see the recent entry in RlA 15, Miller-Corti 2017).

While a detailed, complete and reliable historical geography of the Hittite kingdom and second millennium Anatolia in general remains challenging, positive results come from much research devoted to this topic and from recent contributions.[69] To this date, only a very small minority of places mentioned in texts found a secure identification, namely the few cases in which epigraphic materials confirm the ancient name of the location.[70] Frequently, it is possible to identify an area of variable extension where a center was located, but punctual identifications can't be confirmed even when general agreement exists. Equally often, very different suggestions exist on the location of a geographic element, thus reconstructions remain tentative. In some cases, identifications that were considered virtually certain have been put into discussion on the basis of new data and re-interpretation of the evidence, which suggests caution in establishing identities with only limited data.[71] Some very important centers, like Arinna, Zippalanda, Ḫakmiš, Tarḫuntašša, are still to be discovered, although for some there are plausible suggestions. Minor sites, that count one or two attestations in texts, can't be reasonably included in a geographic map. Since it remains hard to position a toponym on a map in correspondence with a known site, and, vice versa, most archaeological sites will hardly provide evidence of their nominal identity, the need to avoid attempts of exact identification in favor of a relational geography has been generally

[69] On Hittite geography see the recent volume edited by Weeden and Ullman (2017), with detailed bibliography on the various areas of Anatolia. Recently, surveys of the archaeological research and the discussion of some problems in Alparslan/Doğan-Alparlsan 2015. The volume of Kryszeń 2016 is the most recent treatment on central Anatolia. Strobel (ed.) 2008 is a collection of contributions on the topic. The most complete collection of toponyms attestations from the Hittite texts is found in the two volumes of the geographical repertoire of the Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients (RGTC 6 and 6/2: Del Monte-Tischler 1978 and del Monte 1992). Among the previous important systematic works on Hittite and Anatolian geography see Goetze 1940 and Garstang-Gurney 1959. Many contributions of M. Forlanini were dedicated to Anatolian historical geography (several titles can be found in this work's bibliography). The contributions of G. Barjamovic (2008, 2010 and in particular 2011) on Middle Bronze Age Anatolian geography, based on the commercial texts from Kaniš are particularly important for the Hittite period as well, since the two "geographies" largely intersect and overlap. On this aspect, and for some disciplinary remarks see also Barjamovic 2017. An international project of online geographical database is the "Hittite Historical Atlas", coordinated by M. Alparslan.

[70] It is the case of Kaniš-Nesa/Kültepe, Ḫattuša/Böğazköy, Šapinuwa/Ortaköy, Šarišša/Kuşaklı and now also Šamuḫa/Kayalıpınar (Rieken (ed.) 2019). Likely identifications are Tapikka/Maşat Höyuk, Nerik/Oymaağaç. Other suggestions, that remain less secure, are Arinna/Alaca Höyük and Zippalanda/Uşaklı-Kuşaklı. See *fig. 2b* for these locations.

[71] See for example the question of Kummani and Lawazantiya after Trémouille 2001, discussed in detail later in this chapter (§2.5-2.6).

acknowledged: a minimalistic approach aims at localizing territorial settings where clusters or groups of toponyms can be located with moderate confidence.[72]

Within a historical geography of pre-Classical Anatolia, a geographic treatise of Kizzuwatna is particularly problematic. For example, in the very recent volume edited by M. Weeden and L. Ullman (2017) the two contributions dedicated to Kizzuwatna present, at times, quite different perspectives, demonstrating the quantity of open questions.[73] This chapter presents an overview on the current knowledge on the geography of Kizzuwatna, considering the most recent contributions on the topic and discussing some significant related questions.

2.2 The name of Kizzuwatna

The toponym Kizzuwatna is first attested in the treaty between Telipinu and Išpudaḫšu (late 16th c.).[74] Since the earliest usage the name indicated a territory, as it was systematically preceded by KUR ("land"); this clearly identifies a territory defined either politically – as in the case of Kizzuwatna – or ethnically.[75] While in the earliest attestations the use of the determinative URU (for settlements) appears to be conventional – as it was frequently used in Hittite context for place names in general – later on the interchange between Kizzuwatna and the city name Kummani makes the picture somewhat more complicated: it appears that its most prominent center came to identify the whole land, and vice versa

[72] See the remarks of Kryszeń (2016, 1), in particular respect to central Anatolia: "So far, the numerous attempts to locate major Hittite centers have brought findings of such diversity that the overall result is often confusing and does little to clarify our understanding of the region". For a summary of the methodological problems see Weeden-Ullman 2017, 2-5; Krysyeń 2014 and 2016.

[73] Novák-Rutishauser 2017 (archaeology), Hawkins-Weeden 2017 (philology). See also the aforementioned Goetze 1940 and Ünal-Girginer 2007.

[74] Usual spellings (excerpted from RGTC 6, 211-216): KUR ^{uru}*Kizzuwatn(a)-;* ^{uru}*Kizzuwatn(a).* More variation exists in Akkadian documents: KUR ^{uru}*Kizzuwatn(a)-*^{ki} ; KUR ^{uru}*Kizzuwatan(a)-*^{ki}; KUR ^{uru}*Kizwatan(a)-*; ^{uru}*Kizzuatn(a)-;* ^{uru}*Gizzuatn(i)-* ;$^{uru.ki}$*Kizwatna* (letter from Egypt, KBo 1.15+).

[75] See Kryszeń 2019, 7; the article provides an overview on the use of geographic classifiers in Hittite toponymy. On the use and meaning of KUR see in particular pp. 7-8.

(on this interchange see *infra* §2.6 in more detail). Thus, at this later time the pair Kizzuwatna/Kummani indicated both a territory and its main center, and were used also *without* KUR. But this identification seems secondary, and might depend on the fact that Kizzuwatna had lost its status as independent kingdom, thus its older territorial name was partially re-interpreted. Earlier on, the combined usage of KUR and URU (KUR ^{uru}*Kizzuwatna*) seems to be akin to forms such as <KUR ^{uru}*Mizri*> and <KUR ^{uru}*Ḫurri*> "Egypt, Ḫurri", where the toponyms hardly indicate – metonymically – their capital cities, but appear to be used as adjectival forms.[76] In this respect, it is quite significant that the name Kizzuwatna is not attested in any source before the end of the 16th c., which probably indicates this name came into existence only when this state emerged as a centralized, territorial entity.

While most scholars view the name as linguistically Anatolian, none of the various etymologies proposed are certain.[77] The proposal for an Indo-European Anatolian background goes back to Neumann (1958): the form *kēz-* (abl. of Hitt. *kā/kī-*) and a form related to "water" (Hitt. *watar-/weten-* or Luw. **watar-/watn-*) would be Anatolian, while the ending *–na*, as proposed Goetze (1940, 5 n. 20) is the Hurrian plural article. Thus **kiz-wat-na,* a form meaning something like "(to) this side of the water" (cfr. Lat *cisaquinum*), makes sense from a geographical point of view and, while Anatolian in essence, shows a mixed linguistic character. The name presumably developed locally given the Hurrian linguistic interference.

Goetze (ibid.), followed by Kammenhuber (1968, 96 n. 292) actually proposed a fully Hurrian etymology, observing that a root *kizzu/i-*, of unknown meaning, was well attested at Nuzi in personal names.[78] The morphemes *–at-* (root extension) and *–na*, could be also explained through Hurrian.

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[76] This adjectival usage was already recognized by Goetze (1928, 51 ff.), and has been recently discussed in Kryszeń 2019, 8-9. The usage is particularly clear from the fact that these forms are typically preceded by a sumerogram. Beside KUR, one find references to people, such as <MUNUS.LUGAL ^{uru}*Mizri*> "the Egyptian queen", or <LÚ^{meš} ^{uru}*Mizri*> "Egyptians" (additional examples in ibid. 9). A clear-cut interpretation of these geographic classifiers, however, remains complex, and URU – for example – frequently indicates more than the strictly urban space. It seems to often indicate also the surrounding territory belonging to the central settlement, at times even overlapping with KUR (ibid. 8-10).

[77] A summary on the question can be found in Garcia Trabazo 2004, 313-317.

[78] See eventually Richter 2012, 215: *kiz(z)-*, attested also at Böğazköy.

Within the hypothesis of an Anatolian background Starke (1990, 468 n. 1705 with ref.), going back to a proposal of Laroche, pointed out that the second component of the name could be compared with Hitt. *utnē-*, rather than *watar-*, perhaps as a form **wadn-* compatible with Luwian. While this is considered less likely by Garcia Trabazo (2004, 314 n. 17),[79] recently Yakubovich (2010a, 237, 274 and n. 80), follows this idea: the compound would be a Hittite-Luwian form **kez-wadni*, perhaps from an original Hitt. **kez-utne* "on this side of the mountain", and ultimately a "creation of Hittites and Luvians who settled in the region, and not a term for foreign country coined at Hattusa".[80]

Thus, most proposal concede that the toponym is a local name with Hittite-Luwian linguistic background; Hurrian interference is possible, and would not be surprising in the Cilician regional context (*infra* §3.3, §6.2).

The use of the name Kizzuwatna ended presumably with the fall of the Empire period. In the Iron Age Luwian inscriptions, some centuries later, the region was called Ḫiyawa and "land of Adana". But some memory of the old toponyms must have survived, as indicated in the mentions of ^{uru}*Lu-sa-an-da* (Lawazantiya) and ^{uru}*Ki-su-at-ni* (Kummani/Kizzuwatna) in the itinerary took by Shalmaneser III during the submission of Katei and Qaue, across the Amanus.[81] A possible derivation of the regional name Cappadocia from Kizzuwatna, instead, was recently rejected by Yakubovich (2014), in favor of a different explanation.[82]

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[79] Garcia Trabazo made another proposal, comparing the first part of the name with Carian *gíssa* "stone" (2004, 315). The name would be yet another hydronym with the meaning "Steiniges Gewässer", if a cognate form existed in Luwian.

[80] Note that *utne-* means "land", thus this meaning is not entirely straightforward. The toponym would be *Kizzu-wadni/Kizzu-wadna*. A form **wadni-* would be also at the basis of the Anatolian Hieroglyphic spelling REGIO-*ni* "country". Hawkins 2000, 97b suggested **udni-*, on the basis of Hitt. *udnē-*, but Yakubovich (2010a, 236-239) sees **wadni-* as a borrow in Hittite *from* Luwian in prehistoric time, rather than a genetic cognate of Luwian.

[81] Ed. Grayson 1996, 50-56 (IV 26-27); see Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 283-284 for additional references.

[82] Cappadocia derives, most likely, by the late Hittite definition "Lower Land", through several passages and ultimately adoption of local form in Pers. *Katpaduka*. Yakubovich (2014, 348; already 2010a, 291 n. 104) also excludes that the AH spelling of Kizzuwatna (*ká-*285-na*) was somewhat related to Hitt. *katta-* (i.e. ká=INFRA), thus *Katwanta or similar, from which Cappadocia could derive.

There is another toponym in Hittite sources which refers to territories in Cilicia: in the *Edict of Telipinu* we find in fact ^{uru}Adaniya/ KUR ^{uru}Adaniya. That Adaniya designated a portion of Kizzuwatna is clear from the content of the later Sunaššura treaty, which describes the borders of the land at the time of Tudḫaliya I (discussed in §2.4).[83] It is less clear whether other names were employed, especially outside the Hittite kingdom, to refer to Cilicia and the kingdom of Kizzuwatna. This is the topic of the next section.

2.2.1 Other names of Kizzuwatna/Cilicia in the Late Bronze Age (?): *Tny, Danuna, Qode, Ḫuwê, Ḫiyawa.*

Egyptian sources from the Late Bronze Age contain some toponyms that have been frequently connected with Cilicia.[84]

***Tny* and *Danuna*.** After Edel (1975, 63-64), the toponym <*tj-n-ʒ-y*> (henceforth simplified as *Tny*) has been frequently equated with Adana/Adaniya. We know that Tuthmosis III (1479-1425) received gifts from the ruler of *Tny* in his 42nd year, i.e. around 1437.[85] Considering the order of *Tny* in another sequence of 'tributaries' sending gifts, right after <*k-f-tj-w*> (*Keftiu*, i.e. Crete), a west-ward Aegean location appeared to be the most likely context for this toponym ("etwas kühn auf Rhodos getippt", ibid. 63).[86] For this reason Helck (1969) proposed an equation between *Tny* and the ethnikon *Danaoi* in Homer;

[83] Note that for Adana/iya a Hurrian etymology has been also put forward. Ünal (2017, 214) suggested a connection with Hurr. forms *adan, atani* and *adaniya,* which designate a cultic object. Resemblance is clear, although this is probably not enough to say the interpretation is "beyond any doubt" (Ünal – Girginer 2007, 67ff.). One has to deal also with the suffix *–iya*, which was frequent in Anatolian toponomastics and has an independent origin. A mixed form would not be surprising in Cilician context.

[84] §3.4 will show it is highly unlikely that some Middle Kingdom Egyptian texts refer to a polity in Cilicia, named *Kawa* (pace Schneider 2002, Breyer 2010).

[85] Urk. IV, 733.4.

[86] The toponym is also found in a different spelling (*tj-n-ʒ-y-w*), usually rendered *Tanaya*, similarly attested near the toponym *Keftiu* in the caption of the "Aegean list" at the mortuary temple of Amenophis III at Kom el-Hettâ. Detailed ref. in Oreshko (2018, 44 also n. 95, 96, 97).

if these are Mycenean Greeks, their land *Tny* (eventually to be read *Ta-n(a)-ya*) may be even located in continental Greece.

For a connection of *Tny* with Adana, instead, Edel followed the proposal of Laroche (1958[87]) that the Phoen. ethnikon <*dnnym*> attested in the Karatepe bilingual inscription can be read "Danuna" and derives from the city name Adana.[88] Thus, while this had no relationship with the *Danaoi*, it could be instead connected with Eg. *Tny,* if read as an apheretic form **danya* < *(A)daniya.* The interpretation would be additionally supported by further evidence in the Amarna letters, which feature the ethnikon *Danuna* in Akk. cuneiform (<*da-nu-na*>), transferred in Eg. as <*dʒ-jnjw-(nʒ)*> = *d(a)-nu-n(a*), usually read *Denyen.* These Denyen/Danuna are listed among the "Sea-people" in sources of the time of Ramses III (1187-1157) as well. In accordance with this reading, Edel thought that Adana, while being a city in Kizzuwatna, was not identified directly with it (ibid. 64), which would explain the existence of a different toponym for its territory and people.

However, in recent years some scholars questioned the derivation of Phoen. <*dnnym*> from "Adana", in particular R. Oreshko (2013a).[89] One can't discuss this and other matters touched upon this article of Oreshko without falling into the more far reaching Aḫḫiyawa-Ḫiyawa controversy, which involves a very complex bundle of research questions. A series of contributions engaged in this debate revolve around the reading of a toponym traditionally read "Adana" in the 8th c. Karatepe bilingual, the supposed relationship of the local name of Cilicia in the Iron Age – Hiyawa/Que – with Late Bronze Age *Aḫḫiyawa*, and the related historical implications deriving from the reading and interpretation of KARATEPE and

[87] Simon (2015, 392, with ref.) noted that this idea goes back in fact to Bossert.
[88] This is a bilingual Hieroglyphic Luwian and Alphabetic Phoenician inscription carved in two citadel gates at Karatepe in Cilicia, dating to the beginning of 7th c. Ed. Hawkins 2000, 45-68.
[89] See also Oreshko (2015, 2018), followed by Yakubovich (2015a; 2015b); with different arguments, see also Simon 2015.

other AH sources.[90] Essentially, the discussion falls chronologically outside the scope of this study, but in part involves some LBA evidence, which must be discussed here. The relevant question is whether (part of) Cilicia was already identified as Ḫiyawa in the Late Bronze Age, and from what point in time (see *infra*).

Oreshko (2013a, 2015, 2018), with various arguments, questioned the connection Adana – *dnnym,* maintaining that this form indeed corresponds to Eg. *Tny*, which in consideration of the close connection with *Keftiu* in the Egyptian texts must refer to an Aegean environment. This goes back to the older suggestion of Helck that *Tny* indicates the Mycenean Greece tout-court or eventually only the Peloponnese. The fact that the Eg. *Danuna/Denyen,* already frequently connected with *Tny*, are listed as "Sea-people" in the Medinet Habu inscription of Ramses III and are described as "island" people very well fit with this scenario. This raises the question of the employ of *dnnym* in Cilicia in the Early Iron Age to indicate local people, which must depend on the later historical developments not of immediate interest here. Ultimately, Eg. *ʤ-jnjw-(nʒ)* and *tj-n-ʒ-y-(w)* would refer to the same people (Oreshko 2018, 44-46). Note that Simon (2015, 394; 400), on quite different ground, also agrees that both Danuna of the LBA cuneiform documents and Iron Age *dnnym* have nothing to do with the toponym Adana. Differently from Oreshko, he opts for a Levantine environment for LBA Danuna, perhaps to be sought in Hatay.[91]

In consideration of these recent proposals, I am inclined to accept the idea to disconnect *dnnym/Danuna* from *Adana*. This view provides a solution for a considerable issue, which is the mention of the "king of Danuna" in the letter EA 151, dating approximately to the time of Suppiluliuma I. In this letter, Abi-milki of Tyre updated Akhenaten with news on some recent events:

[90] The essential bibliography is: Oreshko 2013a, 2015 2018; Gander 2012; Yakubovich 2015a (in the same issue of *Anatolian Studies* also the reply of Hawkins 2015, and counter-reply of Yakubovich 2015b); Hawkins 2016 (reply to Oreshko 2013a). On related topics also Simon 2011a, 2015.

[91] In fact he also separates Danuna from *dnnym*/Eg. *ʤ-jnjw(-nʒ).* This alternative location is considered unconvincing by Oreshko (2018, 32 n. 33, 38-40).

> "The king, my lord, wrote to me: "What do you hear from (there in) Canaan, then write to me." The king of the land of Danuna (LUGAL KUR *Da-nu-na*) is dead and his brother reigns in his stead and his land is pacified. And fire destroyed the palace of Ugarit; half of it is destroyed and half not. But the troops of the land of Ḫatti are not (there)" (EA 151, 49-58; transl. after Rainey 2015, 762-767).

It is hardly possible that the king of Danuna ruled in Cilicia/Kizzuwatna during the time of Suppilulima I, in particular after his Syrian campaigns.[92] Hence, if Danuna and *dnnym* can be unbound from Adana, any direct connection with Cilicia is lost. It is possible to accept the previous interpretation of the *dnnym* and the Denyen as "sea people" of Aegean provenance, similarly to what proposes Oreshko in this respect.[93]

Qode. There is a second toponym in Egyptian sources that has been stably connected with Cilicia. Most literature considers almost certain that the Egyptian sources usually called Kizzuwatna <*Qd*[*j*/*w*]> (usually vocalized *Qode*), while only rarely referred to it with its original name <*ḳ(ʒ)-ḏʒ-wʒ-d-n*> (e.g. Desideri-Jasink 1990, 106).[94]

Recently, Simon (2011a, in part. 252-254) questioned this equivalency, collecting the not insignificant evidence on Qode in Egyptian sources. It has been always clear that at least some of this evidence was problematic for an identification of Qode and Kizzuwatna. For example, it is worth mentioning that:[95]

[92] See the detailed treatment of Simon 2015 on this matter. The article also discusses the content of another letter referring to Danuna.

[93] After all, the Aegean connection is acknowledged by a broad community of scholars, and even by those who disagree with most points made by Oreshko. Hawkins (2016, 26) writes: "(...) otherwise the inference of Mycenaean Greek migration to Cilicia after the end of LBA was already arguable on the basis of ÇİNEKÖY". Also Simon (2015, 400): "On the other hand, there is a group of Aegean immigrants, the DNNYM / Denyen, who arrived in Cilicia at the dawn of the Hittite Empire and participated in the raids on Egypt." Similarly also Jasink-Marino 2007 and Beckman et al. 2011.

[94] Others have not been so explicit but maintained connection of Qode with Cilicia; see the literature in Simon 2011a, 249.

[95] For detailed references see the discussion in Simon 2011a, here only summarized for the main points.

[1] Qode appears as an ally of Qadeš, Naharina[96] and the Hurrians in the Battle of Megiddo, 23rd year of Thutmose III (Urk. IV, 649, 10).

[2] Qode is one of the Hittite allies at the time of Ramses II in the Battle of Qadeš. There are five versions of the list and in one Qode is listed *alongside* Kizzuwatna.[97]

[3] A fictional letter of the Hittite king, dating to the time of Ramses II, is addressed to the king of Qode (pAnast II, 2, 2 = IV, 6, 7).

[4] A text of Ramses II indicates Qode as a conquered city in the district of Naharina (item n. 1.5 in Simon 2011a, 250 with ref.).

[5] The list of countries defeated by the Sea-people during the reign of Ramses III includes Qode: "Ḫatti, Qode, Carchemish, Arzawa, Alašiya" (KRI V, 39, 16).

If Qode was Kizzuwatna, the information that this existed in the early 15th c. as a Mittanian ally (n. [1]) is chronologically and historically puzzling, at least, while it is entirely implausible that a king of Qode-Kizzuwatna existed in 13th c., be it that the letter is fictional (n. [3]). Item n. [2], otherwise, contradicts explicitly an identification. It is possible that the content of the Egyptian lists of the Hittite allies at Qadeš were compiled on the basis of different sources, and usage of a Hittite model would explain the unusual occurrence of Kizzuwatna.[98] Still, it remains a fact that all versions contradict an Anatolian location, showing that Qode clearly clusters with Syrian localities (see also [4]).[99] Finally, it seems unlikely that Qode-Kizzuwatna was listed as a self-standing political entity – separated from "Ḫatti" – at the turn of the 12th c. [5] while this makes sense for Karkemiš, a kingdom, and Arzawa and Alašiya, geographical-political entities outside the Hittite domains.

[96] Naharina (from w. Sem. *nahar* "river") is an Egyptian geographical designation of Northern Syria, attested in the New Kingdom documents after Tuthmosis I. Eventually it identifies Mittani in later sources, in particular the diplomatic correspondence (Wilhelm 1994b §4.3; Bryce 2009, 477).

[97] "Ḫatti, Naḫarina, Arzawa, Dardanians, Kaškans, Maša, Pedašša, Arawanna, Karkiša, Lukka, *Kizzuwatna*, Karkemiš, Ugarit, *Qode*, Nuḫašše" (bibl. in Simon 2011a, 250).

[98] E.g. Desideri-Jasink 1990, 99-100.

[99] 1) ...Karkemiš, Qode, Qadeš, Ugarit; 2) Qadeš, Aleppo, Qode (end of the list); 3) ...Arzawa, Karkemiš, Qode, Qadeš. In one shorter list neither Kizzuwatna nor Qode are attested. It is true that Naḫarina appears directly after Ḫatti in all lists, but this is well explained through the importance attributed to this main "ally", identifying northern Syria tout-court.

Not only the evidence is contradictory, but the arguments in favor of an identification are extremely scanty; for example, a connection between Qode-Kizzuwatna is linguistically implausible. Following Simon, it seems that Qode is also *not* to be identified with Kizzuwatna. Although only tentatively, this territory may be sought in the Levante.[100]

***Ḫw* and *Ḫiyawa*.** The last part of this discussion merges into the Aḫḫiyawa-Hiyawa problem. In opposition to the argument that Iron Age *Ḫiyawa*, the local name of Cilicia in first millennium, derives from LBA *Aḫḫiyawa*,[101] it has been proposed that some documents suggest that the name Hiyawa already existed in the Late Bronze Age. If this name was already connected with Cilicia at this time, the principal implication would be in fact that a derivation of this from Aḫḫiyawa should be excluded for chronological reasons.[102] More important for this study would be the fact that Cilicia/Kizzuwatna, or part of its territory, was known with yet another name in Hittite and other sources. This matter is, in fact, also connected with the interpretation of another toponym from the Egyptian sources, <*Ḫw*>.

The existence of a LBA-Hiyawa is based on two possible references in cuneiform sources:

1. The first comes from a fragmentary context in the Annals of Arnuwanda I, thus a much earlier text: the document quotes ^{uru}*Ḫi-ya-*[*wa-an*] (KUB 23.21 Vs. 6') in a Cilician setting.[103] However, Forlanini (2009, 136) and Yakubovich (2010a, 151 n. 92) warned to caution in employing a fragmentary form as evidence, considering also that the name would be a hapax. Indeed, there seem to be no trace of *−w*[*a*] in the

[100] It is not the place to discuss here the location of Qode, but a possibility for a Levantine identification exists: Simon (2011a, 255-257) follows in this Weippert (1969), who proposed that the ethnikon <qṭy> in Ugaritic documents derives from a toponym *qṭ*, identical with Qode. RS 1.002 and RS 17.100 A+B, in particular, lists this ethnikon together with other people, the *ddmy* (unknown) *ḫry* "Hurrians", *ḫty* "Hittites", and the *alṯy* "Alašiyans". This is not unproblematic, as a location for this territory is unknown, and the Egyptians certainly considered Qode an important polity, given the quantity and contexts of attestations; Liverani (1995, 49) proposed Tarḫuntašša, but this generates too many other problems, in particular chronological and geographical.
[101] Recently Yakubovich 2015b; Bryce 2016, 72 ff.; Oreshko 2013a, 2015, 2018.
[102] Thus Simon (2011a), Gander (2010, 54; 2012).
[103] Thus Gander (2010, 54-55), who follows Hajnal (2003, 41). A recent edition of the text in Carruba (2008, 65-82).

photographs.[104] Oreshko (2013a, 30) pointed out this is a city name, not that of a country: while Hiyawa is a regional name in the Iron Age, its political center was no *uruḪiyawa, but most likely Adana.[105] Derivation of Iron Age Hiyawa from this obscure town – doubtfully mentioned (once) in a Hittite document – remains tentative.

2- The second reference comes from two Akkadian letters from Ugarit (RS 94.2530 and RS 94.2523),[106] sent from the Hittite Great King and a Hittite high official to the Ugaritic ruler Ammurapi. These texts mention men from "Ḫiyawa" – actually "hiyawean-men" (LÚ *ḫi-ya-a-ú* / LÚ.MEŠ *ḫi-ya-ú-wi-i*; LÚ *ḫi-ya-ú-wi-i*) – who were supposed to receive some metal ingots in Lukka, which never arrived.[107] Beckman, Bryce and Cline (2011) include these letters in the AḫḫiyawaCorpus of texts, assuming that these references to "Ḫiyawans" indicate Greek Myceneans from western Anatolia (=Aḫḫiyawans). Bryce (2016, 72) suggested that the fact that the two letters are in Akkadian may explain the apheretic forms, which would stand for "regular" (A)hiyawa, unless Hiyawa "had become a common way of referring to Aḫḫiyawa (…)" at the very end of the LBA. Instead, apheresis is strongly rejected by Simon (2015, 400-401), who maintains, with Gander (2010, 54; 2012), that Ḫiyawa and Aḫḫiyawa are separate entities on the basis of the evidence previously mentioned. Lastly, Melchert (2019, 361-362) pointed out that there would be no linguistic reason for excluding derivation of Hiyawa from Aḫḫiyawa, and indeed this derivation is in order in consideration of several other examples of Luwian apheresis in *foreign* words. He stressed that this does not necessarily mean these "Aḫḫiyawans" must be Mycenaean Greeks from

[104] Forlanini (2013, 5 n. 15) suggests ending in *–r*[*a*] or *–m*[*a*] is also possible; see also Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 286 n. 49.
[105] See also Hawkins 2016, 26.
[106] Ed. Lackenbacher - Malbran-Labat 2016, n. 8-9; AhT27A and 27B in Beckman et al. 2011.
[107] Since these seem to be people employed by the Hittites, they may have been mercenary forces awaiting payment in ingots (Beckman et al. 2011), but one can't exclude these are merchants trading in metal. For Forlanini (2018, 38-39 n. 76) these were mercenaries active in Lukka. On these letters see recently Lyons (2019), who follows the first editors for a reading of PADmeš as "food provision" rather than "metal ingots", contra Singer 2006.

the continent: reasonably, they are locals of southern Anatolia of western origin, as indeed the evidence itself suggests.

In connection with this topics, one must also discuss the toponym *Ḫw,* found in a topographic list dating to Ramses II. One option is that this derives directly from "Hiyawa" and refers to Cilicia (see Simon 2011a, 260). The equation was already suggested by Edel (1975, 64-65), but on the basis of comparison with cuneiform <*ḫu-me-e*>, attested in Babylonian texts of the time of Nabopolassar (late 7th c.). This writing for phonetic *ḫuwê* presumably stands for *Qawe/Que,* the Assyrian rendering of Iron Age *Hiyawa*. Both spellings with <q-> and <ḫ-> can be well explained from a strong aspirate /k^{h}/ sound.[108]

However, it does not seem altogether evident that *Ḫw,* for its regular transcription of -*ḫ*- into Egyptian, is a "perfect rendering of the Hittite-Luwian name Hiyawa" (Simon 2011a, 260). Oreshko (2013a, 30-31) casts doubts on this identification: the position in the list of toponyms where *Ḫw* is found does not unmistakably point to an Anatolian setting (pace Edel 1975, 65) and one must consider that the reference remains a hapax, which is quite strange if, like Edel proposed, this name identifies broader southern Anatolia (see ibid. map. p. 73).

What makes this equation particularly challenging is in fact the idea that *Ḫw* (i.e. Ḫiyawa) – mentioned in only one text, – at the time of Ramses II identifies Cilicia/Kizzuwatna tout court. It remains a fact, instead, that Kizzuwatna *was* known in Egypt as <*ḳ(ȝ)-ḏȝ-wȝ-d-n*> "Kizzuwatna" at this particular time.[109] The fact that few attestations of /kdwdn/ exist – notably referring to the allies of Muwatalli at Qadeš and in the treaty with Ḫattuša – is not an issue since Kizzuwatna was just a province of the Hittite empire at

[108] Edel used another piece of evidence to motivate the equivalency, the mention of <KUR *qa-a-*[*ù-e*]> in Ramses' letter KBo 1.22 (rs. 13), which could correspond to Eg. *ḫw*. The equivalence is tentative, and now considered doubtful; see Simon 2011a, 260: "(...) whatever the reading of KBo I 22 Rs. 13' "Qawe" is, it cannot be Hiyawa/Cilicia". Also Gander 2012, 291.
[109] I.e. in the documents of the time of this pharaoh; see Helck 1971, 281-282.

this time. Not necessarily one should expect alternative names for this region to be found in the textual evidence either.

Independently from the question of the possible derivation of Ḫiyawa from Aḫḫiyawa, which seems indeed plausible – and in fact likely[110] – the Ugaritic letters, the fragmentary attestation of a toponym in the Annals of Arnuwanda and the Egyptian form *Ḫw* do *not* provide final evidence to conclude that a toponym Ḫiyawa identified Cilicia already in the Late Bronze Age. While the Egyptian toponym *Ḫw* and the fragmentary passage of the annals of Arnuwanda constitute only hypothetical evidence, the Ugarit letters are very late documents, dating to the time of Suppiluliuma II at the turn of 13th c. or even the early 12th c. It is well-known that developments in Cilicia are well visible in the material culture since the last quarter of the 13th c. (as shows the Mycenaean pottery at Tarsus[111]) and that Myceneans were active in the area in maritime commerce and perhaps piracy. The two letters do not provide *any* direct connection of these *Hiyawans* with Cilicia, and in fact refer consistently to Lukka, further west. Finally, the definition refers to individuals and/or groups of people, not a territory, thus connection with the (alleged) ^{uru}*Ḫiya*[*wa*-] of the Annals of Arnuwanda, almost *two centuries* earlier, is unwarranted.

If Hiyawa begun to be used in reference to people active in southern Anatolia at the very end of the Hittite period, then connection with Aḫḫiyawa appears not only possible, but the easiest solution. These people could be already settled somewhere in southern Anatolia, perhaps even in Cilicia (e.g. Melchert 2019, 362), thus were not necessarily Greeks of the continent. As a matter of fact the meagre evidence on Hiyawa before the Iron Age would not refer to a *territory*. Only in the first millennium, under historical circumstances yet to be understood in detail, this became the local name of Cilicia.

[110] Lastly Melchert 2019, 362.
[111] Also Jean 2003; Yakar 2003; Mountjoy 2005; Jasink-Marino 2007, 424; Mountjoy et al. 2018.

		LOCAL NAME	C. ANATOLIA	EGYPT	ASSYRIA-BABYLONIA
MBA		unknown	-	-	-
			(Adaniya)[112]		
LBA	late 16th c.	Kizzuwatna ←?→	Kizzuwatna		
	13th c.			*ḳ(ʒ)-ḏʒ-wʒ-d-n*	
				*(ḫw, i.e. Hiyawa) ?[113]	
	l. 13th-e. 12th.	?	*(lú*ḫiyawa*) ?[113]		
IA	post-12th c.	(Luw.) Hiyawa			Q(a)ue, Que; Ḫume
		(Phoen.) ʾrṣ ʿmq ʾdn/*dnnym*			
		(Luw.) Adanawa ?			
		Or Ahiyawa ?[114]			

* Uncertain.

Table 4. Regional definitions of Cilicia/Kizzuwatna in the second millennium BCE.

2.3 Which Kizzuwatna: territoriality of Kizzuwatna and its meaning in diachronic perspective

A discussion on the geography of Kizzuwatna requires a few fundamental premises. Hittite sources dating between the end of 16th/early 15th c. and the early 12th c. identify Kizzuwatna as a territory and state in Anatolia (§2.2). In potentially earlier texts of Hittite provenance (in Hittite and Akkadian language) this toponym is not attested. The earliest mention of Kizzuwatna currently known is found in the treaty between the Hittite king Telipinu (ca. 1525-1500) and Išpudaḫšu king of Kizzuwatna (CTH 21).

[112] Adaniya is not necessarily identical with Kizzuwatna, but seems to indicate a portion of territory within it (§2.2).
[113] lúḫiyawa does not explicitly refers to Cilicia in the sources. The equivalence of Eg. *ḫw* with Hiyawa, *and* that this indicates Cilicia is uncertain. Derivation of these forms from uruḫi-ya-[ ] is also uncertain, and seems unlikely; this toponym does not indicate a territory in 14th c. but a city name.
[114] Hypothetical. *Adanawa* is based on reading <*TANA*> of *429 in (*á-*)*429-(*wa/i*)- in the KARATEPE bilingual, and of *429-*sa-*(*A)TANA-sa-* in ARSUZ 1-2 (Dinçol et al. 2015). Alternative reading *Ahiyawa* in Karatepe can't be excluded either (Oreshko 2013a, 2015, 2018), but this is matter of much debate, and strongly opposed by other scholars (Hawkins 2015, 2016 and others).

Throughout the 15th c. diplomatic agreements between the two countries were renewed and subscribed repeatedly by several rulers. These texts indicate that Kizzuwatna was a kingdom with an important geo-political role during this time, and their agreement terms formally acknowledge equal status between the two parts. Unfortunately, these documents do not contain explicit information on geographical boundaries, with the exception of the last of the series, the *treaty with Sunaššura of Kizzuwatna* (see next section §2.4); also, most of these texts are very fragmentary, thus possible information there contained is missing.

While the state of Kizzuwatna is historically documented only in the 15th c., the Cilician environmental setting, and its geo-political and socio-cultural layout in the former period (see chapter 3) possibly provided the constitutive elements of a regional proto-state. Considering the environmental features and the topography of the territory, Cilicia had always been geographically enclosed in a peculiar geographical context (*fig. 2*).[115] In the Cilician plain several centers of obvious importance existed since the Chalcolitic, and grew into large regional settlements during the Early and Middle Bronze Age; these elements, together with other indirect hints – e.g. the extraneousness to the Old Assyrian commercial network and the relative isolation from the neighboring regions – allow to think that this circumscribed socio-political and territorial core is probably at the origin of the state of Kizzuwatna, whose premises must be sought in the MBA (see ch. 3).

Around the end of 15th c. the history of Kizzuwatna took a decisive turn, since the state progressively lost its autonomy and passed under Hittite control through a sort of annexation never actually documented in the sources. The process had notable consequences for the history of the Hittite state as well. In the Early New Kingdom (ca. 1450-1350) the status of Kizzuwatna had become that of a sort of protectorate

[115] On the geographic location of Cilicia, its morphological, orographic and environmental characteristics several detailed descriptions already exist, thus I will refrain from a discussion here; see e.g. Desideri-Jasink 1990, 3-22; Novák-Rutishauser 2017, 134-136; Rutishauser 2017.

(indicatively between Arnuwanda I and Suppiluliuma), while during the Empire period proper (after the accession of Suppiluliuma I, ca. 1350 BCE) it became a province, integral part of the kingdom.

Some hints on this process derive from the definition of Kizzuwatna as a territory *kuriwana-/kuirwana-* "independent, autonomous", during the Early New Kingdom; this adjective seems to indicate the specific status of territories which were formally autonomous but to some extent were affected by the orbit of Hittite political control (see §7.6). For a period of circa two generations before the reign of Suppiluliuma I, the region had been already administered by officials belonging to the Hittite royal house that acted as governors with the titles of SANGA "priest" (§7.7). Afterwards, it appears that Kizzuwatna lost almost entirely its strategic relevance, and was governed more directly by the Hittite central administration: this is suggested for example from a letter of Madduallanura, the "governor of Kizzuwatna" (Akk. *šakin* KUR *Kuzuatna*) to Niqmaddu III of Ugarit (RS 94.2486), a contemporary of Tudhaliya IV.[116]

It is unclear whether these changes through time affected or not its territorial extension. For this reason while discussing a geography of Kizzuwatna, these distinct moments – from independence to complete political dependency – must be accounted for a definition of what "Kizzuwatna" means at the eyes of the Hittite state, who produced virtually all the available written evidence.[117] It can't be excluded that the denomination represents mutable territorial and administrative concepts throughout the centuries 15th-13th. When Kizzuwatna became a province of the Empire, it would not be surprising if its name came to identify – as the largest and most important territorial entity in the area, – a comprehensive administrative unit under whose administration the whole south-east was organized. After the ENK period's Hittite conquests in northern Syria, culminated with the defeat of Mittani, its former territories were presumably distributed among the several vassal states of Syria and the vice-royaume of Karkemish. It is not unlikely that Kizzuwatna got its share as well, and it may be that, at this time, its administrative

[116] Bilgin 2018, 44 n. 40, and 93-94.
[117] Earlier on, in the Hittite Old Kingdom, the status of Cilicia – the core territory of future Kizzuwatna – is much more obscure; this is discussed in detail in ch. 4.

borders expanded further east. However, at geo-political level the west Euphratic territories had lost much of their former significance after the defeat of Mittani.

The parallel of Arzawa is particularly illuminating, since sources on this territory exist from the Old Kingdom period to the end of the Empire; it seems that in the earliest sources its borders were perceived to be considerably closer to the land of Hatti than in later time (Gander 2017, 264). While it occupied large territories far into the plain of Konya still at the time of Tudḫaliya III, through time Arzawa came to indicate a more distant western power and territory, presumably to the advantage of other polities, like Mira-Kuwaliya (ibid. 270). It is possible that the name, eventually, also came to signify a more generical Anatolian west in geographical sense.[118]

In this chapter it makes sense, thus, to speak of Kizzuwatna considering two aspects: first, that at least in the 15th c. the territory corresponds to a state formation with its own administration and, likely, a distinctive socio-political/linguistic layout. Secondly, that later on the term Kizzuwatna was employed to define a territory under direct control of the Hittite Empire, but whose *territoriality* was likely susceptible to new factors, such as the administrative nature of the label and the role imposed by a supra-regional centralized government. At this later time the territorial-geographical definition probably acquired chiefly administrative meaning, maybe including other adjacent areas – minor or peripheral territories also subordinated to the central administration. This is connected with the constitution of a Hittite supra-regional kingdom (Empire), and its need to manage, administrate and rationalize vast territorial units.[119]

[118] See also e.g. the discussion of Alparslan 2017, 209-210 on the definition of "Upper Land", and the fluctuation of its meaning/territory over time.
[119] A detailed treatment of the geography of Kizzuwatna which incorporates a similar diachronical approach is the contribution of J. Börker-Klähn (1996). However, some of her interpretations of the sources have not been followed by most scholars.

After Kizzuwatna was declassified to one of the administrative divisions of the state, other factors, like the cultural, linguistic, religious ones, were at this point in time those particularly defining "Kizzuwatna" (see chapter 6).

2.4 The borders of Kizzuwatna according to the Hittite sources[120]

In a seminal volume for Hittite historical geography A. Goetze addressed the problem of the location of Kizzuwatna (1940): at the time, its location was disputed between the Pontic coast along the Black Sea and the Mediterranean coast. Chiefly on the basis of philological information, Goetze correctly located this territory in southern Anatolia, in particular in Cilicia *campestris* (Gr. *pedias,* "plain Cilicia", modern Çukurova, the eastern part of the Cilician plain). After his work, Late Bronze Age Kizzuwatna had been firmly connected to Cilicia and its plain, where important archaeological sites are also located, such as Adana, Tarsus, Mersin-Yumuktepe, Misis, Sirkeli Höyük, Tatarlı Höyük, Kinet Höyük. There are few uncertainties, instead, on the precise territorial *extent* of Kizzuwatna and the location of toponyms attested in the sources. The natural borders of the geographic region roughly correspond with the Taurus range to the north and the Amanus to the east, to the west with the reliefs of Cilicia *aspera* (Gr. *tracheia,* "rough Cilicia").[121] It is less clear whether Kizzuwatna included larger territories towards the north-east,

[120] Previous works on this topic: Desideri-Jasink 1990, 78-109; Börker-Klähn 1996, Novák-Rutishauser 2012, Hawkins-Weeden 2017. The term *border* is employed here as a broad definition of spatial boundary: on the basis of the reference texts, one has the perception that separation of territories was defined through natural features (mountains, rivers) or settlements. When the references are 'points', it is implied that a 'zone' between two reference points indicated approximately the border, located "in between", with little precision. Thus, the border seems at time perceived as a borderland or buffer zone, and other times as a line, for example when corresponding with the course of a river.

[121] The topographic borders to the west are less well defined, considering the type of landscape. The plain is not interrupted by important reliefs until the outlet of the Göksu, around modern Silifke.

along the Taurus and the Antitaurus[122] up to the plain around Elbistan. The map in *fig. 1* shows different possible projections of the borders and the geographical references found in this chapter.

The partially preserved *Treaty with Sunaššura of Kizzuwatna* (CTH 41) is the only document that provides explicit information on the borders of Kizzuwatna at the very beginning of the Hittite New Kingdom (late 15th c.).[123] The frontiers are discussed in the last paragraphs of the best preserved tablet (KBo 1.5 IV 40-66), here quoted entirely.[124]

40. *iš-t[u]* A.AB.BA ^{uru}*La-mi-ya ša* ^{d}UTU-*ši* ^{uru}*Pí-*^{r}*tu*$^{\neg}$*-ra*$^{r ki\neg}$ 41. *ša* ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu-ra*
i-na bi-ri-šu-nu ZAG *i-ma-an-dá-dú* 42. *ù i-za-a-zu* ^{uru}*La-mi-ya*^{ki} ^{d}UTU-*ši ú-ul i-ba-an-ni* //

43. ^{uru}*A-ru-u-na*^{ki} *ša* ^{d}UTU-*ši it-ti* ^{uru}*Pí-i-tu-ra*$^{r ki\neg}$ ZAG 44. *i-ma-an-dá-dú-ma i-na bi-ri-šu-nu i-za-a-az-*^{r}*zu*$^{\neg}$
45. ^{uru}*A-ru-u-na*^{ki} ^{d}UTU-*ši la i-ba-an-ni* ^{uru}*Ša-a-li-*^{r}*ya*$^{\neg ki}$ 46. *ša* ^{d}UTU-*ši* ^{uru}*Zi-in-zi-lu-wa*^{ki} ^{uru}*E-ri-im-ma*^{ki}
47. *ša* ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu-ra i-na bi-ri-šu-nu* ZAG *i-ma-an-dá-dú* 48. *i-za-a-az-zu* ^{uru}*Ša-a-li-ya* ^{d}UTU-*ši i-ba-an-*^{r}*ni*$^{\neg}$
49. ^{uru}*A-na-mu-uš-ta*^{ki} *ša* ^{d}UTU-*ši* ḪUR.SAG ^{uru}*Za-ba-ar-*^{r}*aš*$^{\neg}$*-na*^{ki}
50. *ša* ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu-ra i-na bi-ri-šu-nu* ZAG *i-ma-an-*^{r}*dá*$^{\neg}$*-du*
51. *i-za-a-zu* ^{uru}*A-na-mu-uš-ta*^{ki} ^{d}UTU-*ši i-ba-an-ni* //

52. *la-bar-ma-an-na* ZAG *ša ki-il-la-li-šu-nu-um-ma* 53. *ša i-na i-di* ^{uru}*Tu-ru-ut-na* LUGAL.GAL *li-ki-il*
54. *ù ša i-na i-di* KUR ^{uru}*A-dá-ni-ya*^{ki} ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu-ra* 55. *li-ki-il iš-tu* ^{uru}*Lu-wa-na*^{ki} ^{uru}*Túr*$^{!}$*-pí-na*^{ki} ZAG
56. *ša* ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu-ra ša i-na i-di* KUR ^{uru}*Ḫa-at-ti* LUGAL.GAL *li-ki-il*
57. *ša i-na i-di* KUR ^{uru}*A-dá-ni-ya*^{ki} ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu-ra li-ki-*^{r}*il*$^{\neg}$ //

58. ^{uru}*Še-ri-ig-ga*^{ki} ša ^{d}UTU-ši ^{uru}*Lu-wa-na*^{ki} *ša* ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-š[u-ra]*
59. ^{íd}*Ša-am-ri* ZAG *-šu* LUGAL.GAL *i-na i-di* KUR ^{uru}*A-dá-ni-ya*^{ki} 60. ^{íd}*Ša-am-ri ú-ul i-ib-bi-ir*
61. ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu-ra i-na i-di* KUR ^{uru}*Ḫa-at-ti*^{ki} ^{íd}*Ša-am-ra la i-ib-bi-i[r]* //

62. *iš-tu* ^{uru}*Zi-la-ap-pu-na*^{ki} ^{íd}*Ša-am-ri* ZAG *iš-tu* [^{uru} _ (_)]
63. ^{íd}*Ša-am-ra lu-ú* ZAG *ša* ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu-ra* ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-*[*šu-ra*]
64. *i-na i-di* KUR ^{uru}*Ḫa-at-ti*^{ki} ^{íd}*Ša-am-ra la i-ib-bi-i[r]*
65. [LUGA]L.GAL *i-na i-di* KU[R ^{ur}]^{u}^{r}*A*$^{\neg}$*-[d]a-[ni-y]a*[^{ki}] [^{íd}*Š*]*a-*^{r}*am*$^{\neg}$*-r[a]* 66. *la* ^{r}*i*$^{\neg}$*-[* _ _ _ _] //

[122] This name refers to the mountain system whose main chains are actually the Binboğa Dağları and the massif to the north, the Tahtalı Dağları.
[123] The documentary history of this text is quite complex (see §7.3.1). The best version is KBo 1.5 (manuscript A), an almost entirely preserved tablet with the Akkadian version of the treaty (ed. Wilhelm 2014b*).
[124] My translation, based on the edition of Wilhelm 2014b*.

40-42. From the sea Lamiya belongs to My Sun, (while) Pitura belongs to Sunaššura. In between they will measure and divide the border(land).[125] My Sun shall not fortify Lamiya.

43-51. Aruna belongs to My Sun. With Pitura they will measure the border(land), and divide between them. My Sun shall not fortify Aruna. Šaliya belongs to My Sun, Zinziluwa and Erimma belong to Sunaššura. Between them they will measure and divide the border(land). My Sun shall fortify Šaliya. Anamušta belongs to My Sun, (while) the mountain (by) Zabarašna belongs to Sunaššura.[126] They will measure and divide the border(land) between them. My Sun shall fortify Anamušta.

52-57. Since long (time), the frontier between them is as follows: what (lies) to the side of Turutna, the Great King shall keep, and what (lies) to the side of the land of Adaniya, Sunaššura shall keep. From Luwatna, Turpina is (i.e. marks) the boundary for Sunaššura. What (lies) to the side of the land of Ḫattuša, the Great King shall keep. What (lies) to the side of the land of Adaniya, Sunaššura shall keep.

58-61. Šerigga belongs to My Sun, (while) Luwana belongs to Sunaššura. The river Šamri is *his* border (i.e. of Sunaššura?[127]). The Great King will not cross (*ūl ibbir*) the river Šamri to the side of the land of Adaniya; Sunaššura shall not cross (*lā ibbir*) the river Šamri to the side of the land of Ḫattuša.

62-64. From Zilappuna, the river Šamri (is) the border. From ^{uru}[ ] the river Šamri is indeed the border for Sunaššura. Sunaššura shall not cross the river Šamri to the side of the land of Ḫattuša. [The Grea]t king shall not cross the river Šamri to the side of the land of Adaniya.

65-x. Not$^{?}$ [... *the tablet is broken afterwards*]

It is possible that this description signals that Kizzuwatna lost some territories to the Hittites in the late 15th c., on the basis of the different formulation in two sections ll. 40-51 and ll. 52-64 (as noted Liverani 2004, 65-66; discussed in §7.3.3b). The first section seems to define a new border, while the second restates

[125] The sentence is: *ina birī-šunu* ZAG *imandadū u izazū* (repeated verbatim throughout). The sumerogram is ZAG, meaning "border territory"; note the use at l. IV 59 and 62, which refers to the river Samri. If this "is" the border, then the concept may be simply "border"; however, it remains possible that these sentences should be interpreted as "(the land) between x *and* the river Samri *is* the border(land)".

[126] Since in this paragraph the border is described referring to settlements, this clause may also mean that Zabarašna is the possession, located in a mountain area ("(...) Zabarašna (on) the mountains").

[127] It appears that the river, while being the border, in some sense belongs to Sunaššura. If so, this is as inviolable as a town, which also can mark a border, as shown in the previous paragraph (Turpina, l. 54). This question has to do with the understanding of boundaries in the document, and it seems possible that, conceptually, these were not a line or a space "in between", but each territory had *its own* border, signaled by a landscape feature or a town that was considered integral part of one's domain.

a situation that existed "since a long time" (*labarmanna,* l. 52, probably connected to *labāriš;* see AHw$_2$ I, 522).

The boundary to the west is clearly set by the river Lamiya (ancient *Lamos*, Turk. Limonlu çay), with the cities of Lamiya and Aruna on the Hittite side, and Pitura in Kizzuwatna. It appears, thus, that the Göksu valley and the port of Ura (if this was located at its outlet) were either Hittite territories or had a different political affiliation. The existence of a later treaty stipulated between Arnuwanda I and the elders of Ura and of other neighbor cities (CTH 144), indicates that the area enjoyed a status of relative autonomy, and shows the Hittite interest in maintaining good relations with the locals, presumably for its access to the sea.[128] There is reason to think that this was the most important port of southern Anatolia, and the principal hub for maritime exchange and communication between central Anatolia and the rest of eastern Mediterranean, both before and after the annexation of Kizzuwatna.[129] Until the end of the Empire period, this area was not part of Kizzuwatna.[130]

The treaty continues its description of the border by listing towns that belong to either Ḫattuša or Kizzuwatna. They are likely located along the Taurus massif, whose peaks seem to correspond to the northern border. The text indicates, before it breaks, that further to the east the river Samri "is the border" (A IV 59; ^{íd}*Ša-am-ri* ZAG-*šu*). This part of the border is less clear, since it is uncertain whether the Samri is identical with the modern river Şeyhan. It has been suggested, alternatively, that one of its tributaries,

[128] Ed. De Martino 1996, 76-79. On the relative autonomy of Ura see De Martino 1999, Casabonne 2005, Matessi 2016, 150 (also n. 58).
[129] See recently Matessi (2016, 130) on this topic. The importance of this route is signaled, for example, by the fact that the RLW-m pottery, probably of north Cypriot origin, is found in quantity in the Göksu valley at Kilise Tepe (Postgate-Thomas 2007) and in north-central Anatolian sites from the 15th c. on.
[130] In the Hittite treaty of Tudhaliya IV with Kuruntiya of Tarḫuntassa (the so called "Bronzetafel", CTH 106), Kizzuwatna and Tarḫuntassa do not seem to border with one another, the second being located further to the west and roughly occupying the Cilicia *aspera*. This shows Ḫattuša still aimed at maintaining direct control on this strip of land allowing direct access to the sea. On the commercial importance of Ura see also the texts of the time of Ḫattusili III, dealing with commercial regulations between Ura and Ugarit (on these sources see Matessi 2016, 144, in particular n.44, 45, 46).

the Zamantı, could be the river corresponding to the border.[131] If that is the case, the frontier would run further north *beyond* the Taurus and the Tahtalı Dağları, so far upstream to include perhaps the pass of the Gezbel, an interesting location for the presence of several rock monuments (see *infra* p. 71-73).[132]

After the section about the Samri river, the tablet is finished with a fragmentary line of text. It is uncertain whether the border description is incomplete, ending quite abruptly. For certain, the treaty must have included at least the list of divine witnesses to the oath and the typical curse formulae (Schwemer 2005a, 99; 106). Since these evidently could not fit in the small missing space, the question is whether a second tablet concluded the document, and eventually included a detailed description of the border further to the east along with the missing sections (see §7.3.1 for more details on this problem).[133]

Until relatively recent years, it was firmly believed that Kizzuwatna did include some north-eastern appendix beyond Cilicia, mainly on the basis of the presumed location of two important sacred centers often mentioned in the Hittite sources, Kummani and Lawazantiya. These were traditionally located in the area around the plain of Elbistan; Kummani, in particular, was firmly associated with a city whose cults were (still) renowned in the classical period, and whose name favored an identification, *Comana Cappadociae* in Cataonia, by modern Şar. Lawazantiya was relatively safely located in the area of the plain of Elbistan, on the basis of a good amount of philological evidence.[134] Since during the 15th c. this area was at the back of the Mittanian territories in the Upper Euphrates, physically separating the central plateau – Hittite territory – from Mittani, the region would have had at that time a relevant strategic role.

[131] Novák-Rutishauser 2012, quoted also in Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 282.
[132] The different interpretation of Börker-Klähn (1996), according to which the Samri is the Ceyhan, does not appear to be followed by any other scholar.
[133] There is a duplicate with the Akkadian version of the treaty (KBo 28.110+) that shows the typical conclusions of a treaty. However, the fragment is largely parallel to KBo 1.5, thus this can't be its second tablet, but rather a different version of the treaty (eventually earlier); see Schwemer 2005a, 98-99.
[134] Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 281.

In the last two decades, various studies changed this picture radically. Arguments have been put forward for the re-location of these two centers from a northern location to far south into the plain of Cilicia, where in fact all the other known cities of Kizzuwatna are located. M.C. Trémouille (2001), in particular, suggested that the overall logic and timing of some ceremonies described in the twelfth tablet of the *(h)išuwa* festival (CTH 628), which contains several place names associated with Kizzuwatna, must follow a local itinerary.[135] The text itself is not very clear on the rites performed, but the crucial passage (vs. I 6´-27´) lists offers of animals and wine accompanied by the elders of various centers to or from Kummani, in what seems to be an itinerary touching Zunnahara, Adaniya, Tarsa and Ellipra, all centers likely located in Cilicia.

The distances of these centers, clustered in Cilicia, from Kummani, suggest a geography hardly compatible with the traditional one, in which some of the centers involved in the rites – like Kummani and Lawazantiya – were located in the surroundings of Elbistan, while others as far as in the plain of Cilicia.

There are several other texts whose content supports this view, and suggests a contiguity of toponyms, to be all sought in the plain.[136] It is not necessary to repeat here the details of this reconstruction, for which see especially Trémouille 2001, and Forlanini 2004a and 2013. Notably, the southern location is also compatible with the itinerary took by Shalmaneser III (859-824 BCE) during the submission of Katei and Qaue (i.e. Que), when he took Lusanda (Lawazantiya), Abarnani and Kisuatni (Kummani/Kizzuwatna) after he crossed the Amanus.[137]

[135] This specific fragment (KUB 20.52 + KBo 9.123) contains rituals dedicated to Teššob of Manuziya.
[136] The other texts at the basis of this hypothesis are the ritual of Pilliya king of Kizzuwatna (CTH 475) and a "festival of the month" for Teššob and Hebat (KUB 54.36), in which ritual actions correlate Kummani, Lawazantiya, Wiyanawanda and the sea. A divination text (KUB 46.37) also quotes Adaniya, Arušna and Kummani one after another. There is also the historical fragment KUB 48.81, discussed in §4.3.2.
[137] Ed. Grayson 1996, 50-56 (IV 26-27); see Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 283-284 for additional references.

If it is correct that these two centers must not be sought outside of the circumscribed area of Cilicia, it is even clearer that the plain was the core of the territory of Kizzuwatna. After this hypothesis was put forward, there have been several proposals to identify the toponyms with archaeological sites: for Lawazantiya, an identification with Hierapolis/Kastabala has been suggested by Forlanini (2004a, 2013), but other possibilities are Tatarlı Höyük (Forlanini 2013, Hawkins-Weeden 2017) and Sirkeli Höyük (Casabonne 2002). However, the excavators of the latter site propose this may be Kummani (see various works by M. Novák; also Forlanini 2004a). For Kummani at Hierapolis-Kastabala and other considerations on Kummani and Comana see the articles of Casabonne (2001, 2002, 2009).

Until written evidence will confirm any of these suggestions, however, precise identifications remain an open question.[138] Additionally, while the re-location of the most important centers of Kizzuwatna in Cilicia (Kummani and Lawazantiya) has been accepted by most scholars, the textual evidence remains somewhat contradictory, which raises some problems with this new geography. For this reason, the following sections discuss in better detail the specific questions of the location of Kummani and Lawazantiya, and consequently the north-eastern borders and extension of Kizzuwatna.

2.5 The location of Lawazantiya

In the recent volume on Hittite geography, D. Hawkins and M. Weeden reviewed the philological evidence for a geography of Kizzuwatna (2017, 281-294). One of the critical open issues is that while several scholars now move Lawazantiya south into the Cilician plain, other contributions consolidated the traditional location of this center in the area of Elbistan, in consideration of other sources, including the Old Assyrian commercial texts found at Kaniš (modern Kültepe).[139] Some Hittite texts appear to

[138] For other possible identifications of toponyms see the review of Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 284-287 with literature.
[139] In particular Barjamovic 2011, 133-143. A Cilician location of the Old Assyrian Luḫuzatiya is impossible, in particular because it is clear that the kanišite commercial network did not crossed the Amanus and the Taurus. See ch. 3 and 4.

contradict a Cilician location as well (see *infra*). Thus, the sources actually provide two contrastive pictures that hardly match, a fact which demands to consider again the possibility of a northern location of Lawazantiya, as well as the impact on the possible extension of Kizzuwatna.

M. Forlanini dedicated an article to this problem (2004a). It is shown that while various texts are coherent with the relocation of Kummani, Lawazantiya and other Kizzuwatnean centers to the Cilician plain, an abundant number of other sources can only be consistent with a northern location of Lawazantiya. It is thus necessary that two different centers with the same name existed.[140] Although spelling variants existed (the most frequent are La/uḫuzatiya and Lawazantiya) according to Forlanini (2004a, 305), it is not possible to link spelling variants of the toponym with the two locations; that is to say, the two forms are entirely interchangeable and indicate full homonymy.

I will review these data considering whether the use of alternative spellings is in fact inconsistent, or it shows any type of distribution.[141] If one can indeed draw a distinction also based on spelling, the hypothesis that these are two distinct centers would gain additional plausibility.

A toponym *Luḫuzatiya* is found many times in the commercial tablets of the Old Assyrian *kārum* at Kaniš/Kültepe. Barjamovic (2011, 133-143), who discussed in detail the attestations and the possible location of this center,[142] located Luḫuzatiya "(…) on a route that branched away from the main thoroughfare between Ḫaḫḫum and Kaniš in Ḫurama.[143] This road lead from Ḫurama via Luḫuzzatiya to Kuššara and Šamuha, and into Anatolia east of Kaneš" (2011, 139). The place would be somewhere east of Kaniš and located on a route into central Anatolia, a fact that is also confirmed by the existence of

[140] Forlanini 2004a; 2013, 8; recently followed by Alparslan 2017, 210.
[141] The reference works for the attestations of the toponym are del Monte-Tischler (1978, 237-238), del Monte 1992 (91). Akdoğan (2019) recently collected all the attestations, with transcriptions of the relevant passages.
[142] In a series of studies, Barjamovic reconstructed a relational geography of the Old Assyrian period trade networks in Anatolia on the basis of the Kaniš texts (Barjamovic 2008, 2010, 2011, 2017).
[143] Ḫaḫḫum was located in the area of Samsat, although an identification is still not possible: see Forlanini 2019, 214 n. 24 for a summary and references to previous discussions.

specific references to smuggling via this route alternative to the main way through Kaniš.[144] This hypothesis implies a slight review of the former proposals for the location of this center, thought to be along the main road between Ḫaḫḫum and Kaniš. The settlement was not in the plain of Elbistan, but further north, perhaps not at a great distance in the direction of Gürun.[145]

This location, after all, corresponds very well with that implied in several Hittite texts that seem to refer to the same geographical area. In particular, several *early* texts from the Hittite context consistently refer to a northern setting for Hitt. Laḫuzantiya/Lawazantiya, to be certainly identified with kanišite Luḫuzatiya. A few attestations come from texts of historical content, reporting on military events of the age of Ḫattusili and Mursili. One of the earliest mentions may be found in CTH 13 (KBo 3.46+; NS/jh. copy)[146], which deals with Hurrian invasions/attacks against some cities, among which [^{uru}*La*$^{?}$]-*ḫu-uz-za-an-ti-ia* (KBo 3.46+, II 24′); the association with Tegarama and Ḫurma suggests a location in south-eastern Anatolia. The reconstruction [^{uru}*La*]- chosen by the editors follows the standard vocalism in the Hittite rendering of the toponym, but one can't exclude this was <lu> either.

Another attestation (CTH 12, KUB 31.64+; NS/jh. copies)[147] requires heavy philological restoration, thus can't contribute to any argument based on spelling. If the reconstruction is correct, contexts points to a northern geographical location: the text would deal with some Hurrian offensive against the cities of Tegarama (^{uru}*ta*-[ ] II 45′; eventually attested also at II 52)[148] and Laḫuzantiya (^{uru}*l*[*a*-; II 46′[149]).

[144] The route apparently allowed to bring goods directly into/from Anatolia, avoiding the taxations imposed from other centers of the trade network; Barjamovic 2011, 135 and 139. See also the clusters in ibid. 138-139.
[145] See also Forlanini 2013, 8 for a location in the Upper Land.
[146] CTH 13: *Res Gestae* or Annals of an Old Kingdom ruler (Ḫattusili I or Mursili I?). Bibl.: Kempinski-Košak 1982, Soysal (diss.) 1989, de Martino 2003, 127-153, Gilan 2015, 243-248.
[147] CTH 12: *Res Gestae* or expeditions of an Old Kingdom ruler (Mursili I?). Bibl.: Soysal (diss.) 1989, de Martino 2003, 155-185, Gilan 2015, 248-253.
[148] Other reconstructions are possible here, e.g. ^{uru}*Ta*-[*ḫa-aš-ta*] (de Martino 2003, 172 n. 499).
[149] After all the spelling would be most likely the same; see the integration of de Martino 2003, 173 "Lahuzzatiya".

The plausible mention of La/uḫuzantiya in a very fragmentary land grant – probably dating around the age of Telipinu - (LSU n. 10, l. 4 in Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 116-117)[150] likely refers to the same center. An eastern geographical setting makes more sense because it is compatible with the mention of the É ^{uru}*Zaruna* (l. 3), a toponym rarely attested but significantly so in the second Syrian campaign of Ḫattusili I; this should be located east of the Amanus,[151] along the north-south rift, and was likely the same city conquered later on by Idrimi of Alalaḫ.[152] A later land grant of Arnuwanda I and Ašmo-Nikkal presumably mentions the same center, although in the irregular spelling ^{uru}*Lu-u*[*ḫ-ḫu-uš*]-*ša-an*-[*di-ia*] (LSU n. 91; see Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 232, 243).

While Barjamovic maintains an open perspective (2011, 142) the mention of ^{uru}*Lu-ḫu-uz-za-an-di-ya* (KBo 1.11, 21´) in the text of the *Siege of Uršu* (CTH 7)[153] also points to the northern location, rather than a Cilician one.[154] From this place an irritated Hittite King (Ḫattusili rather than Mursili) directs some siege operations clumsily managed by his subordinates. The /u/ vocalism of this attestation is remarkable, since it corresponds to the forms in the Old Assyrian texts. Indeed this text is written in Akkadian, and its date and origin are unclear. It is certainly early, though, and the ductus and paleography – not Hittite – have been compared to those of the Tikunani letter (Klinger 1998, 372, also Weeden 2011, 76).[155] Instrumental

[150] Note that Wilhelm integrates ^{uru}*Lu-ḫu-u*]*z-za-an-di-ia* and not <la->, following the spelling of Kaniš.
[151] Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 291-292, contra Forlanini 2001, 555f, 2013, 9-13 who prefers a Cilician setting.
[152] On the Idrimi statue inscription see §5.7.2. The view of Forlanini (2004a, 303) implies a Cilician location of both this Luhuzantiya and Zaruna, which seems to me very unlikely in consideration of the Old Assyrian evidence. Note that the present study reconstructs a quite different geography of the itineraries taken by Ḫattusili I during the Syrian campaigns (§4.2).
[153] KBo 1.11 (*Siege of Uršu*, CTH 7), dating unknown but probably early. Bibl.: Beckman 1995 (ed.), Gilan 2015 (278-295 ed.) Devecchi 2005 (18-20), Miller 1999 (MA diss. transl.), Haas 2006 (transl.).
[154] Differently Forlanini 2004a, 301-302, although his historical overview on the campaigns of Labarna and Ḫattusili seems compatible with a northern Luḫuzatiya (Forlanini 2004b, 383-389). A Cilician setting seems hardly understandable, considering the remarkable distance from the Euphrates, where Uršu was likely located. At any rate, one should consider also the particular nature of this text while extracting historical arguments, for its largely fictional content.
[155] Archi (2010, 40) recalls that this is probably the earliest original extant text from the Hittite capital. Van den Hout (2009b, 78) found that the catalog entry listing the *Army report of Šanta* (KUB 30.71, MH) might refer to this composition.

studies of the clay fabric isolate the object from the tablets from Ḫattuša, and confirm it was probably produced in a center of the Upper Euphrates.[156]

A letter found at Maşat Höyük, HKM 96 (rev. 17'-22'), dating to the early 14th c., also suggests a northern location of Laḫu*waz*antiya, necessarily close to or even *in* the Upper land. The letter dates to Tudḫaliya III (rather than I; see Marizza 2009, 96-97) and was possibly sent by the Great King to a high-rank military official, with a request to mobilize various territories of the Anatolian south-east for the upcoming war against Ḫayaša, in the Upper Euphrates. This is the passage of interest:

rev. 15′ (...) ⌜*nu-za*⌝ *ú-wa-ši* ÉRIN$^{meš.ḫi.a}$ *ni-ni-in-ku-wa-an-z*[*i*]
16′ [*pa-a-i-š*]*i* //

17′ [ÉRIN^{meš} KUR.KU]R^{meš} KUR.UGU-*TIM* KUR ^{uru}*Iš-ḫu-pí-it-ta*
18′ [... KUR $^{ḫur.s}$]^{ag}*Ša-ka*[*d*]*-du-nu-wa* KUR ^{uru}*Ša-na-ḫu-it-t*[*a*]
19′ [...]x KUR [^{uru}]*Tu-u-pa-az-zi-ia*
20′ [KUR ^{uru}*La-ḫ*]*u-u-wa-za-an-ti-ia* KUR ^{uru}*I-šu-wa*
21′ [...]x-*ia* ⌜*ku-it*⌝ *ku-it ŠA* KUR.UGU-*TIM*
22′ [ÉRI]N$^{meš.ḫi.a}$ *na-aš ḫu-u-ma-an-du-uš ni-ni-i*[*k*]

rev. 15-16′. " (...) come (on), you will go (and) mobilize the troops.

17′. [The troops of the(se) land]s: (of?) the Upper Land, the land of Išḫupitta 18. [... the land] of mount Šak(a)dunuwa, the land of Šanaḫuitta, 19′. [...] the land of Tupaziya, 20. [the land of Laḫ]uwazantiya, the land of Išuwa 21-22′. [...], any troops of the Upper Land. All (of them) you will mobilize".

Transcription follows Alp 1991a, 298-301 and the hand copy in Alp 1991b, 96. Essential bibliography on this text in Marizza 2009, 96-97.

The location proposed by Barjamovic would match, since Luḫuzatiya is placed sufficiently to the north of Elbistan to be included in the Upper land. Instead, the content of this letter would be very problematic,

[156] See Goren et al. 2011, 694 (with references to previous studies).

if one locates this center in the Upper Land *and* at the same time considers it a city of Kizzuwatna (if they were one and the same).[157]

These examples show that the spelling slightly varies, but there seem to be a clear connection of all these forms with the kanišite spelling (like in the Uršu text), characterized by the element /ḫu/ and, at times, the residual /u/ vocalism in the first syllable.[158] All these references are compatible with a single location. The text from Maşat, dating to the Early New Kingdom, shows a mixed spelling between Lu/aḫuza(n)tiya and Lawazantiya, the most frequent spelling in the later texts. The form *Lawazantiya* is in fact found only in texts dating after the age of Telipinu (1525-1500) and, perhaps significantly, the large majority of these sources, especially the religious and festival texts, *also* favor a Cilician location of this Kizzuwatnean sacred center. The point is resumed in *Tab. 5*.

Luḫuzatiya	Kaniš texts	north	Old Assyrian period
Lu/aḫuza(n)tiya	Uršu text, LSU 10	north	Old Kingdom
	CTH 13 (la-/lu-); CTH 12 (possibly)	north	Old Kingdom
Lu[ḫḫuš]šan[diya]?	LSU 91	north	Early New Kingdom
Lawaza(n)tiya	Telipinu (Edict)	north	(Late) Old Kingdom
	varia[159]	south*	Early New Kingdom, Empire period
La*ḫuwa*zantiya	Maşat letter (HKM 96)	north	Early New Kingdom
	CTH 706.I.9 (Festival)	south	Empire Period
	CTH 699** (Festival)	south	Empire Period
La?-ḫ[u-	CTH 670 (Festival)	south?	Empire Period

* One exception appears to be CTH 381, who seems to refer to the northern center.

** In this text both spellings Laḫuwazantiya and Lawazantiya are employed referring to same center.

Table 5. Correlation of variants of the toponyms La/uḫuzatiya-Lawazantiya in textual documents, geographical scope (north: central Anatolian plateau; south: Cilicia), and dating of the sources.

[157] See e.g. the arguments made in Alparslan 2017, 210. Note that he considers Kizzuwatna to reach up to Elbistan, so he presents a quite different picture of the issue.

[158] The –hu– part is thus in common with the Old Assyrian name of the city, which differs only for the new vocalism in /a/ of the Hitt. form; more details in Forlanini 2004a, 299, n, 9. It is perhaps important to stress that in the Old Assyrian texts the spelling *Luhuzatiya* is exclusive, and has only minor variants. See all the attestations in Barjamovic 2011, 133, n. 424.

[159] CTH 699 (Festival for Teššob and Ḫebat of Lawazantiya), CTH 500.249A (Fragment of Kizzuwatna Festival), CTH 590 (Fragment of oneiromancy), CTH 381 (Prayer, Muwatalli II), CTH 475 (Ritual of Pilliya of Kizzuwatna), CTH 106 (Bronzetafel), CTH 81.B (Ḫattusili III Apology) and few other fragments of late texts; see Del Monte-Tischler 237 for all attestations.

There seem to be two notable exceptions to the pattern connecting the northern center with the spelling Lu/aḫuzantiya, the same toponym found in the kanišite texts.

The first is the *Edict of Telipinu*, which employs the spelling Lawazantiya.[160] Although it is not clear which of the two centers this is, the northern setting is the most likely,[161] as it fits well with the content of the passage, dealing with upheavals in the Anti-Taurus area (the content of this passage is discussed in detail in §4.3.3). It could be of some significance that the only manuscript where the passage is preserved is a late duplicate.

One wonders if the two spellings, at some point in time, could begin to be confused.[162] If the spelling difference was originally meaningful, but the two forms underwent a process of conflation, it is possible that the original text underwent later interpolation during copy activity. A similar point may be made for mixed forms of the type La-*ḫu-wa*-zantiya (see *infra*).

The second case of interest, instead, is the only late source which appears to *still* mention the northern Laḫuzantiya, although using the "new" spelling, the *prayer of Muwatalli II to the assembly of the gods through the Storm god of Lightning* (CTH 381).[163] The geographical arrangement of a long list with the invocation of gods of all the lands seems to set Lawazantiya in the Upper Land and not in Kizzuwatna (A I 76-77); this is not only showed by the contiguity with other places of the Upper Land and the south-eastern plateau areal (e.g. Ḫurma), but especially by the fact that the local deities are certainly not those of the Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean traditions of Cilician Lawazantiya ("Ḫašigasnawanza of L. and

[160] *Edict* II §25, l. 20-21 ^{uru}*la-wa-az-za-an-ti-ia,* ^{uru}*la-wa-za-an-ti-ia-an;* Hoffmann 1984, 29.
[161] Contra Forlanini (2004a, 303), who, however, acknowledged that alternative readings are plausible.
[162] Copy A (KBo 3.1+), paleographically jh. A minor fragment (223/g + joins) can't be dated for its conditions, while all the other major copies are jh. Two disputed fragments could be paleographically mh., according to HPM (copy G; KBo 7.15 + KBo 12.4; Konk. and copy B KBo 19.96 + KUB 11.1), but neither preserve the passage with the toponym.
[163] Ed. Singer 1996a; Rieken et al. 2013c*. Indeed, there is a spelling irregularity in both manuscripts A (KUB 6.45+ I 76) and B (KUB 6.46 I 41), where the town is spelled *La-u-wa-an-a-ti-ia*, "fixed" in the following lines with a standard spelling *La-u-wa-za-(an)-ti-ia* (see Rieken et al. 2013c*, kolon 48). Forlanini (2004a, 304 n. 35) suggests this is a scribal mistake, with the plausible copy of <A> in place of <ZA> and inversion (restored -⟨*z*⟩*a:an*-). This may signal the uncertainty of the scribe on the correct spelling, especially if the name of the "old" La/uhuzatiya – eventually employed in the model text consulted by this scribe – fell in disuse, in favor of the more frequent Lawazantiya.

Mulliyara").[164] The distance of this passage from the group of Kummani (A I 62-65) does not surprise either, if this Lawazantiya has nothing to do with Kizzuwatna.[165] Instead, if this attestation refers to the northern Laḫuza(n)tiya, it would confirm that the name interpolation did in fact happen at some point in time during the Early New Kingdom or the Empire period, as the few attestations of a "mixed" form (La*ḫuwa*zantiya) would suggest. Of those, the earliest is found in the Maşat letter, but the same form is still employed by the scribes of KBo 17.103+ (CTH 706.I.9) and KBo 21.34 (CTH 699), festival texts for Teššob and Ḫebat.[166] The use of this form in these late tablets is clearly exceptional: the first is the only fragment catalogued under CTH 706 to feature this spelling, while the second shows in fact alternation, the form being used only twice in place of the more common Lawazantiya.[167]

Since the possibility to distinguish the two Lawazantiya is concrete, I would not dismiss – in reason of these few exceptions – the frequent correlation of the two places with spelling *variants* of the toponym. The exceptions can be explained through a process of conflation of two forms originally similar but not identical. In brief, looking at the sources in chronological perspective, the homonymy might be only virtual. The very similar name of the two centers could have, at some point, determined a secondary 'identification' or, rather, a spelling conflation. The evidence suggests that the *earliest* Old Kingdom-related texts (late 17th-15th c., in Akkadian and Hittite), *always* prefer the "kanišite" spelling Laḫuzantiya, characterized by the /ḫu/ component, and never employ the spelling Lawazantiya, whose /wa/ element is distinctive. In addition, when written with the first spelling, the name most certainly indicates a

[164] See Forlanini 2004a, 304 for more details.
[165] The issue is somewhat complicated by the fact that the geographic arrangement of the toponyms is not very consistent: the list follows clearly a criterion of *importance* of the gods, and only secondarily some locations happen to be grouped also according to their geographic proximity. Strictly speaking, it remains possible that this is the Cilician Lawazantiya; for example, a "northern" interpretation requires that an important center of cult like Lawazantiya of Kizzuwatna is absent from the list. Still, it remains probably more complicated to connect the identity of the divine personalities of this center with the well-known traditions of Kizzuwatna.
[166] A transcription of the relevant passages of these two texts in Akdoğan 2019, 7-10.
[167] One attestation in a festival fragment, in KBo 45.101 8′ (CTH 670), is less certain. Akdoğan (2019, 3, 23) transcribes ^{uru}*La-ḫ*[*u-* ...] but the sign <la> is not canonic. It could de <du> or <tu$_3$>. Still, the interpretation is likely considering the context, as the line reads ^{d}*IŠTAR* ^{uru}*La-h*[*u-wa-za-an-ti-ya e-ku-zi*].

location in the surroundings of the Elbistan plain, at the border of the central Anatolian highland, and hardly elsewhere.[168] The spelling distinction and its distribution seems thus hardly coincidental, and beside the change in the vocalism, the OH form is practically identical with the kanišite one.[169] Therefore, in consideration of these elements, I propose to distinguish between a La/uhuza(n)tiya (northern) and Lawazantiya (southern).

Assuming we are dealing with two different locations, it is possible that the growing importance of the Kizzuwatnean sacred center since the Early New Kingdom (see e.g. *The ritual of Pilliya* CTH 475) and during the Empire period, vis-à-vis the distant, and at that point geo-politically and strategically peripheral Luḫuzatiya, led to the confusion between the two forms. The exceptional importance of the Cilician center, and its frequency in a variety of sources, plausibly caused the orthographic confusion and the name "Lawazantiya" was erroneously employed to indicate also the other location, in the rare occasions in which it was still mentioned. Few attestations of mixed spellings seem to show part of the process (HKM 96), but also that some confusion persisted in the late period (CTH 699). Factually, there are virtually no sources at this later time that seem to deal with the northern of the two cities, apart from the copy of an old text which mentioned the similar toponym (*Telipinu Edict*) – perhaps obscure for the scribe of this tablet, – and the elaborate list put together for the *Prayer of Muwatalli*, presumably composed also through archival research into old documents. The frequency of the correlation hereby showed seems hardly coincidental, thus a derived, secondary *homography,* appears to be a more likely explanation than primary homonymy.

[168] At this point, one should perhaps reconsider the reading of a problematic toponym in the AH inscription KARAHÖYÜK/ELBISTAN. Bossert proposed a reading of the sequence POCULUM.PES.*67 as "Lawazantiya" in reason of a possible identity of the sign POCULUM with a root *lah-/lahhu-/lahhuwai-*, refused by Hawkins (2000, 291), but recently re-proposed by Alparlsan (2017, 210). Indeed, the *lah(hu)-* component would perfectly fit the spelling form of the northern toponym, and indicate that the early proposal of Bossert might be correct.
[169] See the detailed arguments of Forlanini 2004a, 299 n. 9. The different vocalism in the Old Assyrian Akkadian vs. Hittite texts, in particular, does not pose particular problems.

The attestations from the documentation of the Empire period are not extremely helpful for a geographic assessment, apart from those employed to reconstruct inter-city itineraries in ritual context and that suggest a Cilician location for Lawazantiya. Beside the few major documents with ritual content, such as the *Festival for Teššob and Ḫebat of Lawazantiya* (CTH 699) and other fragmentary festival texts, like CTH 706.I.9 (ritual for Teššob and Ḫebat), other festivals from Kizzuwatna (CTH 500.249.A), or the *ritual of Palliya king of Kizzuwatna* (CTH 475), only sporadic mentions exist in oracle texts, interpretations of dreams (CTH 590), in the *Bronze Tafel* (CTH 106) and in the Apology of Ḫattusili III (CTH 81). There is also an inventory of metal objects and weapons (CTH 242).

The fact that only later sources clearly suggest a southern location of Lawazantiya does not imply that this was a later foundation; it is possible that this center was not known or not relevant in the geographic and political scope of the Hittite Old Kingdom. Evidently, the absence of *ancient* mentions of the Lawazantiya of Kizzuwatna, considering the importance of this regional center, is not a trivial issue if one believes that the Hittites controlled those territories since a very long time.[170] At a closer look, this alleged incoherence of the sources, especially in respect to Lawazantiya, is determined by a precise historical premise on the history of Kizzuwatna, which has nothing to do with the location of this center per se. This is the argument that Cilicia was controlled by the Hittites already by or even before Ḫattusili I,[171] therefore it would be strange that this center does not appear in the sources at this time.

Chapter 4 deals at extent with this topic. It will be argued that the Hittites did not have in fact consistent contacts with Cilicia until the 15th c.,[172] which also explains the problem of the scarcity of references to Cilicia in the Old Kingdom Hittite sources. This different picture of the history of the centuries 17th-16th removes any contradiction between locating all the Kizzuwatnean centers in Cilicia and the fact that the

[170] A possible solution would be, again, that of the later foundation, but see e.g. also Forlanini (2004a, 305): "quella del Kizzuwatna (i.e. Lawazantiya) ha attestazioni più recenti (...) ma non possiamo dedurre necessariamente che si tratti di una fondazione posteriore".
[171] Forlanini 2004a, 297; also 2007, 273.
[172] See already Ünal 2014, 2017.

sources *do not* speak extensively about them until the 15th c., an age when diplomatic connections with Cilicia/Kizzuwatna became quite important.

The confusion between the two different Lawazantiya, if both were to be connected *a priori* with Kizzuwatna, would further complicate the picture. Instead, Luḫuzatiya is a city different than Lawazantiya and it was certainly not in Kizzuwatna; the sources provide clear indications of this distinction and their geographical distance, and correlation with distinct spellings of the toponyms (with rare exceptions). The problem of two Lawazantiya *in* Kizzuwatna does not exist, since the northern center could never be part of its territories, especially accepting a location in the Upper Land, out of the plain of Elbistan, as G. Barjamovic suggested. The historical reassessment on the Hittite Old Kingdom period in the late-17th and 16th c. proposed in this work (ch. 4), fits particularly well both this geography and the separation of the two centers.

2.6 Kummani and Kizzuwatna

Different is the case of Kummani. The hypothesis that this center was also in Cilicia requires to drop one of the identifications considered most secure, that with Comana Cappadociae (Şar) of the Hellenistic-Roman period, a famous center of cult in Commagene. Accordingly, new identifications have been proposed with Sirkeli or Hierapolis/Kastabala (see *supra*, p. 51-52).

The type and quantity of attestations indicates that Kummani was by far the most important cultic center of the land and probably its political capital. This is suggested by the fact that Kummani *and* Kizzuwatna were considered equivalent during the late Empire period: for its prominence, the city identified the whole land and, vice versa, in some instances Kizzuwatna came to indicate its main sacred town.[173] The

[173] Lebrun 2001, 88; Forlanini 2004a, 305, n. 43. The cases of alternation are listed in Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 281 n. 5. While Kizzuwatna was already <URU> since the earliest attestations, one finds also the URU *Kisuatni* conquered in 9th c. during the campaigns of Shalmaneser III. That Kummani was the capital city would be also suggested by

trend suggests that the regional name fell in disuse in favor of the city name, although without disappearing. J. Börker-Klähn (1996, 72-75) observed that the divine lists in Hittite treaties of the time of Suppiluliuma refer only to Kizzuwatna as land and city, while those of Mursili, Muwatalli and Ḫattusili consistently shifted to Kummani, which may indicate the change happened at the time of Mursili II.

It seems significant that most textual attestations of Kummani belong to the age in which Kizzuwatna came under the Hittite control – around the end of the 15th c. – and especially to the Empire period, when the center achieved particular prominence in Hittite context for its religious importance. There are, however, a few earlier mentions, and some are relevant for historical geography. Among them the small fragment KUB 48.81 – part of a text of unclear content, – is critical evidence as it lists a few toponyms whose setting is clearly Cilicia: the cities are Ataniya (Adana), Arusna and Kummani. The possible implications of this fragment for political history are discussed *infra* in better detail (§4.3.2).

Also in the case of Kummani, the evidence is somewhat contradictory; for example, the text of Zalpa (CTH 3) mentions this center with other toponyms located in the south-eastern fringes of the central Anatolian plateau, namely Ḫurma and Kaniš. In this case the traditional identification of Kummani with Comana/Şar seems plausible.

One explanation may be, like in the case of Lawazantiya, that more than one Kummani existed, but in this case homonymy may have a different background. It has been suggested that this toponym could have been in fact employed to re-name other *sacred* centers or for new foundations for the prestige of the original town. The reason, as Lebrun (2001) proposed, could be that the name Kummani derives from a Luwian root *kumme/i-*[174], which means "holy, sacred", a form that can be compared with a composite

the fact that in the Empire period kings and other members of the royal family there resided during their visits. Presumably, a palace was located at Kummani, as the reference to the "house of My Sun" (É.^{D}UTU-*Šl*) in two festival texts seems to indicate; see a discussion in Trémouille 2001, 71-73. As a relevant cultic center, Kummani must have had an associated archive, with Miller (2004, 256 n. 388).

[174] Luwian, also according to Tischler (2008, 93: *kumma(i)-* "rein, heilig"). However, others suggest a possible derivation of this and other toponyms – e.g. Kumme/ Hitt. Kummiya, the center of cult of Teššob; Kumri, a city mentioned in Nuzi texts – from a Hurrian root *kum-*/*kom-* with the meaning "to build, construct" (from which also

name like later Gr. *Hierapolis* "holy town". The model at the basis of this suggestion is the parallel proliferation of "Hierapoleis" in the Hellenistic world, i.e. that the meaning of the toponym made it suitable for new foundations or for renaming already existent "holy towns".[175] A parallel case may be Qadeš in Syria, based on the Sem. root *qdš* "sacred, holy"; there was at least another center with this name, in the steppe south of Judah, beside the place of the famous battle.[176] It is not implausible that the later Comana in Cataonia/Commagene did derive its name from Kummani *directly*, supposing a process of actual transfer of cults upstream the river Şeyhan into a newly founded center or, alternatively, the renaming of an already existent local sacred center.[177] This might have happened even after the fall of the Hittite Empire, during the Iron Age. In support of a similar explanation is also the existence of another Comana in the classical period, in northern Anatolia (Comana Pontica). It is well-known that this derives from the homonymous center of Commagene on behalf of its important cults, showing precisely a similar process of transfer.[178]

Otherwise, beyond the possible onomastic connection between Kummani-Comana, there is no concrete philological or historical evidence in support of the existence of a second millennium Kummani in Cataonia/Commagene – apart from, perhaps, the mention in the Zalpa text – and even less so archaeological information. There are no known LBA levels at the site of Comana (Şar), and the whole area of Elbistan, Tufanbeylı and later Commagene remains a historical and archaeological blank for the period (see §2.7).

e.g. Kumar/kum=ar; Kumarbi/kum=ar=ve): Wilhelm 1994, 317-318 and Giorgieri 2000, 294; also in Richter 2012, 221. Lebrun 2001 (87) maintained that *kumma-/kummi-* was a Hurrian stem with the meaning "sacré, saint".

[175] See in detail Forlanini 2004a, 305, n. 43, Casabonne 2003, 2009.

[176] Suggestion D. Fleming.

[177] For a possibly different derivation of the name Comana from Kammanu (and not Kummani), a place in the Malatya region see Casabonne 2009.

[178] Epigraphic evidence shows that Comana Cappadociae/Cataoniae was regarded as a *hierapolis*, indicating the importance of its local cults of Ma-Enyo (Strabo XI, 521; XII, 535, 537), transferred also to Comana Pontica.

I am inclined to think only *one* Hittite Kummani existed, and that this was located in Cilicia, also for another reason: since in many religious texts dealing with Kizzuwatna the two towns of Lawazantiya and Kummani are connected directly or indirectly, it is interesting that in all the texts of the Old Kingdom which refer to Laḫuzantiya – for which a northern location can be established independently – Kummani is *never* mentioned.[179] Kummani is also unknown in the Old Assyrian texts. Both facts strongly contradict a northern location of *both* the Kizzuwatnean sacred cities, as well as the existence of a northern Kummani. Vice-versa, one of the rare mentions of Kummani in a fragment of certain early age or origin (late 17th-15th c.) confirms a Cilician location, together with cities whose identification is virtually certain, Tarsus and Adana (KUB 48.81).

The only problem, at this point, is the reference to Kummani in the *Zalpa text*, which remains – in my view – quite obscure (discussed in §4.3.2). The rest of the sources require that this Kummani must refer to a Cilician center, thus while different solutions must be kept into consideration, at the light of the rest of the evidence, the single attestation favoring a northern location clearly remains isolated.

2.7 The eastern limits of Kizzuwatna: philological and archaeological evidence

The traditional assumption that Kizzuwatna was a long strip of land which included Cilicia and bordered the south-eastern edge of the Anatolian plateau along the Anti-Taurus massif, and perhaps extended far to the north between the 'Upper Land' and the upper Euphrates' region, was based on two arguments: 1) the alleged location of Kummani and Lawazantiya; 2) the strategic meaning of this area in the context of the conflict between the Hittite kingdom and Mittani during the 15th and the first half of the 14th c.

[179] Considering the number of attestations, Kummani appears to be way more important than Cilician Lawazantiya. The latter center seems to have enjoyed moments of particular vitality under the favor of some members of the Hittite royal house, notably queen Pudo-Ḫeba. Still, in several texts the two centers are mentioned together, perhaps trivially because they were geographically close, and both seats of important cults.

Having dealt with the problem of the location of Kummani and Lawazantiya, one of the two reasons for a "great" Kizzuwatna has fallen. However, this doesn't exclude the possibility that Kizzuwatna extended out of Cilicia towards the north-east, in the area limited by the course of the Ceyhan river to the south-east, and to the north by the Tahtalı Dağları, even just for the fact that we don't know much at all about this area in general. It is thus necessary to deal with the second argument, which involves the strategic role and the political-administrative affiliation of the region through time.

The philological evidence for the eastern frontier of Kizzuwatna is only indirect, and was recently reviewed by Hawkins and Weeden (2017, 287-294). Approaching the problem, they discussed the location of some territories and centers of the Upper Euphrates and the mountainous area south-west of it, since the approximate location of these lands could give hints of the extension of Kizzuwatna as well. The authors showed that Tegarama was more or less equivalent with the plain of Elbistan, right to the west of Išuwa and Malatya, and separated by the Binboğa massif from the plain of Commagene to the south and the area around Tufanbeylı, roughly corresponding to later Cataonia (see the map in *fig. 1*). In the area of the plain was also the important settlement of Ḫurma and its territory. Note that both Ḫurma and Tegarama are attested in the Old Assyrian texts as well.[180] South of the mountains was possibly Armatana, a land mentioned only in very few documents which seem to indicate that it was bordering with Kizzuwatna (to its north, west, or maybe both). It seems plausible that at least the Amanus chain was the natural barrier between Kizzuwatna and other eastern territories. Since the location of Tegarama in Elbistan is supported also by the kanišite materials, and considering that many attestations of this toponym are found until late time,[181] it seems reasonable to think that Tegarama was never part of

[180] On Ḫurama/Ḫurma and Tegarama Barjamovic 2011, 180-187; 122-132.
[181] Edict of Telipinu, (CTH 19), treaty of Suppiluliuma with Sattiwaza (CTH 51), "Annals" of Suppililuma (CTH 40.IV.1A/D) Annals of Mursili II (CTH 61.II), prayer of Muwatalli II to the assembly of the gods (CTH 381), the aforementioned decree of Ḫattusili III for the *hekur*-Pirwa (CTH 88), a fragment of cult inventory (CTH 530) a KIN oracle (CTH 572) and a ritual fragment (CTH 470.110) (RGTC 6, 383-384; RGTC 6/2, 154).

Kizzuwatna, but rather a neighbor directly to the east. This is actually explicit in KBo 6.28, vs. 12 ff., a text of the time of Ḫattusili III (CTH 88):[182]

> 12. *nu-za* ^{URU}*Ša-mu-ḫa-an* ZAG-*an i-ia-a*[*t* ^{LÚ}KÚR ^{URU}]*I-šu-wa-aš-ma ú-et* [*nu* ^{UR}]^{U}*Te-ga-ra-ma ḫar-ga-nu-ut* 13. *e-de-ez-ma* ^{LÚ}KÚR ^{URU}*Ar-ma-ta-na-aš* [*ú-et*] *nu a-pa-a-aš-ša* KUR.KUR^{M}[$^{EŠ\ U}$]^{RU}*ḪA-AT-TI ḫar-ga-nu-ut* 14. *nu-za* ^{URU}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na-an* URU-*an* [ZAG-*an i-ia-a*]*t* ^{U}[^{RU}*Ḫa-at-*]*tu-ša-aš-ša* URU-*aš ar-ḫa* 15. *wa-ar-nu-wa-an-za e-eš-ta*
>
> "He made Šamuḫa the border; but then came the enemy from Išuwa, and devastated Tegarama. But from another direction [came] the enemy from Armatana, and he also devastated the territories of Ḫattuša. And (the enemy) [mad]e Kizzuwatna – the city (i.e. Kummani) – [the border], and the city of [Ḫat]tuša was completely burned".

The passage refers to conflicts at the time of Tudḫaliya III, through the topos of the "concentric invasion".[183] The text indicates rather clearly that here "Kizzuwatna" stands for Kummani, and that the enemy reached *into* its territory until its capital. It seems that here the specific reference to "the city" was meant in fact to disambiguate between the city name and the territorial definition, whose common identification could lead to some confusion.[184] Similarly, note how the following reference to "*the city* of Ḫattuša" (^{u}[^{ru}*Ḫat*]*tušaš=ša* URU-*aš*) also specifies that the city itself was burned, while in l. 13 <KUR.KUR^{m}[$^{eš\ u}$]^{ru}*ḪA-AT-TI*> refers to the vast "lands" in possession of the kingdom. Since Kizzuwatna clearly remains separated from Tegarama, at this time its territory did not reach beyond the mountain ranges of the Antitaurus to the east.

Thus, if Kizzuwatna had a north-eastern extension, one should at least exclude the plain of Elbistan (to the east, beyond "border 2" in *fig.1*). Its extent might have included, instead, the historical Cataonia, that

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[182] *ḫekur*- Pirwa text of Ḫattusili III. A proper edition of this text is not available yet; a partial edition in Goetze 1940, 21-22. Discussed in Christiansen 2012, 293-296, Stavi 2013, 133 ff. and 2015, 38-43; Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 288.

[183] On the problematic historicity of the "concentric attack" described in this text, the late date of the document and its political nature, see the remarks of Stavi 2013 (134-135 and ff.), with additional bibliography on the scholarly interpretations.

[184] Although, of course, the scribes could simply say "Kummani". Perhaps the accent is put on the fact that while the enemy made Kizzuwatna (intended as a territory) their border, more specifically they were able to reach until the core area of its capital. Note that while I emphasized this reading in my translation, the accusatives <^{uru}*Kizzuwatnan* URU-*an*> may be intended in partitive apposition, and rendered simply "the city of Kizzuwatna" (see GHL 247-248, §16.24).

is to say the plain around Tufanbeylı and the area of the Binboğa dağları along with part of the Tahtalı and the pass of the Gezbel, a location of strategic importance, being a direct access from the Upper Euphrates to central Anatolia (see "border 2").[185] The course of the Şeyhan, in particular, allowed a convenient connection of this area with the Cilician plain. Matessi[186] proposes that this route was perhaps the "sea route" (*kiaže=ne=*[*ve=ne=ve*?] *… šatt=id=o ḫari*, "they take the route of … of the sea"; 12′ and 13-14′) mentioned in the Hurrian Kayalıpınar tablet Kp 05/226, which describes military activities during the Early New Kingdom (see §7.6). This was clearly an important itinerary – alternative to the *via Tauri* (see chapter 4) – to reach both Kizzuwatna and Syria, a route marked also by a cluster of landscape monuments located in the proximities of the Gezbel pass.[187]

The map in *fig. 1* shows a location of La/uhuzatiya north of Tegarama in the east. If this center has nothing to do with Kizzuwatna, as previously suggested, the interpretation of several sources relevant for the problem of the eastern border of Kizzuwatna becomes straightforward. For example, the issues in reading the aforementioned letter HKM 96 (*supra* p. 56-57 and n. 157) disappear, by accepting even just a partial re-size of a "great Kizzuwatna" and dismissing the conflation of the two Lawazantiya in a single location.

Ḫurma, also located east of the main mountain ranges, was not part of Kizzuwatna, but was territorially independent or perhaps affiliated to Tegarama, given their proximity. Ḫurma had been in the Hittite sphere of influence from a very early time, as it was frequently involved in the military campaigns of Ḫattusili and Mursili. At the end of 16th c. this center is also mentioned alongside the cities seat of storage houses (É$^{meš\ na4}$KIŠIB "houses of the seal") of the central administration of Telipinu (KBo 3.1+; see Hoffman

[185] Note that a similar extension overlaps with various territorial entities in later period, for example the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia (1080-1375 AD), and even the modern province of Adana in the Turkish republic. The morphology of the territory might have favored a coincidence of these borders with geographic-administrative areas throughout time; similar remarks in Börker-Klähn 1996.
[186] Matessi *forthcoming*.
[187] On this "mountain pathway" see Ünal 2014, 478-479.

1984, 40, III 22). Finally, Ḫurma appears to be outside the scope of Kizzuwatnean cultural domain, if this indication is any relevant for the question of political-administrative affiliation.[188]

Another letter from Maşat Höyük-Tapikka (HKM 74[189]) gives information on the strategic role of the eastern frontier of Kizzuwatna, although it does not help for its precise definition. It recounts a dispute between Kantuzzili, one of the sons of Arnuwanda I and SANGA of Kizzuwatna, and Kaššu, a Hittite official mentioned in several letters found at Maşat. The topic of the letter is the request of Kantuzzili to return a group of individuals that were at the dependencies of the SANGA, a request that Kaššu had not yet fulfilled despite the reminder sent with a previous letter. The justification for which Kaššu held these people, we learn, was that the territory he was administering was a "primary watch(post)/(tower)" (Hitt. *hantezziš auriš*), that is to say a frontier district with special status, and probably in need of more forces than those currently assigned. The priest's reply reminds that Kizzuwatna is also *hantezziš auriš,* so Kaššu's excuse would not be sufficient to dissuade him from addressing the issue to the Great King in person, if he will not comply with the restitution.[190]

The letter content is not strictly probative of a broader extension of Kizzuwatna in the east, since its territory was presumably considered "frontier district" even if this was limited to Cilicia. Mittani in 15th c. controlled Aleppo, Alalaḫ and the upper Euphrates territories surrounding Kizzuwatna both east and south, and important passages existed through the Amanus directly connecting Cilicia with the east. The "Porta Amanica", to the north, by Zincirli and Tilmen Höyük, and the "Pylae Syriae" at the Belen pass, which leads directly to the south into Mukiš and Alalaḫ. Therefore, whether Kizzuwatna included or not

[188] The ritual attributed to Ḫantitaššu, a woman from Ḫurma (KUB 58.94 IV 4´-6´; Ed. Chrzanowska 2016*) has no Hurrian/north Syrian component, typical of the Kizzuwatna tradition (Miller 2004, 450). Similarly, the 'Ḫurmian' origin of the unknown scribe mentioned in the preserved duplicates of the second tablet of the *ritual of Pilliya king of Kizzuwatna* (CTH 475) is no proof that this center was part of its territory, as Beckman (2013, 143) already stressed.
[189] Ed. Alp 1991a, 262.
[190] On the special status of the frontier districts see recently Gerçek 2017c, 127-129.

Cataonia among its territories does not change its status of *ḫantezziš auriš,* and of "buffer state" physically located between the two Hittite and Mittanian superpowers.

The Upper Ceyhan area is characterized by a series of plains of limited extension surrounded by mountains and uplands. Archaeologically, Commagene (modern provinces of Adıyaman and Maraş) and Cataonia (Elbistan plain), in comparison with other territories of Anatolia, are poorly investigated and even survey works did not provide a clear picture of the settlement pattern and the periodization.[191] Even the intensive salvage surveys and the few excavations carried out before the inundation of vast zones around the Euphrates, where dams were built between the '70s and '90s – including the enormous tell at Samsat (ancient Samosata), – did not yield significant results.[192] For the M-LBA the whole region remains a grey area both historically and archaeologically (Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 290). It appears that the halt "(...) of long-distance trading routes between Anatolia and Mesopotamia, due to hostilities between the Hittites and their eastern neighbours, may have led to declining occupation in some frontier regions such as the Adıyaman plain" (Brown-Wilkinson 2017, 153). Archaeological indicators suggest in fact a generalized decline of occupation in northern Syria and south-eastern Anatolia in the LBA, but this process seems to have begun already in the MBA.[193] Although some centers achieved regional importance, and Karkemiš even became a *vice-royaume* of the Hittites in Syria, the settlement pattern in the region indicates decline in the localized rural settlements. This might as well indicate concentration of population in few key sites that had high level of international connectivity (Brown-Wilkinson 2017, 154). No toponyms have been localized with certainty in Elbistan or the area of Maraş. In the Elbistan,

[191] On the archaeology of Elbistan and the Upper Euphrates see the recent summary of Brown-Wilkinson 2017.
[192] As concerns the Elbistan, beside surveys during the 50s and 60s, see some reports on recent surveys in Konyar 2007-2011 and a summary on the regional settlement development in Çifçi-Greaves 2010. On settlement trends see also Glatz 2009, 133 who underlines the insufficiency of the data for the whole area south of the Anti-Taurus.
[193] Brown-Wilkinson 2017, 152.

the only excavated site is Karahöyük (Özguç – Özguç 1949), by far the largest site in the region and the only one apparently fortified.[194]

Among the archaeological evidence, the rock-carved monuments (reliefs and inscriptions)[195] in the area of the Gezbel pass, dating to the Hittite Empire period, are particularly remarkable. These monuments are relevant for two main reasons; the first is that these rock works signal the importance of this mountain itinerary in the Hittite perspective. It is likely that this passage allowed the Hittite troops to reach Syria since the Old Kingdom, and the landscape monuments, some of which are of royal dedication, indicate the continuity in use but also the ideological significance of the location.[196] Ullman (2014) suggested that the monuments marked indeed the main military itinerary leading to the Euphratic zone and northern Syria. Second, this is a rather unique case of monuments' cluster concentrated in a circumscribed zone, distributed on both sides of the mountains and in the area immediately to the north, next to a bend of the Zamantı river. The several reliefs along the way to the pass feature Anatolian Hieroglyphic inscriptions, named after the localities of Fraktın, Imamkulu, Taşçı and Hanyeri, the last right up the road of the actual mountain pass.[197] The landscape north of the mountains is also particularly

[194] Brown-Wilkinson 2017, 151.

[195] On rock monuments and reliefs in Anatolia in general see Ehringhaus 2005 and Glatz-Plourde 2011. See also the useful website *Hittitemonuments.com* by T. Bilgin, with locations, pictures and brief descriptions.

[196] This would demonstrate a particular predilection for this passage and itinerary, which allowed to travel directly to the south from a north-central Anatolian direction. The question of the itineraries will be addressed in detail in chapter 4 (§4.2).

[197] A precise "political" interpretation of the setting of these monuments is provided in Glatz-Plourde 2011, 46: "Together with four additional reliefs of officials and princes (see below), Fıraktın forms part to a vibrant internal contest over the control of a valley system that provides access to Cilicia, southeastern Turkey, and the riches of the Levant." Here follows a brief overview of the carvings and of the content of the inscriptions:
FRAKTIN: two adjacent offering scenes with great king Ḫattusili III offering in front of an altar to a male god (Teššob?: DEUS-) and the great queen Pudo-Ḫeba offering to a seated female goddess, identified as Ḫebat (DEUS*ḫi*); the characters are identified by Anatolian Hieroglyphic inscriptions. An additional panel identifies the queen as "daughter of the Land of Kizzuwatna, beloved by the gods". ***Date:*** Ḫattusili III (early 13th C.).
TAŞÇI: Taşçı **A**; heavily damaged representation of a procession (?) of a female and two male figures with hieroglyphic inscription, not entirely clear. Hawkins 2005, 292-293 suggests: "Manazi, daughter of Lupaki the Army-Scribe (son of ?) Zida the *MEŠEDI*-man, servant of Ḫattusili." Taşçı **B**; male figure, unreadable inscription. ***Date:*** A) Ḫattusili III (early 13th C.).
IMAMKULU: male warrior figure of "prince" Ku(wa)lamuwa; weather god stepping on bull-drawn chariot, standing on mountain gods and demons/genies; goddess on stylized tree and flying bird. ***Date:*** tent. Mursili II (late 14th C.).

suggestive, dominated by the southern slope of the Erciyes stratovolcano, highest peak in central Anatolia with 3917 m of elevation and a topographic prominence on the plateau of 2419 m. It does not surprise that this combination of factors was particularly appealing for the Hittite sensitivity to the landscape.

It has been suggested that these reliefs might signal the border between the Hittite territories and Kizzuwatna. A specific reason is the content of the relief Fraktın, located along the bank of a small tributary of the Zamantı (Enzel Dere). This consists of two adjacent offering scenes with great king Ḫattusili III (1273-1245) offering in front of an altar to a male god (Teššob[?]: DEUS-) and the great queen Pudo-Ḫeba offering to a seated female goddess, identified as Ḫebat (DEUS*Ḫi*). Next to the image of Pudo-Ḫeba, an additional panel identifies the queen as "daughter of the Land of Kizzuwatna, beloved by the gods" *ká-zu(wa)*$_{=*285}$*-na* REGIO FILIA DEUS *á-za-mi*. The reference to the origins of the Great Queen is unique within the LBA Anatolian Hieroglyphic inscriptions, and also stands out visually, isolated from the main panel. It is possible that the mention honors the eminent 'citizen' of Kizzuwatna in correspondence to this border area, if, from a Hittite perspective, ancient travelers knew that the nearby mountain pass was the entrance to its territory.

However, the reference in the titulary of Pudo-Ḫeba is not ultimately probative of this particular meaning of the monument; in fact, the mention of the queen's Kizzuwatnean origin is typical of her official documents, for example in seals. The titulary was probably standardized, and even the Egyptian description of the sealings of the Hittite-Egyptian treaty did not fail to mention this detail: "Pudo-Ḫeba, Great Queen of the land of Ḫattuša, *daughter of the land of Kizzuwatna/Kummani,* priestess beloved of the Sun-goddess of Arinna".[198]

HANYERI/GEBELI: male warrior figure of "prince" Ku(wa)lanamuwa; smaller bull standing on altar (?) and mountain god, with inscription "Šarruma, king of the mountain"; inscription "prince Tarḫuntapiyammi". ***Date:*** tent. Mursili II (late 14th C.).

[198] Discussion in Breyer 2013, 38-39.

There is another element of interest regarding this relief. In a very insightful analysis, Alexander (1998, 16) showed that the Fraktin relief was probably recarved, and that the two groups were not created at the same time and by the same sculptor. In particular, there is reason to think the female group was made later than the rest of the relief, and remains unfinished. One possibility is that it was added to the pre-existing relief only after the royal marriage of Pudo-Ḫeba and Ḫattusili. In this sense, the extra panel with the AH inscription about the queen's Kizzuwatnean origins acquires saliency. The reason for which the location was particularly indicated for the display of the queen's Kizzuwatnean pride could be the importance of this route – at least since the New Kingdom period – for reaching Cilicia directly through the upper course of the Şeyhan (*fig. 1*). The connection of the monuments with the itinerary is also supported by the existence of another relief, in Cilicia, with remarkable stylistic-iconographical similarities with the relief of Hanyeri at the Gezbel, by Hemite (now Gökçedam).[199] This means that the reference to the Kizzuwatnean origins of Pudo-Ḫeba would still be compelling even if the border of Kizzuwatna was located elsewhere further south.

The interest of the location and the concentration of monuments seems to be tied to the longevity of the itinerary and the symbolic-ideological role of the direct passage from and to central Anatolia towards the south and east. Ultimately, whether or not the monuments marked the boundary with Kizzuwatna, in particular Fraktin, remains a matter of conjecture.

[199] Ehringhaus 2005, 107-111. Both reliefs depict a male warrior figure with long spear and bow, one identified as "prince Ku(wa)lanamuwa", the other as "Tarḫunta, son of Tarḫuntapiya". At Hanyeri the name Tarḫuntapiyami is mentioned too, although it is unclear whether this inscription was added later next to the relief. While it is difficulty to date the reliefs with some precision and to identify the various individuals, both should date in the 13th c. (Glatz-Plourde 2011, 56, tab. 2). Note that the name of prince Ku(wa)lanamuwa/Ku(wa)lamuwa identifies the main persons depicted in both the Hanyeri and the Imamkulu reliefs, set at the two opposite sides of the pass through the Tahtalı.
HEMITE: Tarḫunta, prince, son of Tarḫu(nta)piya$^{?}$, prince (x-TONITRUS REX.FILIUS/ TONITRUS-DARE$^{?}$ REX.FILIUS FILIUS),
GEZBELI/HANYERI: 1) "king of the mountain, Šarruma": REX MONS ^{DEUS}SARMA/ ENSIS DEUS MONS"; 2) Prince Kuwalanamuwa (EXERCITUS-*mu* REX.FILIUS); and Prince Tarḫuntapiyami" (REX.FILIUS TONITRUS.DARE$^{?}$-*mi*), perhaps added *later* to the monument. By the way, a Kuwalanamuwa is also quoted at the very distant relief of Akpınar at mt. Sypilos, close to the Aegean coast; it seems that we have to consider this a different individual.

But if the area *was* included in Kizzuwatna in 15th c., one must think that the Hittites had necessarily lost it at some point, since it seems clear that they had controlled the pass stably during the Old Kingdom (e.g. Börker-Klähn 1996, 54-55), and here the Hittite armies probably crossed the mountains to reach northern Syria. In fact the Old Hittite kingdom texts suggest that the Hittites were able to pass relatively undisturbed through the series of local city states south-east of the plateau, which indicates the disperse nature of the local political-territorial fabric. After the time of Telipinu, the control of this passage through Cataonia, of the plain of Elbistan and the region of the Antitaurus maintained great geopolitical importance, being this the forefront to the territories where Mittani had emerged as a super-regional kingdom to become a constant concern for the Hittite state.[200]

2.8 The problem of CTH 133, an oath imposed by Arnuwanda I to the men of Išmirikka

One last document must be introduced for the topic of geography, a text issued by Arnuwanda I which is essentially an oath sworn to the king by the men of Išmirikka (KUB 23.68, CTH 133).[201] Išmirikka, a toponym mentioned only in this document and in few other useless fragments, is tentatively located along the Euphrates, north of Karkemiš and south of Išuwa; a connection has been proposed with the modern town of Siverek.[202] The text is of interest here because one passage concerns the relocation of some Išmirikkan soldiers from previous locations to other places, most located in Kizzuwatna, by this time a Hittite territory. There are, however, some problems in understanding some of these transfers. In rs. ll. 11-16 the re-location of a group of them in new settlements *in* Kizzuwatna is particularly confusing, as it appears that some of them have been re-settled *in* Waššukkana (i.e. Waššukkani, the capital of

[200] On the emergence of Mittani see the contributions (in particular by S. de Martino and J. Klinger) in the volume edited by Cancik-Kirschbaum et al. 2014; on this period see chapter §5.2.
[201] Ed. Kempinski-Košak 1970; a recent translation in Beckman 1999, 13-17. Briefly discussed in Börker-Klähn 1996, 67-70 and Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 291. It is not entirely certain that this text can be catalogued as a treaty; see the discussion in Devecchi 2015a, 25-26.
[202] Recently Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 291.

Mittani). The problem was discussed, among others, by Beal (1986, 437-439) and recently Hawkins and Weeden (2017, 291). They all excluded, of course, that Waššukkani could ever be part of Kizzuwatna at any point of its history, since this center was located some 300 km far east in the Khabur basin – whether it was Tell Fekheriye or not.[203] Tentatively, Weeden and Hawkins suggest that a second foundation with this name must have been created in Kizzuwatna during the age of Mittanian hegemony, and this is the center to which the text refers.[204]

The first individual connected with Waššukkani is clearly said to be coming *from* this center and re-located *in* Kizzuwatna in another town (Zazlippa):

> KUB 23.68 rs. 11-12: (…) ^{m}*E-ḫal-te-eš* LÚ ^{uru}*Iš-mi-ri-ga* 12. [*I-NA* KUR ^{u}]^{ru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni-ma-*ʳ*aš*ʾ*-ši* EGIR-*an* ^{uru}*Za-az-li-ip-pa-aš* URU-*aš e-eš-ta-ma-aš I-NA* ^{uru}*Wa-aš-šu-uq-qa-n*[*i*]
>
> "(All you men of the land of Išmirika must stand by the oath.) Eḫalte, man of Išmiriga: [in the land of] Kizzuwatna – secondarily – Zazlippa (is) his city; but he was *in* Waššukkani".

The sentence does not create particular problems. Since these people are soldiers, one can assume this person – perhaps a mercenary – was stationed in Mittani, at Waššukkani. In the following lines, however, concerning the case of four other individuals, the text unmistakably states that "in Kizzuwatna, Waššukkanna (is) his city".

> (KUB 23.68 rev. 13-14): 13. [^{m}_ _ _ *-i*]*š* LÚ KUR ^{uru}*Iš-mi-ri-*ʳ*ga*ʾ *I-NA* ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni-ma-aš-ši* ^{uru}*Wa-aš-šu-*ʳ*ga-an*ʾ*-na-aš* URU-*aš* ^{m}*Wa-ar-*ʳ*la*ʾ*-wa*-LÚ
>
> 14. [LÚ KUR ^{uru}*I*]*š-mi-ri-ga* URU-*aš-ma-*[*aš-š*]*i* ^{uru}*Zi-ya-zi-ya-aš I-NA* KUR ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-*[*at-ni-ma-aš-š*]*i* ^{uru}*Wa-aš-šu-uq-qa-na-aš* URU-*aš*
>
> 15. [^{m}_ _ _]x LÚ KUR ^{uru}*Iš-mi-*[*ri-g*]*a* URU-*aš-ma-aš-ši* ^{uru}*Zi-ya-zi-ya-aš I-NA* ^{uru}*Ki-i*[*z-z*]*u-wa-at-ni-ma-aš-ši* ^{uru}*Wa-aš-šu-uq-q*[*a-na-aš* URU-*aš*]

[203] J. Börger-Klähn (1996, 99) tried indeed to create a map of the Kizzuwatna of the Išmirikka treaty, with a long "corridor" that reaches Waššukkanni (*fig. 4*).

[204] As already contemplated Beal (1986, 438). Since this solution was considered too unlikely, he considered, alternatively, that eventual far-reaching conquests against Mittani at the time of Arnuwanda could be allocated to Kizzuwatna as an integral "province" of the kingdom. The problem with this view is that it remains also unlikely to think the Hittites could, at this time, conquer territories in Mittani as far as Waššukkanni.

16. [^{m}_ _ _] LÚ KUR ^{uru}*Iš-mi-*[*ri-g*]*a* URU-*aš-ma-aš-ši* ^{uru}*Zi-iz-zi-ya-aš e-eš-zi-ma-aš I-NA* ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na* ^{uru}*Wa-aš-šu-uq-*[*qa-an-ni*]

13. "[...], man of Išmirika, in Kizzuwatna Waššukkani (is) his city. Warlawa-ziti, 14. man of Išmirika: his city (is) Ziyaziya, but in the land of Kizzuwatna, Waššukkani (is) his city."
15. "[...], man of Išmi[rik]a: his city (is) Ziyaziya, but in Kizzuwatna, Waššuk[kani (is) his city] 16. [...], man of Išmi[rik]a: his city (is) Zi⟨ya?⟩zziya, but he is in Kizzuwatna, (namely) in Waššuk[kani]."

While it is not specified where the first person was re-allocated *from*, for the last three we find the additional remark: "Ziyaziya (is) his city", with a slightly different formulation at l. 16. Although the sentences seem to be linguistically transparent, the meaning of the passage is rather puzzling.

What does it mean in fact, for the last three, that Ziyaziya "is their city" (i.e. the 'originary' or 'adoptive'?) and, at the same time, that their city "is Waššukkani *in* Kizzuwatna"? Differently, Eḫalte was *previously* in Waššukkani, but his new city in Kizzuwatna is another one. Note that in the case of Eḫalte the "adoptive" town is also listed first, with the remark "afterwards, secondarily" (EGIR-*an*), and the city of provenience is in second position, whereas for the others the order is inverted. Considering these elements, one possibility is that the scribe phrased the sentences in l. 13-16 mistakenly. Signals of this might be: 1) the deficient description in the case of the first individual after Eḫalte (l. 13) – unless the reason is that he is also to be re-assigned to Zazlippa, thus the information was not repeated as considered implicit; 2) the order of the toponyms in the last three individuals of the group – all connected to the place name Ziyaziya (Zizziya, for the third, mistaken?), – i.e. the towns of arrival and departure are inverted vis à vis the first entry; 3) the very fact that in all these cases Waššukkanni (presumably the capital of Mittani) is said to be in Kizzuwatna, which is impossible.

While this solution is hardly satisfactory either, the idea that a town Waššukkanna existed in Kizzuwatna (Hawkins and Weeden 2017, 291) remains also quite unlikely. It is true that there are cases of relocations *within* Kizzuwatna in this list: further, some men "from Zazlippa" (the new home of Eḫalte) were moved elsewhere (rs. 24) – with the difference that these persons are not Išmirikkans. But if really a second

foundation named after the Mittanian capital did exist in Kizzuwatna the problem remains that no other sources ever mention it. Thus, the problem of the interpretation of this locus remains open.

For the present topic one can – at least – exclude historically that Kizzuwatna at this point in time stretched further east as far as Waššukkanni in Mittanian territory (as in *fig. 4*), and that a different explanation must be sought.

2.9 Conclusions

While the goal of this chapter was not to solve the many problems in the reconstruction of a geography of Kizzuwatna, it presented the main open questions on Lawazantiya and Kummani, on the location of the eastern borders, and proposed some solutions to various questions. Some other issues remain open to discussion. Some of the present interpretations, apart from historical geography, also impact the reading, interpretation and contextualization of some written sources, especially those from the Old Hittite kingdom.

From the discussion presented in this chapter, one can derive few fundamental points:

1. The broad identification of Kizzuwatna with Cilicia seems correct and it is hardly disputable that this was the *core* of its territory. There is virtually no evidence suggesting Kizzuwatna extended further north-east beyond Cilicia, although this depends chiefly on the location of some toponyms; potential eastern territories could be limited to Cataonia, but Kizzuwatna hardly included either the whole Commagene or the Elbistan, which seems to be occupied by other political-administrative entities (Tegarama, Ḫurma) since the time of the Hittite Old Kingdom.

2. One of the main issues in the historical geography of Kizzuwatna is the problem of the location of its most important sacred centers. The summary here presented indicates that a plausible geographical reconstruction sees Kummani and Lawazatiya both located in plain Cilicia, in agreement with recent

works on the topic. However, this falls into place only by acknowledging the existence of two different "Lawazantiya" (following Forlanini 2004a, 2013). Their name was either identical or very similar, but one of them was located in the south-eastern Anatolian plateau, and had nothing to do with Kizzuwatna. The Cilician Lawazantiya was not necessarily a later foundation, and it is possible that this does not appear in Hittite early sources because the Hittites did not have a detailed knowledge of – or significant contacts with – the Cilician region during the Old Kingdom (as discussed in the following chapters).

A Cilician location for Kummani seems also very likely, although some difficulties exist. The reference in the *Zalpa text* (CTH 3) remains challenging, and seems to contradict a southern location. One can't exclude, however, that this problem is only apparent, considering the fragmentary state of the relevant portion of text. After all, the inclusion of the area of Comana at Şar in later Kizzuwatna remains technically possible within the border n. 2 drawn in *fig. 1*, although in a peripheral location at the kingdom's frontiers. Archaeological work is undergoing in Cilicia at many sites, which will hopefully provide an answer to these questions.

3. As for the changing *meaning* of the territoriality of Kizzuwatna, the discussion showed that originally the core territory of the kingdom can be safely located in the Cilician plain, and might have stretched for a limited portion of land up into Cataonia. When this became a province of the Hittite empire, it is possible that further territories could be incorporated under the same administrative unit, with the expansion of conquered land in the area; however, the sources do not provide clear information in this respect.

This geography is well supported by the large majority of the written sources and, it will be shown, is in particular agreement with the historical picture presented in this study.

In this chapter, an important topic related to geography was only briefly introduced, which is that of the communication routes in and towards Kizzuwatna. This theme is deeply interconnected with the historical discussion on the strategic role of the Cilician region within a broader frame of super-

regional relationships and spatial connections through time. It will be thus considered in ch. 3, in reference to trade networks and connectivity during the MBA, and more in detail in ch. 4, in correspondence with a substantial review of some historical arguments regarding the itineraries and military events in the Old Hittite period. The latter discussion has important implications in the understanding of the role of Cilicia during the transition to the LBA, and of the political-diplomatic relations with central Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia.

Chapter 3. Cilicia in the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000-1550 BCE)

The Middle Bronze Age[205] period in Cilicia is poorly documented both archaeologically and philologically. Since a treatment of the history of Kizzuwatna requires investigating the dynamics underlying its origins, the goal of this chapter is to explore what kind of sources can contribute to the understanding of the "prehistory" of this state.

In what kind of historical, cultural and socio-linguistic context did the kingdom of Kizzuwatna emerge in the LBA? Certainly, the contemporary broader Anatolian dynamics were an important factor; the political action of the Old Hittite kingdom re-designed the Anatolian geo-political layout, and Anatolia itself acquired a radically different role in the broader Ancient Near Eastern context. However, the emergence of Kizzuwatna can be analyzed also within a longer processes of local, regional history. This chapter tries to define what kind of specific historical trajectories characterized the local MBA, also within a perspective of interaction with the surrounding regions. For this period, significant evidence stems from central Anatolia and the Syro-Levantine eastern Mediterranean, as opposed to the poverty of internal evidence; the sources for commercial ties and cultural and population contacts may aid assessing the role of Cilicia in the foreground of the highly interconnected "international" age which will be the later LBA in the Near East, and better highlight the role of Kizzuwatna therein in a perspective of *long durée*.

The lack of information on this region in the MBA depends on several factors; the first is the relatively limited archaeological knowledge of the region. In particular, the MBA levels at most sites appear to be poorly preserved, mainly because of construction activities of later periods. Additionally, the appearance

[205] The chronology of the archaeological periodization for Cilicia differs from central Anatolia, with the end of MBA circa one century later; in the plateau, the transition to the LBA conventionally corresponds, instead, with the beginning of the Old Hittite kingdom, ca. 1650 BCE (following Schachner 2011, 17; differently from Yakar 2011). This chronology follows the Middle Chronology (L-MC, see §1.5). For Syria see Akkermans-Schwarz 2003 (MBA I ca. 2000-1800; MBA II ca. 1800-1600). Note that several archaeologists working in Cilicia similarly employ lower terms for the LBA, but according to versions of the Low Chronology, thus correlating these lower dates with a different historical framework (e.g. Novák et al. 2017); for these reasons the present study will not employ the local "Cilician" periodization proposed in the contributions of Novák et al. 2017 and 2018, to avoid further confusion.

of these settlements is generally quite different from those of contemporary Syria, Levant, or central Anatolia, with their thriving cities and palatial centers. The second major limitation is that no textual sources from Anatolia or elsewhere provide information on the region for this time.

The general paucity of sources also motivates the lack of historiographical literature on the Cilician MBA; but there are also other reasons. Most of the research in Bronze Age Anatolia concentrates on either the EBA, principally from an archaeological and anthropological perspective, or on the LBA, for the relevance of the Hittite kingdom and its archaeological and philological remnants. This fact determines a disciplinary divide, as the EBA falls in the domain of prehistoric studies,[206] while Hittitology is naturally oriented towards the research on the Hittite kingdom, which involves LBA and, at times, its immediate antecedents. Most research interest on the MBA concentrates, instead, on the unique situation of central Anatolia, particularly fortunate for the existence of the textual corpus from the Old Assyrian *karūm* at Kaniš-Kültepe (see *infra*). This chapter's secondary aim, thus, is to indicate and introduce what kind of research addresses and questions can be pursued with particular attention to Cilicia, especially provided the situation of peculiar geographical-cultural isolation from the rest of Anatolia. The chapter is organized in four sections:

1) archaeological evidence

2) direct and indirect information on trade networks in MBA Anatolia

3) historical-linguistic evidence

4) alleged references to Cilicia in Egyptian textual sources

[206] E.g. Düring 2011a. As he points out, few interpretative and synthetic studies exist on the EBA of Anatolia (258). Other significant works are also Massa-Palmisano 2018 and Bachhuber 2011; 2015b.

3.1. Archaeology

From EBA to MBA. Archaeological correlates of urbanized hierarchical societies appeared quite late in Anatolia, in comparison with the Syro-Mesopotamian neighboring regions.[207] Chalcolitic period levels (the earlier will not be discussed here) were excavated at Mersin-Yümüktepe and Tarsus. Mersin lv. 16 was interpreted by Garstang (1953) as a small fortified settlement, which made it the earliest center with urban characteristics in Asia Minor. However, more recent excavations showed that the citadel was in fact very small (35 by 40 m) and that the 'fortification' structures should rather be interpreted as remnants of a series of terraces and terraced buildings.[208] The 'Ubaid horizon in both architecture and pottery traditions is visible through lvs. 16-12B (circa 4900-4200), but the appropriation of these traits, as elsewhere so far from Mesopotamia, is selective, and well embedded in the local traditions.[209] This connection with the south is still significant, as it appears that the site nonetheless participated in the broader phenomenon of diffusion of 'Ubaid type societies, characterized by corporate/communal structures of leadership (Düring 2011a, 253). This particularly distinguishes Cilicia from central Anatolia. Levels of the same age, with similar characteristics, were excavated at Tarsus, but only in deep soundings. At this site late Chalcolitic evidence also comes from few tombs excavated at the base of the mound – presumably of a cemetery connected to the settlement – with assemblages dated approximately to the fourth millennium, immediately before the EB I.

In the fourth millennium, at Tarsus or elsewhere in Cilicia, there is no visible influence of the Uruk urbanization phenomenon – that managed to involve northern Syria and also the Anatolian fringes.[210] Pottery traditions are local, and have parallels in the Amuq. In order to explain this new layout, with the

[207] Düring 2011a, 297 ff. Of course, with the exception of the site of Arslantepe-Malatya. See also Sagona-Zimansky 2009, 174-178.
[208] Caneva 2004 in Caneva-Sevin 2004; Düring 2011a, 250.
[209] On this topic see Stein-Özbal 2007.
[210] Caneva 2001, 569; Steadman 1996; Düring 2011a, 247.

halt of cultural connection with the south, Steadman (1996, 154) proposed that Cilicia purposefully cut interactions with those regions, to the south and east, involved in the Uruk economic structure.[211]

Interestingly, the local pottery horizon was replaced towards the end of the Chalcolitic with a ceramic style similar to that of central Anatolia: this corresponds to the re-orientation and intensification of contacts towards the Anatolian plateau, well visible in the EB I.[212] Later on, throughout the third and second millennia BCE, archaeological evidence witnesses various other shifts of the main interaction spheres of Cilicia. Changes in pottery styles follow closely these dynamics.

As Düring (2011a, 247) pointed out, the geography of Cilicia, an intermediate region between central Anatolia and the Fertile Crescent, favored these changes in cultural affiliations throughout time. At the same time, however, separation from both regions by mountain ranges meant relative cultural autonomy in each period. The archaeological evidence reflects in some periods strong links with the Levant, in others with central Anatolia, as well as distinctive local traits at varying degrees.

During the Anatolian EB I (3200/3000-2800/2600 BCE[213]), archaeological evidence suggests a general intensification of interactions between Cilicia and other regions: the markers are metal items, ceramics, raw materials, technologies and material correlates of cultural behavior.[214] Tarsus is one of the key sites in Anatolia for the whole EBA, for its extensive excavations and the available publications.[215] Here, the EB I pottery sequence shows diversity from both the local earlier tradition and the Amuq

[211] She seems to assign this moment to the EB Ia-b, with total halt of contacts in the mid-EBA Ib; this is based on the fact that the EB for Steadman begins somewhat earlier than in current chronologies (I: 3400-3000; II: 3000-2700). The point made is connected with the construction of fortification architectures (Steadman 1996, 156; however, on these "fortifications" see Düring 2011a, 250, and previously p. 82 note n. 208) and the general re-direction of contacts towards new trade partners, available in the close central Anatolian plateau. This chronology gives a somewhat different picture than that, more recently discussed, in Düring 2011a.
[212] Steadman 1996, 151 ff.
[213] Massa-Palmisano 2018 for the higher dates; Düring 2011a for the lower. If not specified, I will employ the periodization of the latter (EBA I: 3000-2600, II: 2600-2300, III: 2300-2000).
[214] Massa-Palmisano 2018, 66 with additional bibliography, also on the pre-EBA period. Düring (2011a, 258; 263 ff.) underlined that, in the Anatolian prehistory long-run, the elements of continuity remain particularly pronounced.
[215] See Düring 2011a, 258-261. Other important sites are Troy, Beycesultan, Demircihüyük, Beşik-Yassitepe, Alişar (EBA II-III), Kültepe (EBA II), Alaca Höyük (EBA III).

sequence, with which it had previously close parallels.[216] The pottery tradition is micro-regional, as in other sites of the period, and has few comparanda elsewhere.[217]

Beside the intensification of trading contacts with central Anatolia – especially connected with the circulation of metal[218] – the emergence of local forms of urbanization is the second relevant aspect of the Early Bronze Age. Particularly in the EB II-III, throughout Anatolia a process of regional centralization involved several medium-size settlements, which were developing élites/leaderships presumably able to control their hinterlands; in Cilicia, this seems to be the case for the old sites of Tarsus and Mersin.

Throughout third millennium, Cilician ceramic traditions were local and remained somewhat isolated (similarly to the EB I). In particular, they don't show the distinctive series of developments that led to a convergence of repertoires across Asia Minor sites in the later part of the EB II (ca. 2600-2300). At this time, Cilician ceramic forms have parallels in Cyprus and Syria, rather than in Anatolia.[219] On the contrary, the later EB III (2300-2000) ceramics have strong parallels in Anatolian materials and Mellaart (1971) linked the appearance of these new forms of material culture with the entry of Anatolian/Luwian speaking groups in Cilicia.[220] While the appearance of NW Anatolian pottery at Tarsus in the EB III (2300-2000) was in fact interpreted as archaeological evidence of people movements, in connection with a recognized occupation gap, it rather mirrors intensification of relations between Cilicia and western Anatolia.[221] Düring (2011a, 290) showed that some shapes, indeed, suggest Syrian influence as well. Multi-

[216] Steadman 1996, 151.
[217] Düring 2011a, 266.
[218] An important innovation of EB I-II, which correlates with the increasing circulation of metal, was the creation of standardized ingot forms. A related innovation is the use and diffusion of metrological devices and standards; see Bachhuber 2015a, 146; Massa-Palmisano 2018, 66-68.
[219] Düring 2011a, 263; 273. He also notes, however, that "It is possible (…) that the absence of late EBA II wares similar to those elsewhere in Asia Minor could represent a gap in the sequence of Tarsus rather than a cultural difference" (273).
[220] A detailed discussion of the problem in Bachhuber 2013.
[221] In particular, any population movement at this stage can't be connected with the spread of an undifferentiated stage of Anatolian; the linguistic drift of the group can't have begun later than ca. 2300 and "arguably as early as the beginning of the third millennium B.C.E." (Melchert 2011) or even at the end of the fourth (Melchert *forth.*).

directional influxes thus existed, and it is possible that the convergence towards central Anatolian pottery traditions might be more gradual than what elicits the correlation between the appearance of new materials and the end of an occupation "gap". Indeed the hyatus between EB II and III, often encountered in literature for many Anatolian sites, can be discounted (according to Düring 2011a, 296) on the basis of continuity attested in both occupation and material-cultural traditions.

In the EB III Tarsus appears to be densely occupied, to the degree of urban settlement; this would correspond to similar developments in south and central Anatolia, where large urban settlements appeared in the same period (Acemhöyük, Kamankale-höyük, Kültepe); it is tempting to think that these centers express regional polities that anticipate those, well documented, of the MBA.[222] At any rate, a growing inter-regional role of the central Anatolian political landscape emerged at this time, together with evidence of new élite enclaves raising in socio-economic and political importance, presumably thanks to the control of activities of metal extraction and trade; the ascent of these élites is notably witnessed in central Anatolia by the spectacular inventories of the late EB II-early EB III tombs at Alaca Höyük.[223]

Middle Bronze Age. Archaeological information on the Cilician MBA is not particularly rich, and derive from few sites, principally excavated several decades ago. Limited mostly to portions of citadel mounds, archaeological activity did not yield much information on residential areas, thus provides a very limited picture of the ancient socio-political and socio-economic reality. Excavations in some of these sites resumed in recent years, but the publication of new data is generally insufficient. The most important sites remain, as in the previous period, the mounds of Tarsus and Mersin (Yumuktepe); some information

[222] Düring 2011a, 296. Although continuity can be only inferred, the lack of confirmation is also due to the fact that the EBA III levels at those sites, in most cases, have not been object of research attention, which favored the second millennium phases (ibid. 295).
[223] A recent treatment in Bachhuber 2011; also 2015b, 97-106.

come from Sirkeli Höyük, Tatarlı Höyük and Kinet Höyük.[224] It must be stressed that Cilicia *Tracheia/Aspera,* the mountain region west of the Cilician Plain, did not participate in the same geographic and material-cultural horizon, and this is visible also in the LBA; notably, the western portion of Cilicia was not part of Kizzuwatna either (ch. 2). Thus, the best known site of the area, Kilise Tepe, is be considered here only contrastively, in reference to the evidence from the eastern Cilicia *Pedia/Campestris.* Since the whole Cilicia apparently remained outside the scope of the Old Assyrian trade networks (see next section §3.2) no texts exist that provide additional information on this period. An important phenomenon for the period is the dramatic cross-regional drop in the number of sites from the EBA in Anatolia, a trend comparable to other regions of the Near East (Glatz 2009, 132 with ref.). The declining number – on the order of less than *half* the sites attested in the earlier period – might indicate a process of regional centralization in key sites: in Cilicia, especially Tarsus and Mersin maintained their previous importance.[225]

An important archaeological marker of Cilician MBA is a class of painted ware called Syro-Cilician ware (also Cilician Painted or Amuq-Cilician painted ware; *fig. 9-10*). This pottery is a local, regional variant of a painted pottery – both hand and wheel-made[226] – that was produced in the MBA throughout the eastern Mediterranean coast; in Cilicia this pottery tradition marks a discontinuity with the previous EBA III pottery production, a phase in which the central Anatolian impact was evident. On the contrary, this new ware has strong Levantine-Mesopotamian ties. It is not necessary to expand on the details of this pottery class, presented in some detail in Bagh 2003, with a discussion on the

[224] See the diss. of Jean (2010) and the chart in Novák et al. 2017, 183-184 for a comparative stratigraphy; (here figs. 28-29); similar information in Novák-Rutishauser 2017, 139.
[225] These dynamics fall, chronologically, within the topic of the 4.2-KY aridification event; see Weiss et al. 1993 and Weiss 2012. The theory that this massive drought event had macro-regional consequences is, however, debated: see recently Kuzucuoğlu-Marro (eds.) 2007, Meller et al. (eds.) 2015, and a recent climatological viewpoint in Carolin et al. 2019.
[226] In particular open form classes, like bowls, drinking vessels and craters, and trefoil-bifoil mouthed pitchers; Bagh 2003, 220.

relationship of this local class with the correspondent Levantine and Khabur wares, and some chronological remarks.

The ware is diagnostic of MB I and IIa (20th-18th c.; e.g. Tarsus A.I-III after Slane 2006a). At Alalaḫ it was found in levels XVI-VII (through MBA), and is notably absent in lv. VI (LB I).[227] The pottery type disappeared totally or partially in the LBA assemblages at all sites (see ch. 4.5 in detail). The MBA painted pottery traditions started to be produced roughly contemporarily throughout the Eastern Mediterranean (in Cilicia, northern Syro-Mesopotamia and Levant), at the beginning of MBA around 1950-1900;[228] it is also worth noting that these painted traditions, although each with local prerogatives, show various mutual influences, thus elevated levels of contact throughout their diffusion sphere.

The stratigraphy and pottery assemblages of MBA and LBA Tarsus (see figs. 5, 8), presented in Goldman 1956, were object of study and review by D. Slane in her PhD dissertation (Slane 1987), and more recently in a summary of her research results (Slane 2006). The MBA-LBA architecture and ceramics show a coherent sequence which indicates isolation throughout the MBA, and then increasing contacts between Tarsus and central Anatolia at the end of the period and in the transition to the LBA. These contacts are evidenced by changes in the ceramic assemblage, with the progressive appearance of types that have parallels in the plateau and which gradually substituted the local MBA types. A visible change in the ceramic repertoire, which also corresponds to an architectural break, corresponds to the passage between lv. A.III and A.IV, where the first examples of NCA-types appear.[229] The impact of this northern influence on the local productions thus *begins* sometime in the MBA II, "at the end of the Assyrian Colony period or at the beginning of the Old Hittite kingdom period" (Slane 2006a, 5). The chronology of the beginning of the LBA and the "Hittite" cultural period in Cilicia will be deferred to §4.5, as it is significant

[227] Kozal-Novák 2017a, 305.
[228] Bagh 2003, 233-235.
[229] NCA: "North-Central Anatolian"; for this definition see Glatz 2009, 130.

in the discussion of the relationships between Cilicia and central Anatolia at the emergence of the Old Hittite kingdom.

This clear trend in the ceramic repertoire is confirmed by evidence from other sites. At Mersin the MBA is very poorly known architecturally. Jean (2006 and 2010, 177-202) briefly reviewed the data for the period, with some considerations on the stratigraphy published after the early excavations (Garstang 1953; see the synthetic stratigraphy in ns. *fig. 6*). Garstang proposed that levels XI-VIII correspond chronologically to ca. 2000-1500 BCE; in his view, a "Cilician" phase (lv. XI-IX) was followed by one in which *incipient* influence of central Anatolia pottery types could be recognized (VIII). A stronger stratigraphic change was attributed to lv. VII, the beginning of LBA proper, and was set around the end of 16th c. This level (ca. 15th c.) is more markedly associated to a significant presence of pottery comparable to central Anatolian types.

Jean proposed a review of some of these data: in particular, on the basis of the fact that lvs. X and IX seem to have very little Syro-Cilician painted ware, the question arise on the actual connection of these levels with lv. XI, the only one clearly MBA (Jean 2006, 319). This phase would indicate a local/regional culture in contact both with the east and central Anatolia. Thus, for Mersin a situation similar to the one observed in Tarsus is reflected in similar trends in the material culture, with progressive innovation of the ceramic types pointing to increasing contacts with central Anatolia.

Again, material culture reflects changing directions of interactions through time. It was said that the EB III was characterized by the first clear evidence of extensive Anatolian influence on the material culture. This was a new trend for Cilicia after a long period of apparent isolation (indicated by the EBA I-II isolated local pottery traditions) and an earlier period of connectivity with eastern regions such as northern Mesopotamia and Syria. Then, in the early MBA, connections resumed with Syria and the Levant, with a sharp break from the central Anatolian traditions. Finally, central Anatolian influx eventually re-emerged again later on, in the LBA (see §5.8 and §7.8).

In his doctoral dissertation, É. Jean (2010) recognized specific trends in the assemblages of Syro-Cilician types across the region. He distinguished three "micro-regions" on the basis of local traits of this ceramic type and the correlation with other components of the assemblages. Notably, the painted types are virtually absent at Kilise Tepe in the Göksu, which shows this was outside the proper Cilician "cultural" sphere. Few differences exist in the representative forms at Yumuktepe, Tarsus and Kinet (the materials at Sirkeli are not sufficiently well known for this period for an evaluation):[230] at Tarsus, the corpus is more varied in both shapes and decorations; at Kinet, instead, bichrome decorations are quite common but rare at Tarsus. Another distinctive feature of the Kinet assemblages is the existence of Cypriot imports basically in all levels from MBA II to the final LB II (thus including LC I materials). At other sites Cypriot imports are limited to the "Hittite" LB II (final 15th-late 13th) and they also disappear in the final 13th-12th c.[231] In this respect, the situation at Kinet resembles – more closely than any other Cilician center – that of sites in the Amuq and the northern Levant. There seem to be no Cypriot imports, instead, in any level at Kilise Tepe – apart, of course, of the special type of the RLW-m ware, which has a peculiar distribution pattern (§4.5.1). Thus, it appears that throughout time different trends characterize two main macro-areas of Cilicia, the west (broadly Cilicia *Aspera*) and the east (broadly Cilicia *Campestris*), with Kinet Höyük, at the gulf of Iskenderun, characterized by exclusive developments, and self-standing as a third zone in many respects.

Architecture does not allow to integrate these information with more detail on the socio-political, economic, and administrative organization of the Cilician centers. Only Tarsus and Kinet höyük (uncertainly Sirkeli)[232] present monumental buildings in the MBA, and only Kinet shows recognizable fortification structures in the period. These fortifications are integrated in the monumental building complex itself, which thus appears as a fortified citadel; this is particularly remarkable in consideration

[230] Jean 2010, 415-416.
[231] Still, at all sites the bulk of Cypriot imports regards specifically the LB II.
[232] A "stone building A1" in sector P6 (plateau) is documented. Novák et al. 2017, 171.

of the relative small size of the settlement. This "East terrace" monumental building complex at Kinet dates to the MB II (Kinet "V.1" or 17-16, ca. 1750-1550).[233] Apparently, it was built after a destruction horizon.[234] The partial excavations of this building in the eastern edge of the mound showed that its two main phases were destroyed violently: the first in a large fire, to which restoration and reconstruction followed; after the second destruction, the area was covered by a thick layers of sterile soil and gravel, brought by one or more inundations according to the excavator. The cause would be either flood by the river Deliçay or the rise of the sea level in the river's estuary (dense concentrations of seashells suggest the latter); both destruction events are connected by the excavator to earthquakes, for structural damage is visible in the architectures (Gates 2000, 80).

Similarities have been pointed out with fortified palaces of Syrian type, in particular for the fact that the fortification structures are associated structurally to the monumental complex,[235] for the type of building plan, and for the presence of associated spaces of multiple functions in the complex, suggesting a "palatial" economic system. Parallels can be found in the northern Levant palaces (e.g. Ebla, Alalaḫ, Tilmen höyük), but also further south (Megiddo and others); closer similarities exist with the palace at Alalaḫ VII and Ebla west palace Q. The model of this monumental and defensive architectural type have been thus primarily located in the northern Levant. Note that this type of building had possibly influenced also Anatolian examples (Kaniš-Kültepe).[236]

At Tarsus, regrettably, the MBA levels are poorly preserved and of difficult interpretation. A monumental building associated with levels (IV) V-VI existed; lev. VI was badly damaged by the later constructions –

[233] The building is discussed in Gates 2000, 80-82 (with figs. 3-4), Jean 2010, 63-74 and the unpublished master thesis of Akar 2006.
[234] The nature of this destruction is unclear; in fact this is only mentioned by M.H. Gates (in Novák et al. 2017, 179) but the period is not discussed in any of the published articles that I could access (see bibliography); the destruction of period "V.1" is not mentioned by Jean either (2010, 62). Since all other destruction levels in other periods are specifically connected to earthquakes, it seems implied that this case could be different.
[235] On the fortification strategies of the MBA Levant see Burke 2008.
[236] Akar 2006, Jean 2010, 73.

in particular by the "Hittite temple" of lev. IX – but the mention of orthostats associated with this level by the excavators suggest this early building was important and stood for some time (discussed in Jean 2010, 153-158). Levels IV-V-VI are attributed by different authors to a period spanning between the final MBA II, the transition to the LBA or the initial LB I.[237] The supposed connection of these structures with Hittite presence since the end of the MBA (as proposed in Jean 2010, 434) will be thus discussed in the following chapters (ch. 4.5).

The distribution of some material classes follows diverging patterns. Notably, Cilician seals and sealing impressions on cretulae and pots throughout the MBA and LBA belong to the same tradition as central Anatolia. MBA stamp seals and/or seal impressions were found at Kilise, Mersin-Yumuktepe, Kazanlı, Tarsus, Sirkeli and Kinet, although only few come from stratified context (Mersin, Tarsus and Kinet).[238] Parallels can be found at Konya-Karahöyük, Ḫattuša, Kaniš-Kültepe. The early date of these materials show that the sealing tradition was not "imported" from central Anatolia, but belonged to a shared central and south-central Anatolian and Cilician horizon of administrative practice. Similarly, some production techniques may show similarities with other Anatolian regions, as would show a class of utilitarian objects, the crescent-shaped weights most probably used for textile production.[239]

As previously discussed, many elements, otherwise, suggest Cilician isolation from the central Anatolian dynamics and connectivity with the east. This isolation also includes the exclusion of the whole region

[237] Jean 2010, somewhat inconsistently (cfr. figs. 285 and 288): pottery, IV-V=MB II final (early 16th); VI=LB I (late 16th-late 15th); however for architectures, IV-VI=LB I. Novák et al. 2017: IV=MB II (all!?), V-VI=LB I initial. The problems connected with the latter's periodization require a more detailed discussion (§4.5.2).
[238] Details in Jean 2010, 449 ff.
[239] The common Anatolian background of some material classes has been recently discussed in Elsen-Novák/Novák 2020 (54-55). This article also mentions the existence of few pottery specimens from Sirkeli Höyük of a type of unpainted ware that has close similarities at Kaniš-Kültepe, and are most likely imports (ibid. 53 and n. 18). According to these authors, these various materials suggest that Cilicia was quite well connected also to the plateau, against the idea of relative regional isolation from central Anatolia. The topic of commercial contacts is discussed in more detail in the next section (§3.2).

from the Old Assyrian trade network, as the detailed information in the textual evidence from Kaniš-Kültepe indicate. This is the main topic of the next section.

3.2 Trade networks

The economic texts from the Old Assyrian *kārum* ("trading colony") at Kaniš-Kültepe in Cappadocia provide unique insight into the organization of the long-distance trade between Assur and central Anatolia during the MBA.[240] Foreign merchants from Assyria established a permanent settlement at Kaniš – likewise in other Anatolian towns, – where they managed their private business; tin and textiles were exported to Anatolia and chiefly sold for metal currency (silver). The exceptionality of this trading center lies in the fact that the merchants kept written records of their activities. This impressive documentation, of course, constitutes a unique body of secondary information also on the socio-economic, institutional and political context of central Anatolia in the period ca. 1950-1720. A textual corpus with these characteristics is unique not only in the Ancient Near East: no comparable body of evidence (ca. 23000 tablets)[241] as rich, thematically detailed, chronologically limited, and stemming from a single site, is available for the whole ancient world, including the Greek and Roman periods.[242] It is important to keep this in mind for various reasons: be it for example the danger in extending *models* based on this case study to other regions or periods. It is uncertain whether the commercial system witnessed in the kanišite texts is representative of a larger MBA macro-system, or, instead, it is an exceptional case in the history of the Ancient Near East.[243] Either way, there is reason to think that this long-distance trade system has ancient roots, which went back to the second half of third millennium; Barjamovic (2019, 77) made the

[240] See Dercksen 1996; Barjamovic 2008, 2011, 2017; Larsen 2015, with reference to the extensive bibliography on this topic.
[241] Different figures in Michel 2014, 117 "more than 17000".
[242] Larsen 2015, 271.
[243] Larsen 2015, 273.

case that the sudden emergence of palatial structures in central Anatolia around the 25th c. mirrors the "dialectic development of political centralization and long-distance trade expanding throughout the region around this time".

This question does not affect as much a discussion on Cilicia, since the texts deal with a geography of trade that does *not* include the whole region south of the Taurus and west of the Amanus. The absence of Cilicia in the documentation, however, is particularly relevant in consideration of the consistency of the corpus and the detailed information about the trade system that can be drawn from it. In fact the content of some of the texts clearly indicates that different geographical monopolies existed, based on mercantilist principles and political protectionism.[244] The Assyrian merchants traded along specific routes, and were not allowed to travel in all directions. Strict rules existed on commercial pathways, and agreements were made with the local authorities concerning the Anatolian-bound caravans that passed through their territories. Significantly for this study, there is no textual evidence suggesting that caravans from Assur, or belonging to the Assyrian-Kanišite trade network, were directed or travelled through Cilicia (*fig. 14*).

Other areas were barred for the Assyrians for trade as well. Ḫaḫḫum on the Euphrates was a major crossing point and a sort of border town that separated commercial areas in Anatolia and Syria. Assyrian caravans consistently stopped there, but it appears that the merchants could not trade en-route, in the steppes of the Jazira, before crossing the Euphrates and reaching this important mercantile hub.[245] Differently, Uršu appears rarely in the records, despite its regional importance, and is mentioned chiefly in instances when the Assyrian merchants were obliged to modify their itinerary under exceptional

[244] See lastly Barjamovic 2019, 75.
[245] Barjamovic 2011, 87-95; Larsen 2015, 147. It seems that at Ḫaḫḫum the Assyrian caravans could be opened and re-arranged into smaller deliveries; in fact, travel expenses were also accounted separately, one part from Aššur to Ḫaḫḫum, one from there to Kaniš.

circumstances.[246] It was probably a station alternative to Ḫaḫḫum along the journey to Anatolia (Barjamovic 2011, 196).

A plausible explanation of these facts is that it was forbidden to the Assyrian merchants to trade in specific areas under the control and the commercial monopoly of other cities; Syrian centers like Ebla and Aleppo in the Middle Bronze Age presumably dominated the trade in the north Syrian region, along with other Euphratic centers like Emar. Likewise, it is believed that also the routes through Cilicia and leading to the Konya plain through the Taurus were off-limits for the Assyrians. Since both in Cilicia and at Karahöyük by Konya there is enough evidence of close material connection to Syria (see prev. section), it is reasonable to presume that among distinct spheres of commercial interest, one connected northern-Syria and the Levant with Cilicia (*figs. 14-15*). This different network reached central Anatolia, either through the Taurus (Cilician gates) of via maritime way to one or more ports at the Göksü outlet, then to central Anatolia in the Western Konya plain via inland route through this valley.

This still unidentified network, with ties in Cilicia, Syria and even Egypt, was separated from the Old Assyrian one on the basis of diverse commercial interests and monopolies, and possibly had roots in the previous centuries. The two networks might have overlapped in hubs and centers of commercial brokerage that worked as junctions of the systems (Haḫḫum and Kaniš might be some of those). Karahöyük, or another site immediately south of Konya, was probably the main interaction point in the Konya plain; the texts inform that the town of Ušša – not particularly well attested – could be this peripheral node of the trade system. Since later Hittite texts locate this center at the northern fringes of the Konya plain, there is a good chance this was in fact the node of interlocking networks in this zone.[247] It is possible, thus, that the routes through the Taurus and the Amanus westwards were prerogative of the Syrian merchants from the middle Euphrates' area for trading in central Anatolia,[248] but also of the

[246] Forlanini 2004c, 252 and n. 13.
[247] On Ušša see Barjamovic 2011, 335 n. 1400 and Forlanini 2017, 242-244.
[248] Forlanini 2004c 251-252; Larsen 2015, 148.

local Cilician traders. One hypothesis sees Ebla as the origin point of this network, and perhaps one of the leading centers of the monopoly, also in consideration of its ancient tradition of trade going back to the mid-third millennium.[249] In the Middle Bronze Age, Aleppo likewise played a critical role in the region. The previous section (§3.1) highlighted visible common traits in the material-cultural record of the northern Syrian/Levantine area and Cilicia in this period and this evidence nicely works with the 'Eblaite' network hypothesis. To the previous information, one can add the evidence from seal impressions from Acemhöyük and Karatepe-Konya:[250] the evidence in the plain of cylinder seals of Mesopotamian/Babylonian and Syrian type (albeit few in number[251]), may witness direct connection with the south, and the role of Cilicia as a bridge between these regions.

The existence of distinct trade networks reaching Anatolia during the Early and Middle Bronze Age – suggested indirectly in the texts – can be verified directly on the basis of various archaeological correlates. Massa and Palmisano (2018) approached the question of exchange mechanisms in a multi-proxy and spatially-oriented study.[252] They identify a range of products and technologies as possible markers of exchange throughout time. The study verifies the presence, in E-MBA sites of the Near East and Aegean, of specific high-value/low-bulk products (lapis-lazuli and ivory items, "Syrian" bottles[253]) and distinct metrological standards (reflected in balance weights[254]). These kinds of products and

[249] Barjamovic 2019, 75-77 with additional references.
[250] See Özguc 1980, 1988.
[251] Özguc 1980, 64-66.
[252] On this and related topics see now also the volume of Palmisano (2018).
[253] "Syrian" bottles are small size vessels that probably contained valuable liquids, like oils, perfumes or ointments, and which were produced originally in the Middle Euphrates in the EBA II period (2700-2600 BCE); their diffusion later spread as far as the Aegean. Massa-Palmisano 2018, 75-76.
[254] Since balance weights were standardized on the basis of units recognized by sellers and buyers, spatial distribution of weight systems and their overlap is particularly relevant in providing information on the interaction between co-existing polities and trade systems. Fundamental studies are Bobokhyan 2006, 2008, 2009; Rahmstorf 2006a,b. More references on the different systems in Massa-Palmisano (2018, 66-69). In brief: Aegean (1 shekel=6.71g; 70 units per mina, i.e. 470 g.), Anatolian (11.7 g; 40 u./mina), Levantine (9.4 g; 50 u./mina), Syrian (7.8 g; 60 u./mina); Mesopotamian (8.3-8.5 g.; 60 u. per ca. 513 g. mina). Bachhuber 2013 (in particular 289-293) discussed the role of metrology in the socio-political developments of the second half of third millennium, with the raise of citadel agrarian élites in Anatolia and new dynamics of exchange and consumption of wealth.

standards were clearly involved in long distance trade, and a statistical-spatial approach allows to trace different patterns of exchange and cultural transmission. Tracing sources and directions of commercial contacts within long distance trade networks allows to determine 1) the nature of the exchange networks themselves and 2) the specific spatial interconnections they produced and/or relied upon.

On the basis of this archaeological evidence the authors recognize "the existence of at least two distinct long-distance networks reaching Anatolia, one essentially seaborne and connecting the Levant with the Aegean world, the other land-locked and connecting inland Anatolia with northern Levant and Mesopotamia" (Massa-Palmisano 2018, 83) (see *fig. 15*). The complex system of long-distance contacts bridging different geographical-cultural areas consisted in "a series of interconnected and overlapping trading circuits (…), built around a few centres specializing in commercial brokerage" (ibid. 78). The infrastructure of trade was based on directional exchange (not a 'down the line' model), involved merchant intermediaries, and chiefly transferred products and technologies employed by the social and administrative elites (administration sealing technology, display and consumption of precious materials and exotica). The trade of Anatolian metals was the engine of the whole long-distance system, beginning perhaps around ca. 3500-3200 BCE and increasingly active throughout the third millennium;[255] lead, copper, probably tin (at a minor extent), but also silver and gold were naturally present in Anatolia, in particular from sources on the Taurus and in western Anatolia.[256]

It is worth pointing out in better detail some indicators – especially visible in the EBA – on the position of Cilicia in the "maritime" network. Shapes of balance weights (and weight systems) have a

[255] Massa-Palmisano 2018, 80-82. The centrality of metal working and trade is particularly indicated by 1) the archaeological correlation between stone weights and areas of metallurgical activity and 2) the fact that Anatolian weights hardly exceed 100 g, i.e. they were likely employed for high-value/low-bulk items, like metal. ED III texts indicate that impressive amounts of precious metals circulated in northern Levant and Mesopotamia, with silver employed as standard currency. The Old Assyrian evidence supports the same model, with the caravans of the merchants loaded with silver bullions shipped to Aššur. On metal production see also Lehner-Schachner 2017.
[256] Limited resources of tin probably existed on the Taurus (Yener-Özbal 1987; Yener 2000; Düring 2011a, 276), and gold in western Anatolia; see Lehner-Schachner 2017, 428 fig. 22.1; Massa-Palmisano 2018, 83 fig. 15.

significant association with their distribution zones; the spool shape, a rare type in comparison with the common sphendonoid-biconical shape, seems exclusively an Aegean creation and its presence at Tarsus suggests that a maritime route connected Aegean and Cilicia along the southern Anatolian coast in the EBA II (2600-2400). Moreover, the proportionally high distribution in the Levant of weights compatible with the Aegean standard (Massa-Palmisano 2018, 71 tab. 3) indicates that this trade circuit ultimately reached the Levantine coast.[257]

The change in distribution of "Syrian" bottles between the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium, instead, while possibly corresponding to a general decrease of the volume of this particular commerce, is remarkable for the drop in number – in fact a virtual disappearance – of these objects in central Anatolian sites, with few specimens only found at Kaniš. One reason could be that this manufacture and its content, originally produced in the Middle Euphrates-northern Syria, was not traded by the Assyrian merchants and, instead, was distributed by another circuit of trade associated with the Syrian city-states (Mari, Emar, Aleppo, Ebla?), which controlled the area west of the Euphrates.[258] This explanation might in fact correspond with the text-based separation of networks discussed in reference to the kanišite trade system. It also suggests that the trade networks' spheres of domain had their roots in the previous EBA layout.

I would note the extreme importance of Troy in the large-scale interregional system *within* different trade circuits (that ultimately could reach continental Europe). The ability of this center in the EBA to attract and funnel several luxury products can be more easily reconciled with its position in the maritime Aegean environment, rather than through an inland route;[259] this is shown by the distribution of distinctive artifacts and materials, absent in central Anatolia, implying that the intermediaries of these trades were

[257] Massa-Palmisano 2018, 67-68.
[258] Massa-Palmisano 2018, 75-76.
[259] A different view is at the basis of the "great caravan route" hypothesis suggested by T. Efe (2007). Ultimately, it can't be excluded that contacts between the Crescent area and central Anatolia did exist also before mid-third millennium, given the absence of extensively excavated and well published sites (Massa-Palmisano 2018, 78).

likely coastal, thus including Cilicia.[260] The importance of the maritime connection, otherwise, is signaled also by the appearance of distinctive indicators of long-distance trading activities – raw materials, finished products, ideas and technologies like metrology and sealing practices – especially in the Anatolian and Levantine coastal or near-coastal sites (Massa-Palmisano 2018, 79).

The situation in the MBA is different: both the maritime and the inland networks seem to have contracted in size, as well as the trade volume and diffusion of some specific valuable materials (for example, lapis lazuli and ivory).[261] The evidence for the maritime route is particularly scanty at this time; Crete took a new leading role, while the Aegean basin proper appears to be cut out of the trading network. The overland network does not seem to reach the Troad either, but only the central Anatolian plateau. Although regional changes in the socio-economic and political contexts presumably had a role in these dynamics, there are still indications that the old routes and exchange system kept working along similar lines: metal trade remained the single, critical factor at the basis of the long-distance connections, and the same major centers maintained their importance, including Tarsus in Cilicia. The maintenance of the same metrological standards and weight types also suggest continuity, and possibly a relative stability of routes, according to the distributions. One possibility is that the end of the EBA (final third millennium) witnessed a decline and re-configuration of the previous city-state systems, strongly centered on palatial structures (Ebla, Mari, Mesopotamia, but also Troy, etc.), with a re-conversion of a chiefly palace-based centralizing market into private enterprises of merchants that acted privately more freely than before.[262]

Cilician-Levantine (coastal) connectivity during the MBA is also demonstrated by attestations (albeit rare) of imported seals, notably at Tarsus, and of OB period seal impressions as far as Kilise Tepe; these are

[260] For example, lapis-lazuli is extremely rare in the Aegean and absent anywhere in central Anatolia, but notably found at Troy; one find is outstanding, a battle axe weighting 1.3 kg is a unique artefact for the whole Bronze Age Near East ("treasure L", ca. 2400-2200 BCE); Massa-Palmisano 2018, 77.
[261] Massa-Palmisano 2018, 79; 82-83 in detail.
[262] See for example the remarks of Larsen 2015, 278 ff. against an "institutional" background of the Old Assyrian trade system.

particularly remarkable, as Kilise is otherwise strongly connected to central Anatolia material-culturally (*supra* §3.1). At Tarsus, a Southern Mesopotamian marble seal with Sumerian inscription can be dated stylistically to the Cassite period (MB/LB transition), albeit it was found in unstratified context.[263] The MBA Syrian style impressions at Kilise also come from later levels (final LB I/early LB II, and Early Iron Age); one 18th-17th c. impression is found on the neck of a small vessel, while traces of the grooved metal cap of a seal, for which parallels exist at Alalaḫ VII, was found on a fragment of cretula (Collon 2007, n. 1480 and 1482). From East come other very rare imported materials, such as a faience figurine of Syro-Mesopotamian orign at Tarsus (probably lv. V), an anthropomorphic figurine from Sirkeli of MB north Syrian style (found in a level dated to LB I by the excavators), and a terracotta female figurine typical of Syrian MB from the building V."1" at Kinet, with iconographic parallels at Ebla IIIa.[264] A stone mold of fenestrated axe at Kinet is a typical Syrian type; this type existed since the MB I until the final MB II, and the form is shown, for example, in the stereotypical representation of Syrians in the iconography of the 12th dynasty in Egypt.[265] To this time also dates an exceptional find, an Egyptian funerary statuette from Adana (§3.4.1). Overall, most imports come from Tarsus, which again appears as the most important and inter-regionally connected center of the region also in the LB I.

A different direction of contacts possibly emerges from the link between some pottery shapes in the area of Malatya and Cilicia, that according to Manuelli (2017,148) signals a direct connection of the two regions around the end of the MB and the early LB I. It is possible that contacts existed thanks to the route conducting into Maraş from the Upper Ceyhan, a route quite important also later on (see also §2.7; §4.2).

In summary, the existence of at least two distinct trade networks in the broader Eastern Mediterranean EBA/MBA – recognized on the basis of clear archaeological correlates – well matches the indications drawn from the textual evidence from Kaniš-Kültepe of separate circuits controlled by

[263] Ref. in Jean 2010, 458.
[264] Jean 2010, 462-463.
[265] Jean 2010, 467.

different commercial hubs, and the geographical-directional specifics of the Old Assyrian trade system. Certainly the latter might have had its specific characteristics within the supra-regional long-distance trade framework.[266] Still, while its functioning mechanisms can be appreciated at uniquely fine resolution, thanks to the extensive written evidence, it is probably productive to contextualize them within a broader macro-regional system and in a long-run perspective.

3.3. Historical linguistics: Hurrian(s) and Luwian(s) in Cilicia

A group of ritual and cultic texts preserved in the Hittite archives has a distinctive religious-cultural background and presents distinctive mixed traits, in particular recitations and terminology in Luwian and Hurrian. It is certain that this textual tradition originated from Kizzuwatna, and begun to be imported at the end of the 15th and in the early 14th c.[267] These 'Kizzuwatna texts' suggest that by mid-second millennium two languages were in use (to some extent) in the Cilician kingdom of Kizzuwatna: Hurrian and Luwian. It is uncertain whether the mixed linguistic characterization of these documents indicates the existence of two distinct *populations* in the land at this time, linguistically Hurrian and Luwian, or that these were the two predominant population groups (thus e.g. Bryce 2003a, 88). Indeed, this seems unlikely, although at least in origin this might have been the case. Hurrian speaking people certainly came from the east, i.e. northern Mesopotamia, while Luwian linguistic influx came from beyond the Taurus, as the indigenous Luwian area in prehistoric time was almost certainly south-central Anatolia (Yakubovich 2010a, Melchert 2011). It remains complex to establish the chronology of these population movements and their numerical impact, but there is basis for a discussion. LBA onomastic data suggests,

[266] A discussion on this problem in connection with economic theories in Larsen 2015, 271 ff.
[267] A recent overview in Melchert 2013b. See §7.5.2 in detail.

anyway, a high level of integration of the two components; multilingualism might have reflected socio-economic and cultural variables, but hardly in ethnic sense.[268]

Whereas all the instructive documentation on the socio-linguistic situation of Cilicia dates to the Hittite period, the dynamics leading to the peculiar setting attested in the sources belong to a longer process. The main problem is to determine the *modalities* and the *chronological* specifics of this process, and only few attempts of reconstruction exist in literature.[269] This section discusses some possible views on the processes at the origin of this socio-linguistic situation in historical Kizzuwatna.

3.3.1 Hurrian and Hurrians

Sufficient evidence suggests a process of geographic diffusion of the Hurrian language begun sometimes between the end of the 3rd and the early 2nd millennium. Previously spoken in an area comprising north-eastern Jazirah and northern Assyria, the language spread in westward direction, towards south-central Anatolia, north-central and western Syria (map *fig. 16*).[270]

As a premise, this "Hurrianization" refers here exclusively to a phenomenon of linguistic diffusion of Hurrian as a spoken language among a wider population, which is suggested by various streams of evidence. The phenomenon is presumably related, at least in origin, to movements of a number of people that established new communities away from their place of origin. Not necessarily these had to replace previous communities. Secondarily, linguistic diffusion may derive also by adoption of language by other

[268] See the scheme in Yakubovich 2010a, 285 (tab. 30) reproduced in ns. *fig. 18a-b*, and discussed in §6.2.1.
[269] Lastly Yakubovich 2010a, 272-284.
[270] A recent summary in Wilhelm 2008, 181-182; on the topic also Steinkeller 1998, Salvini 1998, Richter 2005. On the Hurrian *Urheimat* see Richter 2004, 272-273. The early antecedents are not discussed here, but the earliest history of the 'Hurrians' goes back to the early 3rd, likely even mid-fourth millennium, as the evidence from Urkeš-Tell Mozan suggests (Buccellati 2013). To the late 22nd-21st c. probably dates the inscription of Tiž-adal of Urkeš, which shows that Hurrian linguistic identity played some role in the kingdom of Urkeš and Nawar, located in the Ḫabur (Wilhelm 1998; Richter 2004, 280 and n. 71). There is evidence that Hurrian was used also in administration at this time, at least from one tablet from Urkeš whose Sumerograms and Akkadograms are complemented by Hurrian morphemes (Maiocchi 2011; discussed also in Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 67). As Richter (2004, 311) observes, it can't be excluded that groups of Hurrian speakers had always lived in the broader northern Mesopotamian macro area.

speakers in contact with newcomers, or due to intense communication relationships, utilitarian reasons, social prestige of a given language, or other factors. There is enough evidence that language communities frequently coexisted, with situation of bilingualism or multilingualism; of course, even individuals may become bilingual. I maintain that identifying speaking groups does not necessarily involve concepts of ethnicity or identity.[271] Hence, in this work "Hurrians" will always be synonymous with speakers of Hurrian, presuming in most instances this was their native idiom.

Some data on the Hurrianization of Syria derive from onomastic corpora. Onomastic evidence is notoriously misleading, because multiple reasons determine the choice of names. However, consistent trends in the use of Hurrian personal names in more than one location within a given geographical area presumably manifest the existence of a broader settlement horizon of Hurrian-speaking populations.[272] A consistent number of Hurrian names shows up in Old Babylonian period documents from several centers.[273] Some of these texts, especially from Mari, reveal the existence of Hurrian principalities in the northern Jazirah, although, obviously, not all those political formations ruled by lords having Hurrian names can be considered linguistically Hurrian from a population perspective.[274] A clearer pattern is visible at Alalaḫ; in the texts of Alalaḫ-VII Hurrian names are frequent,[275] but dramatically dominate the sources later on, in the 15th-14th c.[276] The implications from a socio-linguistic point of view are difficult to assess, but it is remarkable that, beside the onomastic material, already the early texts (Alalaḫ-VII) include Hurrian glosses, termini technici and lexical morphology showing vast Hurrian linguistic

[271] The problem of Hurrian ethnicity or identity can't be discussed in this work. On these topics for Kizzuwatna see the dedicated section (§6.1-2).
[272] This argument for the existence of Hurrian *Siedlungsgebiete* is exemplified in Richter 2004, 268-271.
[273] Richter 2004, 281-284. Documents from Mari, Tel Šaǧīr Bāzār, Šubat-Enlil/ Tel Leilān, Tel al-Rimaḥ and Tuttul/Tel Biʿa. An important document is the prism from Tigunānum, dating to the late OB/Old Hittite period; published in Salvini 1996. On the evidence from Old Babylonian period also Salvini 1998, 111-114.
[274] Salvini 1998, 112.
[275] A three to seven proportion between Hurrian/Semitic names, according to Gelb 1961, 39.
[276] A similar predominance of Hurrian names exists in the contemporary LBA documents from Qatna; Schwartz 2018, 449.

influence.[277] This unmistakably indicates that the language was spoken by at least some of the population there. Notable, for example, is the use in local Akkadian of a Hurr. gentilic adj. form like *Amuroḫḫe* (*Amurr(i)=o=ġe*), in place of Akk. *Ammurrû* (*Amurru=yu* vel sim.). Some interesting evidence comes also from six Hurrian texts from Mari, five of which are incantations involving the cult of Teššob and other gods of Kumme, the main center of cult of the Hurrian Storm-god.[278] They could have ended up at the palace archives for many reasons, but indicate at least the growing regional-specific reputation of the Hurrian religious traditions. Note that this Hurrianization was not a diffused phenomenon, but appears to have targeted limited areas or city centers, presumably reflecting established communities of speakers settling in those locations.

While the larger Hurrian imprint of the LBA documents can be reasonably explained through the expansion of Mittanian control and its influence over western Syria,[279] the Hurrian linguistic material emerges distinctively in the regional documentation already during the early MBA.

Other documents, this time from Kaniš-Kültepe in Anatolia, likewise suggest that at least by the early 18th c. (*kārum* Ib), Hurrian groups had already settled west of the Euphrates. In the kanišite tablets Hurrian personal names are attested since *kārum* II, although the majority of them comes from the later

[277] Gelb 1961, 39. Toponomastics also show the Hurrian interference, with typical endings *–ġe, –ve,* eventually *–ž* and *–že/-šše* (Richter 2004, 289; on the ending *-ž* see Giorgieri 2000, 293 §5.2). Wilhelm discussed early attestations of Hurrian ritual terminology (cult vessels *ḫubrušḫi* and *aġrušḫi*; ritual terms *keldi-* and *azasḫu(m)*) from a text of the level VII, which describes some ritual procedures connected to an oath (AlT *126; see Janowski-Wilhelm 1993, 152-158).

[278] Salvini 1998, 113; Salvini 2000, 11 fig. 2.

[279] This does not necessarily correlate with large-scale movements of people; emulation of the Mittanian élites provides a plausible explanation for the phenomenon (Akkermans-Schwartz 2003, 329; similarly Schwartz 2018, 449-450). In the last article, it is also suggested that the changes in the archaeological evidence with the transition to the LBA also corresponded with an ideological break, and the rejection of various aspects of the MBA life and institutions; presumably this favored, or corresponded to, the rise of the Mittanian state in the region.
In respect to the diffusion of the Hurrian onomastic it is worth recalling that the kings of Mittani, though, strictly employed (or assumed with the throne) Indo-Aryan names; the reasons for this custom remain quite obscure, but certainly the peculiar onomastics was a conscious, distinctive qualifier of the dynasty. A brief discussion on this topic in von Dassow 2008, 84-90 and De Martino 2014a, 69.

level (Ib).[280] Still, the unambiguous Hurrian forms are very rare, and it seems unlikely that in Kaniš and its environs Hurrian was spoken by local inhabitants, thus that Hurrian spread so far into Anatolia.[281] A few documents from the Assyrian trade colony, however, are particularly interesting for they contain an unusually large number of Hurrian names in face of the rest of the documentation.[282] One text (Kt K/K 4) deviates in many respects from typical Old Assyrian tablets: in fact this was a letter sent from elsewhere to a merchant at Kaniš who bore a Hurrian name (Unap-še). The sender, apparently based in Tunip in Syria and likewise bearing a Hurrian name (Eḫli-addu), requested the payment of a large borrow of silver. He called upon witnesses that, judging from their names, where of various origin, but who presumably lived in Ḫaššum/Ḫaššu(wa) on the basis of context. This text indicates, along with other sources, that Ḫaššum was probably a center of Hurrian language and culture at this time, or at least with an important Hurrian component.[283]

Note that Haššum, a center of disputed location in the kingdom of Mama/Ma'ama,[284] was not part of the kanišite trade network. Ma'ama was located approximately between Göksu and Maraş, and a body of documents of singularly diverse geographical and chronological provenience reports about the deeds of one of its kings, Anum-ḫirwe, despite, otherwise, very little is known about this polity.[285] While this ruler also carries a Hurrian name, J. Miller (2001a, 100) suggested that the population composition of this kingdom would not be much different from that of Kaniš, so it perhaps included, likewise, a minor

[280] Michel 2014, 127. Wilhelm (2008, 185) also notes that these names "display archaic features with better parallels in the Ur III and Mari periods than in the Late Bronze Age sources".
[281] Wilhelm 2008, 186.
[282] These texts were briefly discussed in Wilhelm 2008 (186-193) and Michel 2012 (126-127).
[283] Wilhelm 2008, 189. On the Hurrian component at Haššu, with previous literature, see also Richter 2004, 289.
[284] On the location of Ḫaššum, a summary in Wilhelm 2008, 189-190 with ref.: 1) Forlanini identifies Mama and Ḫaššum, to be located in the area of Maraş (also recently: Forlanini 2019); 2) Miller separates the two, with Mama being between Maraş and Göksun, and Ḫaššum located at Tilmen Höyük (following Astour); 3) Salvini, Archi and Pecorella (1971) suggested that the site of Araban by Gaziantep could be Ḫaššum. Ünal (2015) also proposed to identify it with Oylum Höyük. At any rate, the broader region where Ḫaššum and/or Mama were located is clear. See ns. map *fig. 1.*
[285] A detailed discussion on this ruler and the evidence on his kingdom in Miller 2001a. His reign would date, indicatively, to 1795-1765 (ibid. 67). The most notable text is an original document, a letter between him and Warsama king of Kaniš found in the latter's palace.

Hurrian component. However, at the light of these various documents, it seems that the situation must have been different at Kaniš and at Ma'ama: here, the Hurrian component was probably more significant and numerous. At Kaniš, where there was no consistent Hurrian 'population', individuals with Hurrian names appear to operate in trading, presumably as emissaries of their native city. This also corresponds nicely with the exclusion of Ḫaššu from the Assyrian traders' sphere of action, as it was the case that the hassuwites were commercially active on their own with/at the Anatolian mercantile hub.

All these documents provide evidence that Hurrian "spread up the Orontes valley as early as MB period" (Wilhelm 2008, 187), and that "the Hurrian language was well established in the area west of the Euphrates and south of the Antitaurus – well established to the point that the ruler (i.e. Anum-ḫirwe) had a Hurrian name and a town (Sibuḫuliwe) had a name with Hurrian suffixes" (ibid. 190). Thus, since at least the 90s most scholars believe that the linguistic spread of Hurrian had necessarily reached northern Syria west to the Euphrates, involving specific areas over a broad territory, much earlier than the time of the expansion of Mittani, to which for a long time this spread was credited.[286] At least around the 18th c., and likely earlier, in settlements as far west as along the Amanus and at Alalaḫ, Hurrian groups lived with predominantly local Syrian populations of Semitic linguistic affiliation. In some areas this Hurrian presence appears to be more relevant, with the creation of local principalities and enclaves (for example Ma'ama). While it can well be the case that the raise of Mittani further emphasized the Hurrian component, and/or Hurrian speakers did factually increase during 16th-15th c., Hurrian speakers were unmistakably already present in several zones of northern Syria and along the fringes of south-eastern Anatolia beyond the Antitaurus during the MBA.

What was the situation in Cilicia? Unfortunately, in comparison with the neighboring areas, the absence of written sources leaves us in the dark. It is however significant that zones at the back of

[286] A useful overview already in Wilhelm 1996b. More recently Richter 2005 and Wilhelm 2008, 191, with additional bibliography.

Cilicia, east to the Amanus, provide substantial evidence for the early presence of Hurrian-speaking people. Two arguments can be made to suggest that a similar situation may apply to Cilicia as well.

1. The first reason to presume an early (generically MBA) Hurrian presence is cultural, and concerns in particular the domain of religious traditions. The cults of Kizzuwatna, as the Hittite rich documentation on the subject indicates, are connected almost exclusively to the Syrian-Hurrian milieu, notably the cults of Aleppo. There are two possibilities: the first is that this reflects rapid developments of relatively late date, happening under the Mittanian influence *during* the 15th c. This implies a rapid and virtually complete substitution of any preceding local religious-cultural tradition, which left virtually no trace. When the local traditions – in the form of cults and rituals – were imported by the Hittite conquerors, very few distinctively 'local' traits or conceptions, unrelated to a Syro-Hurrian *and* Luwian/Anatolian background are visible (an overview in §6.2). In my view this comes in conflict with the hypothesis that these were late, rapid developments. Assuming this is possible, it would mean that these phenomena exclusively emanated from the kingdom élites' agency, as the establishment of Hurrian cults cannot – at this late time – be explained through a significant population component moving in the region; there was no Hurrian 'migration' during the 15th c. motivated by the political vicinity of Kizzuwatna and Mittani. On the other hand, even assuming a 'philo-Hurrian' élite in 15th c. imposed the adoption of Hurrian traditions independently from a population component – thus a purely cultural explanation, – does not reconcile well with the linguistic situation of the region in historical time, as discussed in next section.

The second possibility is that the Hurrian "cultural dominance"[287] in Kizzuwatna is motivated by the fact that a Hurrian population component existed in Cilicia already during the MBA. The situation in the neighboring regions might be a good parallel. This Hurrian population must have been also sufficiently *influential* – at least culturally, but one would not exclude also numerically (e.g. Ünal-Girginer 2007, 61

[287] Yakubovich 2010a, 285.

ff.) – in order to produce visible effects on the religious-cultural traditions of the region. Eventually, the growing significance of the Hurrian component in the MBA happened under circumstances compatible with those signaled for the adjacent north-western Syrian macro-region.[288] In brief, Cilicia would participate in dynamics that involved the broader north-Syrian MBA milieu, but with peculiar local variables – for example with the development of a perceptibly 'bilingual' environment. Wilhelm provides a similar argument, discussing the MB Hurrianization west of the Euphrates:

> "Hurrian literary culture may well have radiated towards Ḫaššum's neighbours, Ḫalab, Mukiš *and Kizzuwatna* and via these intermediaries influenced the culture of the Hittite capital of the late 15th to the end of the 13th centuries" (Wilhelm 2008, 193).

If it remains difficult to evaluate the weight of a *population* component, from a cultural perspective the possibility of early contacts with the Hurrian religious traditions may be seen within a broader Near Eastern phenomenon. A trend of diffusion of these traditions begun quite early and peaked in various contexts in the early part of the second Millennium. At Ur III there is already evidence of state sponsored worship of foreign deities, including several of the Hurrian pantheon (especially goddesses: Allatum, Šavoška, Bēlet-Nagar, Ḫaburitum).[289] Evidence of this period also comes from the archive of Puzriš-Dagan, an important administrative center and place of cult.[290]

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[288] One could argue that the geographical isolation of Cilicia posits a problem for this view. For example, it appears that the Taurus and the anti-Taurus chains, since prehistoric times, acted as an important inter-regional watershed between Anatolia and Syria. This is mirrored by population aspects – almost certainly the population at Kaniš spoke Hittite and eventually Luwian (Yakubovich 2011; see ns. *fig. 17*) – and by material culture, as Kaniš belongs entirely to the central Anatolian domain of material-cultural interaction. I also pointed out that a substantial Hurrian presence at Kaniš seems unlikely, and only individuals or small groups were active in commerce there. Likewise, the Amanus may have been to some extent a limit between Syria and Cilicia, for example working as spatial divide of trade networks and as political border of the kingdom of Ma'ama to the west. However the Amanus never seemed to be a substantial barrier from an *anthropic-cultural* point of view, as the material-cultural trends show. Provided also its orographic and terrain characteristics, it doesn't seem to have acted as a powerful social and demographic barrier either, thus can't be compared to the Taurus as an equally strong geographical divide.

[289] Sharlach 2002; the article deals with the evidence of foreign religious influx in the Ur III court. These foreign deities are absent in the royal inscriptions and hymns, but appear in contemporary offering lists from the capital cities of Sumer, Nippur, Ur and Uruk.

[290] On Puzriš-Dagan see Sallaberger 2006.

But it was not only – or mostly – about the gods: it seems that this phenomenon is very much connected with the religious competence and expertise of Hurrian experts. Again, this appears to be something that begins much earlier than the age of Mittani: Sharlach (2002, 111-112) discusses the presence of religious and ritual experts of Hurrian background in the Ur III local administration. These were held in some esteem, and some even appointed in the highest cultic offices. The author makes the example of Taḫiž-adal, court diviner (<maš$_2$-šu-gid$_2$-gid$_2$>) under Amar-Sîn and Šu-Sîn, and Pappan-šen, who was <zabar-dab$_5$>, a very important title, chief of the cupbearers and overseer of diviners – in fact the highest office for the royal cult.[291] Interest in the Hurrian religious expertise is witnessed also in a number of Old Babylonian period documents; the few Hurrian texts from Mari, previously mentioned, clearly show the link between Hurrian language and the practice of divination and specific religious traditions. The linguistic and cultural background of these materials was also acknowledged in the explicit description of the period's Hurrian incantations as "Subarean" (Sharlach counts some twenty of them from various centers; ibid. 113).

Far in the north, at Tigunānum, the local archives held tablets with Hurrian content and in particular some omen texts attributed or associated to a diviner Kuzzi – apparently authoritative in this field – which have several linguistic peculiarities that can be seen as Hurrian glossae or Hurrianizing forms.[292] Several of these were written by Šamaš-muštēšir, probably one student of him, and notably a Hurrian text of difficult interpretation from this archive mentions both names, likely the same individuals active in divination.[293] The language of the omina analyzed by George (2013, 101-128) led him to think that the

[291] On the <zabar-dab$_5$> see Sallaberger *apud* Sallaberger-Westenholz (1999, 186-188).
[292] A list of these texts in George 2013, 103; some of the omina are published in ibid. 110-128 (texts n. 17, 19-21); a discussion also in Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 72-74. Note that these tablets are only a small part of what was a quite significant library of divination texts, on whose dispersal see some details in George 2013, 102.
[293] George 2013, 104-15 remains prudent in this regard. The text is published in Salvini 1996, 123-126. It is worth mentioning here that a diviner Kuzzi was active at Alalaḫ roughly at the same time, and this was a figure of quite high status as well. George discusses the possibility that all these references indeed indicate the same individual, who "would then have been a prominent and well-connected diviner specializing in the procuring, feeding and extispicy of sacrificial birds in Tigunānum, Alalakh and perhaps other towns of north Syria" (2013, 105).

mother-tongue of the scribes was not Akkadian, presumably Hurrian. There are also fragmentary rituals attesting the cult of Ištar, in particular Ištar of Nineveh.[294] The documents from this archive all date to the late Old Babylonian period, during the reign of Tunip-Teššup, who was a contemporary of Ḫattusili I (as we know from their original letter; Salvini 1994).

This evidence shows from one side that experts from the Hurrian milieu were esteemed for their knowledge in magic, and their reputation in these fields was acknowledged in Mesopotamia since the end of the third millennium.[295] Then, it also indicates the existence of a distinct Hurrian stream of tradition, visible in early second millennium written sources.[296] Since this phenomenon characterizes a period that greatly precedes the political expansion of a "Hurrian" kingdom of Mittani, the introduction of Hurrianized ritual and religious traditions in Cilicia rather originates in this context, as well as the development of a local line of ritual practice strongly based on northern Syrian models.

2. A second argument in support of a Hurrian presence in the MBA is linguistic, and will be discussed in connection with the discourse of Luwian in Kizzuwatna. Linguistic arguments have been put forward to demonstrate that a Hurrian component represented a population *substrate* for the Luwian newcomers from central Anatolia (Yakubovich 2010a, 53 see *infra*). Specific dialectal developments in the local form of Luwian can be well explained as contact-induced linguistic phenomena in a multi-lingual environment, in particular through influx from Hurrian. As discussed in the next section, this seems to also exclude a low date of the introduction of spoken Hurrian in Kizzuwatna.[297] Similarly, Luraghi (2008, 148) proposed that some linguistic characteristics of 'cuneiform' Luwian can be explained through linguistic contact with Hurrian at an early stage: "(...) at an early time, *before the beginning of written sources*, a group of

[294] Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 73 with ref.
[295] Steinkeller 1998, 82-84, followed by Sharlach 2002, 110-114.
[296] Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 74.
[297] This cultural and linguistic "Hurrianization" is quite different from the phenomenon visible in Hittite context beginning with the late 15th and throughout the 14th c. See §7.5.

Luwians lived in close contact with the Hurrians in the area of Kizzuwatna, experiencing a situation of bilingualism".

Further in this study it will be also observed that the form of Hurrian presumably in use in Kizzuwatna (as it can be inferred from the texts imported at Ḫattuša), for it presents dialectal differences from the standard Hurrian employed in the Mittanian chancellery – notably retaining archaic traits – also supports the scenario here presented (§6.2.2).

3.3.2 Luwian and Luwians

Neither Hurrian nor Luwian were autochthonous languages in Cilicia. While, as previously suggested, Hurrian was diffused to some extent in the region during the MBA, when did Luwian speakers first arrived? According to the most credited perspectives, Luwian very likely developed in central Anatolia, along with other independent Indo-European languages such as Hittite.[298] These were in fact already distinct languages in the period of the Old Assyrian *kārum* Kaniš (*fig. 17*).[299] Forms of Luwian were spoken both north and south of the Taurus in the historical period, and these could not have developed entirely independently in the two areas. It means that Luwian was intrusive in Cilicia and was brought from the north *after* the language was already fully developed within the Luwic branch of Anatolian (Giusfredi

[298] The core area where Luwian (or "common Luwian", see *infra*) was originally spoken is very likely the area identified in Hitt. as *Luwiya*, broadly located west to the bend of the Halys.
[299] Melchert 2011, 709. The differentiation of the Anatolian languages happened already *in* third Millennium, due to the scatter and isolation of groups of speakers in various areas of Asia Minor. On the position of the Anatolian Indo-European group, see Melchert (1998) and (*forthc*). and the recent overview in Kroonen et al. 2018 (1-7, 15-16). There is consensus on the fact that Indo-European languages are intrusive to Anatolia, albeit different models, directions and chronologies of the dispersal exist; a version of the Pontic-Caspian "Steppe hypothesis" model is currently considered the most plausible (e.g. Anthony-Ringe 2015, Damgaard et al. 2018). In respect to Anatolian, Kroonen et al. 2018 indicate: 1) a model of gradual infiltrations and cultural assimilation in Anatolia of speakers of I.-E. Anatolian languages; 2) a period of Proto-Anatolian linguistic unity in fourth millennium; 3) corroboration of the Indo-Anatolian phylogenetic clade model, according to which Anatolian I.-E. split off from a Proto-I.-E. considerably earlier than the rest of the I.-E. languages, and in particular descended from a collateral branch of Proto-I.-E. (which is the "Indo-Anatolian"), rather than being a daughter subclade (for a succinct presentation of other models, viewpoints and a discussion of terminology see Melchert 1998).

2017, 79).[300] A more detailed model of linguistic development of Luwian was proposed in Yakubovich 2010a (*fig. 18b*). It is necessary to briefly recount some of the arguments put forward in the latter's work, in order to discuss in more detail the nature and chronology of the Luwian presence in Cilicia.

While it was already evident that morpho-syntactic variables existed in Luwian documents, Yakubovich proposed a distinction of proper *dialects* of Luwian, elaborating on some previous suggestions of Melchert (2003). In place of the frequent distinction between a 'cuneiform' and 'hieroglyphic' Luwian, a new dialectal phyliation of the Luwian family distinguishes – in the LBA – two dialects called conventionally 'Empire Luwian' and 'Kizzuwatna Luwian' (*fig. 18b*).[301] These dialectal divisions were not the result of primary split, but "forms of *koinē* formed in the respective polities" (Yakubovich 2010a, 71).

The *Empire Luwian*, which is attested in the Luwian lexicon embedded in Hittite texts and in the corpus of LBA inscriptions written in the Anatolian hieroglyphic script, was presumably in use in Ḫattuša and its environs. A number of features separate this dialect from the language of the Luwian incantations found in the documents originally stemming from the region of Kizzuwatna; their variety of Luwian, the *Kizzuwatna Luwian*, was spoken south of the Taurus.[302] There is no need to expand here on the specifics of the dialectal distinction, based on several innovations and/or retained archaisms, but it is worth mentioning that at least one major morpho-syntactic innovation of Kizzuwatna Luwian can be explained as a contact-induced change under the influence of Hurrian. It is the creation of the form *–aššanza-* to mark pl. number of the possessor in the possessive adjectives in *–aśśa/i-*.[303] While previous explanations

[300] This filiation of Anatolian, with the concept of a "Luwic family" was introduced in Melchert 2003, 177 n. 7; 2011. Yakubovich (2011) dates the stage of "common Luwian" to ca. 2000 BCE.
[301] Yakubovich 2010a, 15-73; a summary also in Yakubovich 2011, 535-539. A third dialect, the Ištanuwa Luwian, is not relevant for the present discussion.
[302] See §7.5.2 for a more detailed discussion on the ritual corpus of texts related to Kizzuwatna.
[303] Yakubovich 2010a, 45-53. In this respect the Kizzuwatna Luwian also stands out in opposition to a general trend for which in both Hittite and Luwian the outcomes of inherited i.e. gen. pl. *-*ōm* were replaced (after MH period) with the extended use of the gen. sg. *–aš* in the plural. It can be established independently, on the basis of content, that the documents featuring some distinct innovations are notably those of Kizzuwatnean origin; these traits are thus isoglosses of this dialect of Luwian.

of these forms were not entirely satisfactory, Yakubovich showed that they must be direct calques of Hurrian constructions generated in similar syntactical circumstances (which show *Suffixaufnahme*[304]). These forms disambiguated pl. possessors, which due to linguistic developments was obscured in Anatolian morphology at that point; presumably, they were introduced by second language learners, whose native language was Hurrian. Similar considerations had been made previously also by Stefanini (2002) and Luraghi (2008, 146-148).

Other characteristics of the texts containing the Kizzuwatna Luwian point to a southern environment, the most important being the Hurrian religious content of those texts, and the Hurrian linguistic background of the ritual technical terminology; other lexical forms are also notable, for example a west Sem. borrowing like *halāl(i)-* "pure" in the *Ritual of Puriyanni* (CTH 758), a form never occurring in non-Kizzuwatnean Hittite-Luwian texts (see Yakubovich 2010a, 20). At the same time, the dialectal distinction well explains *Empire* Luwian early innovations and isoglosses that set it apart from the southern dialect while this, on the contrary, retains archaic paradigms still in the 15th c.[305]

Although Hawkins (2013b) rejected this new phylogeny, considering the evidence inconclusive, and Simon (2016, esp. 326-330) rejected the explanation of the possessive constructions as externally induced, several scholars agree that the picture presented by Yakubovich is so far the most complete and convincing, pending future compelling evidence for the contrary.[306]

[304] Giorgieri 2000, 262-264.
[305] For example, an important innovation in New Hittite, the merger between nom. pl. c. and acc. pl. c. (*-eš; -uš* > *-eš/uš*) appears to be very likely caused by structural contacts with *Empire Luwian*, where this trait, visible in the Iron Age inscriptions, was presumably already generalized (nom.-acc. pl. c *–nzi*). This is not the case of the LBA Luwian cuneiform texts (i.e. *Kizzuwatna Luwian*), where the old acc. pl. c. *–nz(a)* is still attested. A detailed discussion in Yakubovich 2010a, 26-34, 337-344.
[306] Giusfredi (2017, 83) summarizes: "(the) idea of a Kizzuwatna "dialect" of Luwian that was highly influenced by the Hurrian interlinguistic environment is currently the best explanation for the behavior, distribution and apparent evolution of Luwian genitives and genitival adjectives from the linguistic point of view". The taxonomy is also accepted by Melchert (2011 and afterwards); see a brief review of the state of the art in Giusfredi 2017, 80.

In his reconstruction, Yakubovich also provided a historical background to this dialectal situation. He explains the diffusion of Luwic in Cilicia, and the subsequent development of a distinct regional dialect with the migration of central Anatolian people in the historical context of the raids of Ḫattusili I and Mursili I.[307] According to this theory, these movements of people "must have represented a joint venture of Hittite and Luwian population groups", connected with military enterprises (Yakubovich 2010a, 273; 2011, 536). Thus, a consistent arrival of Luwian speakers from central Anatolia would date to the late 17th-early 16th c. (according to the Middle Chronology), under the purposeful circumstances of a colonization policy.

However, a connection between the Old Hittite military expansionism and a colonization model of "planned" character, with subsequent Luwian linguistic dispersion in Cilicia, is problematic. While no sources indicate such a process was in place in Cilicia, the model does not apply to other areas either, notably in the upper Euphrates' region and in northern Syria, where Hittite military activities in the early Old Kingdom are well documented. Given the nature and goals of those enterprises, one can hardly employ the term colonization to describe the Hittite military and political project (see §4.3.1 on this topic).[308] Additionally, this reconstruction depends significantly on a historical framework which, it is suggested in the present study, requires a substantial reassessment: chapter 4 presents arguments to show there is very little ground to reconstruct a Hittite "conquest" of Cilicia in the centuries 17th-16th c.[309] The discussion will also reconsider the idea that the Syrian campaigns of the early Hittite kings necessarily proceeded through the Taurus and Cilicia; both points, of course, subtract ground to the proposed scenario.

[307] Yakubovich 2010a, 273.
[308] See e.g. the definitions of migration and colonization in Knapp 2013, 265; also Knapp 2008, 30-61 for a terminological discussion.
[309] Indeed, the author himself underlines the lack of evidence in this regard (Yakubovich 2010a, 273 n. 79).

This caveat does not affect the validity of most arguments proposed by Yakubovich, including the specifics of the dialectal evolution of Luwian. In respect to the *chronology* of the arrival of Luwian speakers in Cilicia, Yakubovich (2010a, 273) states:

> "(…) the close similarities between Empire Luvian and Kizzuwatna Luvian indicate that Luvians had reached southeastern Anatolia *no more that several hundred years* before their texts[310] were recorded." (my emphasis).

The phrasing implies that there are different possibilities. How much time is necessary for the development of linguistic innovations in the dialect of Kizzuwatna from the common stage of Luwian? In other words, what is the sufficient length of inter-linguistic contacts with Hurrian to generate the identified interferences? The question is certainly difficult to answer, but it seems that, linguistically speaking, this time range could span a few centuries, which makes it plausible to set the "arrival" of Luwians throughout the MBA and the beginning of LBA. This broad chronology depends on when the 'Kizzuwatna texts' were written down, i.e. the Luwian incantations were embedded in their ritual frame;[311] the existing copies were created in Ḫattuša in the early 14th c., but there are different opinions on whether these texts are copies of documents already written *in* Kizzuwatna, presumably earlier in the 15th c. (Miller 2004, 256[312]), or were first recorded when embedded in the Hittite-Luwian rituals at the capital, thus somewhat later (Yakubovich 2010a, 277-279; 2011, 539[313]). In either case, it gives a span of little less than two centuries for the development of the dialectal characteristics from the common source.

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[310] These texts are the incantations in "Kizzuwatna Luwian" recorded in some ritual texts, the most important being the rituals of Zarpiya (CTH 575), Puriyanni (CTH 758), Kuwatalla/Šilalluḫi (CTH 759-762); ed. in Starke 1985a, 46-201, no complete translations currently exist of these rituals.

[311] Scholars maintain that the incantations were preserved in original in order to maintain their magic efficacy (Yakubovich 2011, 539); the same applies to the various incantations in foreign languages, relatively common in Hittite ritual texts (e.g. Hattian, Hurrian, Palaic). For other examples of linguistic code switching for magic purpose – a phenomenon not necessarily determined by the high social or cultural prestige of a language or dialect – see Yakubovich 2010a, 280-283.

[312] Miller (2004, 256) postulated that between the end of the OH and mid MH period "(…) the textual material was created in Kizzuwatna, presumably alongside an active oral tradition." The Hittites later – around the time of Tudḫaliya I – had access to the archives of Kizzuwatna, part of which they began copying afterwards.

[313] This idea is based on the "private" character of the Luwian rituals (i.e. they are not directed to the royal couple and would not mirror official practices of the court of Kizzuwatna/Kummani) and the lack of evidence for literacy

While this chronology is compatible with the idea of a relatively sudden movement of people connected with the early Old Hittite kings' expansionistic policy (i.e. Yakubovich' "colonization" model), it can't be excluded that a plausible alternative is that the arrival of Luwian speakers in Cilicia was more gradual, and that this process begun earlier on during the MBA. Melchert (2003, 12) already suggested so implicitly: "it seems certain that Luwian was present in Kizzuwatna by the Old Hittite period, and it was likely already there *several centuries earlier*".

Within this discussion, it is necessary to comment briefly on the topic of migration. While migrations and mobility as explanatory tools have been somewhat neglected in academic discussion after the 60s, there has been in relatively recent time a conscious re-engagement with these concepts, especially for the interpretation of the archaeological record.[314] The reason of the reluctance to discuss migration in archaeological research – but also in ancient history – is a legacy of processualism, which rejected diffusionism and migrationism as hallmarks of early 20th c. 'cultural history'. Processual theories favored, on the contrary, internal and systemic factors to explain cultural or social change. However, population movements are a historical reality and can explain certain phenomena, for example complex sets of material-cultural change and language diffusion.[315]

A migration model alternative to that proposed in Yakubovich 2010a presumes multiple streams of population movements, which did not begin only in the late 17th c, but further back in time. In broader Anatolia these population dynamics belong to a larger process of movements and contacts – including

in Kizzuwatna (Yakubovich 2010a, 277). A typological parallel can be also drawn with the transfer of the traditions from Arzawa (ibid. 278).

[314] Anthony 1990; Knapp 2008, 2013; van Dommelen 2014; Bachhuber 2015a; van Dommelen-Knapp 2010.

[315] For a survey on the topic and on the theoretical trends from an archaeological perspective see in particular van Dommelen 2014. One significant aspect of recent studies on migrations is that they increasingly consider these phenomena not as much from the perspective that movers are 'colonizers', and bring about a unidirectional process of cultural or social change, but highlight dialectical phenomena of integration, in which the active role and the involvement of the inhabitants of the 'colonized' regions are particularly valorized (Knapp-van Dommelen 2010, 3).

warfare – in the first part of the second millennium.[316] In literature a similar model is called of "chain" migrations (e.g. Knapp 2008, 49), which posits that migration movements follow earlier ones, eventually relying on information on routes and destination opportunities as pull factors. In fact, beyond push-factors, familiarity with routes, connections with previous migrants and the existence of social and logistic support in the location of arrival are (frequently) equally critical in migration dynamics.[317] One relevant traction factor for mobility in Anatolia may be identified in long-distance trading activity, particularly in the third and second Millennium (§3.2). Although the evidence is scanty, high connectivity of the Luwian newcomers with the territories of origin can be potentially inferred also on linguistic ground, as discussed *infra* in better detail (§6.2.1; §7.5.2).

A gradual process of Luwian linguistic diffusion may as well better overlap with regional material-cultural correlates.[318] The trends of change in pottery traditions towards the end of the MBA, with the appearance of central Anatolian influx in the Cilician ceramic repertoire, indicate increasing connections between Cilicia and central Anatolia, and might as well be one indicator for these population dynamics. The gradual integration of NCA-style pottery in the Cilician archaeological record (in detail §4.5.1, §5.8) less likely coincides with a scenario of purposeful colonization;[319] in such case, one would expect to see different signals of a number of outsider settlers migrating in a close range of time, especially if these events have a precise *political* backup (as in the model of Yakubovich).

[316] Conquests through warfare are notably witnessed in the Kuššarite/Hittite conquest of Kaniš in the 18th c., and then the foundation of a Hittite state centered in the ancient city of Ḫattuš.
[317] A summary on migration models from various disciplinary perspectives in Anthony 1997 and Knapp 2008, 47-49.
[318] A caveat is in order: material culture mirrors quite unpredictably population layouts. For example, at the MBA *kārum* at Kaniš, there is no purely archaeological sign of the presence of an Old Assyrian merchants' enclave, a fact that has always struck scholars. This population group would be archaeologically invisible, if it were not for their written records.
[319] A more substantial emergence of central Anatolian pottery styles can be seen only at the turn of 16th c. See the next chapters.

Although the present scenario for the Luwianization (and Hurrianization) of Cilicia necessarily remains hypothetical, the formation of a multilingual environment with traces visible in 15th-14th c., the glottological character of the Kizzuwatna Luwian, the composite traits of the regional culture and religion can be well – if not better – explained through a slower process of integration of these components, with roots in the MBA, rather than through a relatively *late* and *fast* Hittite-Luwian joint venture movement of people. A possible parallel for the linguistic integration of Luwian in Cilicia is the scenario proposed by C. Melchert for the assimilation between the Hittite speaking newcomers and the local inhabitants in the environs of Ḫattuša in central Anatolia during the MBA: a relatively long and peaceful process explains the blending of elements, linguistic and cultural, in the Hittite culture.[320] This view requires to dispose of the direct link between the Luwianization of Cilicia and the Old Kingdom political-military activities, a link certainly attractive but ultimately unnecessary.

3.4. Egyptian sources: references to Cilicia and contacts during the MBA?

It has been proposed that some texts from the Egyptian Middle Kindgom (ca. 1939-1760 BCE)[321] may contain information on Cilicia and southern Anatolia. This was based on the interpretation of two *loci* in Egyptian texts: a passage in the *Tale of Sinuhe*, according to Schneider (2002), contains a Luwian title of ruler and a toponym potentially connected with Cilicia, while the *Annals of Amenemhet II* possibly refer to a Cilician city as target of military campaigns. In order to provide a broader picture of the contacts'

[320] Melchert 2011, 712.

[321] 12th dynasty: 1939^{+16}–1760 (Krauss et al. 2006, 491-492); 1938-1759 (Grajetzki 2006). Dates of reigns according to Krauss et al. 2006:

Amenemhet I	$1939–1910^{+16}$	Senwosret III	1837–1819
Senwosret I	$1920–1875^{+6}$	Amenemhet III	1818–1773
Amenemhet II	$1878–1843^{+3}$	Amenemhet IV	1772–1764
Senwosret II	1845–1837	Nefrusobk	1763–1760

framework between Anatolia and Egypt during the Middle Kingdom, this section will also consider the available archaeological evidence.

The problems with the interpretation of the textual references under analysis are of three kinds; the first is that any argument is essentially based on toponomastic evidence. Issues arise already from the *reading* of the toponyms themselves – in part depending from the nature of the Egyptian writing system; this makes it even more complex to suggest identifications with known toponyms from other contexts. The second problem – quite overlooked in fact – is the relative uncertainty of the *location* of the toponyms with which equivalences are established: identifications frequently proceed from the assumption that those locations are already secured beyond doubt, which is often not the case. The third order of problems concerns the textual *context* of this information: the text typologies and their historical reliability, but also the conciseness and lack of details of the passages in which toponyms are mentioned.

3.4.1. Archaeology of contacts between Egypt and Anatolia in the MBA

There is sufficient evidence of contacts, in particular of commercial nature, between Egypt and the rest of the eastern Mediterranean (especially the Levant) during the Middle Kingdom, although this evidence is less remarkable than in other periods.[322] A close connection with Egypt is visible at Byblos, since in the MBA the local rulers adopted the hieroglyphic script for their inscriptions, even employing original titles.[323] This is not necessarily evidence of direct political control, but possibly indicates emulation; the evidence points nonetheless to close relations, be them politically based or attesting close trade connections.[324] Materials from the palace of Ugarit dating to the Middle Kingdom period are of some

[322] On the Egyptian involvement in Asia during the MBA, in particular with the 12th and 13th Dynasties, see Goedicke 1991; Singer 1996b, 614 ff. On the relationships between Egypt and the Levant see also the PhD diss. of Wastlhuber 2011. According to this study, the rulers of 12th dynasty attempted to create "ein Netzwerk intensiver Beziehungen zu den strategisch wichtigen Partnern, mit dem Ziel die Handelswege nach Norden zu sichern" (183), also sending emissaries in crucial trade hubs.
[323] Breyer 2010, 110-111; Ahrens 2011, 292.
[324] The port was already the most important trade hub for Egypt in the Levant in the third millennium, and constantly frequented throughout time, possibly already in the fourth millennium (Scandone Matthiae 1995, 234);

interest,[325] although the time in which those materials were imported is uncertain.[326] One can also quote the Egyptian imports at the royal tombs of Ebla (MBA IIB-C), with materials of the XIII dynasty (ca. 1759-1630) – let alone the Egyptianizing objects – and some Middle Kingdom finds from the tombs of Qatna (notable a sphynx of 12th Dynasty).[327]

It is unclear whether direct Egyptian contacts existed with southern Anatolia so early. An Egyptian small statue (of a nurse Sat-Sneferu) found at Adana-Tepebağ, now at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, is discussed lastly in Ahrens 2011. It dates to the Middle Kingdom, most probably XIII Dynasty.[328] This artifact, whose find context is archaeologically undefined, might well be incorporated in the context of diffusion of exotica from Egypt. In the MBA-LBA those materials were considered throughout the Levant prerogative of the elites in the context of a mechanism of consumption, exchange and exhibition, and served to legitimize and exhibit social rank and status (ibid. 289). In Anatolia most Egyptian materials, chiefly scarabs and other kinds of "amulets", come from unclear archaeological contexts.[329] The question is whether this evidence suggests continuous contacts during the MBA or, rather, commerce of antiquities and exotica during the later LBA.

Some archaeological evidence *from* Egypt unmistakably testifies, instead, that trading connections reached as far as western Anatolian and the Aegean area during the Middle Kingdom.[330] Not necessarily these connections are *direct,* but might have happened through intersection with closer commercial hubs

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this role resumed after the possible contraction or halt of contacts during the first intermediate period of Egypt (ca. 2150-2000) – if these were interrupted at all.

[325] Ahrens 2011, 293-295; notably a carnelian bead naming Sesostris I (12th Dynasty, mid-20th c.), a sphynx with cartouches of Amenemhet III (12th D., late 19th c.), and statues of other individuals all dating to the Middle Kingdom.

[326] Ahrens 2016 (with additional references); in the so called Second Intermediate Period in Egypt, earlier Middle Kingdom artifacts were dispatched to the Levant, in the context of re-use of funerary monuments and phenomena of tomb robbing. Similarly Singer 1996b, 615.

[327] Ahrens 2011, 295-298, with bibliographical references.

[328] Ahrens 2011, 287. A detailed bibliography is provided in Breyer 2010, 585.

[329] On the "egyptiaca" in Anatolia see also De Vos 2003; 2004, 149-150.

[330] In particular, see the treasure of silver objects from eṭ-Ṭūd: the vessels are very likely of Aegean origin, and were collected in four boxes, two of which inscribed with the name of Amenemhet II. In a princess' tomb of the period, jewellery of Aegean production was also found. Grajetzky 2006, 47 bibl. in n. 174; on the Ṭūd treasure briefly also Breyer 2010, 111-113.

eventually in the Levant or on Cyprus. Direct contacts with the Levant (e.g. Byblos), instead, are well visible also locally. Thus, there is reason to think that contacts with southern Anatolia might have existed during the MBA, but it remains unclear whether these are primary or secondary.

3.4.2. Textual evidence

1) *Sinuhe.* The *Tale of Sinuhe* is an Egyptian Middle Kingdom literary text, framed as a fictional commemorative inscription.[331] As Sinuhe's own tomb biography, the composition relates on his eventful life, at the time of the early 12th dynasty. The story narrates how Sinuhe, a royal courtier under Amenemhet I, escapes from Egypt after he overhears at court the communication of the unexpected death of the pharaoh, presumably afraid of allegations of him being involved in the matter.[332] Sinuhe lives a sort of Odyssey, with adventures in Syro-Levantine territories, where he managed to become a local warlord. Eventually, Sinuhe was able to make safe return to Egypt after the new pharaoh Senwosret I – aware of his innocence and unvaried loyalty – asked for his return.

The tale is attested in five manuscripts of the period and twenty later copies, and its composition is generally ascribed to shortly after the reign of Senwosret I, perhaps Amenemhet II (i.e. first half of 19th c.), on the basis of setting and eulogistic content. Linguistic analysis also supports a Middle Kingdom date.[333]

Although the text is certainly a literary piece, and its domain is (historical) fiction, some of the details of the story might provide hints on the contemporary Levantine environment. Schneider (2002) discussed the content of a difficult passage of the tale, attested in the earliest existing papyrus (Berlin 3022) and in a later *ostrakon*, dating to the New Kingdom. The passage belongs to the last section of the tale, describing

[331] An introduction and translation in Parkinson 1997, 21-53.
[332] Various interpretations of the story have been put forward, as we know from another literary text (*The Instructions of Amenemhet)* that the king was assassinated; see Parkinson (2002, 152 ff.) for details.
[333] Schneider 2002, 257; Breyer 2010, 101; Parkinson 2002, 297-298, with detailed bibliography. The earliest manuscript is attributed to the late 12th dynasty, possibly Amenemhet III (1860-1814 or lower). The composition date is also discussed in ibid. 49-50.

an exchange of correspondence between Sinuhe and the new pharaoh Senwosret I. It is suggested that this passage contains Luwian linguistic material and a reference to a Cilician geographic setting. I report his translation and briefly discuss the overall interpretation of this problematic passage.

> "Now may your Majesty command that he brings (tribute):"
>
> [1] m-k-j $^{F.S}$ m qṭ-**nw**-m ^{ḤꜣŚT}
> "the *Mkj⟨m⟩* (=Sem. Mēkim "king[?]") in *Qaṭnwm* (=Qatanum)"
>
> [2] ḫntw-j-ʿ-w-š $^{F.MT}$ m ḫnt $^{FNČ.PR}$ **k-w:č** $^{F.ḤꜣŚT}$
> "the *ḫntwjʿwš* (=Luw. ḫantawattiš "ruler") from the south of *Kwč* (=Kawizza, "dem Kawäischen Land)"
>
> [3] **⟨j⟩**-mn-nw-ś $^{F.S}$ m tꜣ.wj Fnḫ.w
> "the *⟨j⟩mnnwś* (=Amummines) in the *two lands of Fenchu*"
>
> "The lawful carriers[334] of the(ir) title are rulers who exist loyally towards you".
> (translation in Schneider 2002, 269; adapted from German).

The problems concern the reading and interpretation of some obscure terms, and in fact a variety of interpretations exists of the italicized passages – here quoted in standard transliteration. Schneider (2002, 258-259) provides *twenty* different translations from previous publications, one of which is included here for comparison:

> "Now, may your Majesty command that he be made to bring the *Meki man from Qedem* (m-k-j $^{F.S}$ m qṭ-m ^{ḤꜣŚT}), the *settler from out of Keshu* (ḫntw-j-ʿ-w-š $^{F.MT}$ m ḫnt $^{FNČ.PR}$ k-š-w $^{F.ḤꜣŚT}$), and the *Menus man from the land of the Fenkhu* (mn-nw-ś $^{F.S}$ m tꜣ.wj Fnḫ.w)". They are rulers who are well known, who live by the love of you. (…)" (Parkinson 1997, 38).

In brief, the main issues are: 1) the reading/phonetic rendering of those terms; 2) their uncertain interpretation as toponyms, personal names, or titles; 3) the interpretation of the broader content of the passage and the motivation for which these individuals ought to be "brought" to the king of Egpyt. Schneider proposed that the obscure terms are not personal names, but official titles of rulers

[334] I thus attempt to render the German: "Die Gewährsmänner der Titel sind Herrscher, die in Loyalität zu dir existieren" (Schneider 2002, 269).

accompanying the names of the territories where they ruled.[335] It is also argued, on the basis of the text content, that the most likely setting for these locations is not a southern Levantine one – since that area appears to be considered in control of the Egyptian king[336] – but north-Syrian and possibly south-eastern Anatolian (i.e. Cilician). Difficulties in the reading and interpretation of these titles and toponyms would depend from the Hurrian and Anatolian linguistic extraction of the original terminology. Of course, if Schneider's reading is correct, there would be important implications for the political history of south-eastern Anatolia in 20th-19th century.[337] Not only it would be shown that the Egyptian foreign policy could reach Anatolia in the MBA, but, more importantly, that a territory called Kawa/Kawizza existed in the MB I and a local ruler bore a title linguistically Luwian (passage n. [2][338]), which suggests that the territory must be sought in Cilicia and not elsewhere.[339]

In n. [2], the first form would reflect the Luw. lexeme *ḫantawadi-* "ruler", attested in later LBA sources.[340] The reading of the toponym where this "Luwian" *ḫantawadi-* allegedly ruled, instead, is connected with the first millennium toponym Que and with other forms in LBA Egyptian documents that seem to indicate the same name (cuneiform KUR Qa-a-ʳúʾ[-e] in a letter of Ramses II, and Egyptian ḫ-wꜣ (*Ḫuwê*).[341] One problem immediately arise that the supposed connection between first millennium Que and this Kawa is hardly plausible historically, as it is generally thought that the name Que derives from Hiyawa, the Luwian name of Iron Age Cilicia after 12th c.[342]

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[335] Schneider 2002, 261.
[336] Transl. in Parkinson 1997, 38: "(They are rulers who are well known, who live by the love of you.) Without calling *Retjenu* to mind – it is yours, even like your hounds!". The claim might be an expression of flattery, rather than a political statement, but at any rate in Egyptian texts Retjenu appears to be the Levantine area closest to Egypt; See Goedicke 2004, 20-21.
[337] The historical consequences are summarized in Schneider 2002, 269-272.
[338] Items n. [1] and [3] are not directly relevant for the present topic. See Goedicke 2004, 18-19; Breyer 2010, 101 n. 483 for a discussion of these readings.
[339] The arguments are also re-proposed in Breyer 2010, 101-104, with no relevant modifications.
[340] On Luw. *ḫantawadis-* see Starke 1985a, 251 and 1990, 171-172; Melchert 1993, 52; Payne 2010, 157; Yakubovich 2010a, 95-96.
[341] Schneider 2002, 266 with ref. in n. 79. For *Ḫuwê* see Edel 1975, 64-65.
[342] The topic was discussed in §2.2.1; see in summary Gander 2012, 284 n. 25.

While Schneider's proposal has been accepted by some Anatolianists (e.g. Novák 2010), Simon (2011a) showed the inconsistency of the basic arguments, and the historical implausibility of the implications. Although philologically and paleographically possible, the reading of both the title and the name of the territory require non-standard readings (for example the *dalet* value of -ʿ- and aberrant transcription standards) and heavy emendation in the case of the toponym (k-š-w > k-č-w > k-w-č) (with Simon 2011a, 261-263).[343] An Egyptological critique of this phonetic transcription and reading was put forward, instead, by Goedicke (2004, 18-19).[344]

Thus, the case made by Schneider for an early mention of a polity in Cilicia – anticipating Kizzuwatna – is hardly compelling. Pending additional discoveries this reading can't be upheld, regardless of other considerations on the content of this specific passage of *Sinuhe* from a historiographical point of view.[345]

2) *Annals of Amenemhet II.* A second potential textual reference to MBA Cilicia in Egyptian sources was found in the *Annals of Amenhemet II*.[346] The stone inscription, preserved at Memphis in several fragments reused in later structures, provides information on the poorly documented reign of this king, and, more in general, hints on the foreign policy and the international contacts during the 12th dynasty; from an Egyptological perspective, the text testifies on the expanding trade-communication connections in Eastern Mediterranean at this time, and shows a more active foreign policy in Asia with the successors

[343] Simon in fact considers the readings phonologically implausible, if not impossible. The main issues regard the inconsistent transcription standards for the rendering of these supposed Luw. forms in Egyptian. In the case of the toponym, the later ostrakon manuscript contains the *same* spelling *k-š-w*, thus the proposed emendation appears to be quite implausible philologically.
[344] The proposed reading of the sentence under discussion is "the resident leaders of *iw(š)* to the south of *K-y-š*".
[345] It remains possible that details of this text provide realistic information on some of the setting (e.g. the case of the equivalence of <qṭ-nw-m> with Qatna in n. [1]). Goedicke (2004, 21) is more skeptical: "Despite the claims that have been made for it, the section in Sinuhe's letter is hardly a reflection of the detailed political situation in the Levant during the later years of Sesostris I. It would have been fairly irrelevant to the basic aim of the composition to go into details concerning the Levantine political situation".
[346] Bibl. in Breyer 2010, 104 (n. 500), 587.

of Senwosret I.[347] As in the case of *Sinuhe*, this text's geographical background also extends to the Syro-Levantine and eventually broader Eastern Mediterranean area.

The text has annalistic form but the various entries are mostly dedicated to donations for gods and temples in form of lists of objects and brief recounts of political/military events. In a section referring to some commercial missions and military expeditions in "Asia", one passage describes the return of the armies from two locations, *i-wꜣ-i* and *i-ꜣ-ś-y*. These fortified cities[348] were destroyed by the Egyptian armies and war prisoners were captured;[349] then, the text features a long list of metal and wood objects and tools, taken as booty. The 'transcript' style of this document, the low but apparently precise counts of objects offered as votive donations, their given weights, suggest that some of these content details can be historically reliable.[350] The text looks like a descriptive registry, although *typologically* is certainly also configures a propagandistic message. The indication of the destruction of these centers does not necessarily imply broader conquests, but perhaps a demonstration of power at the beginning of the new king's reign in ideological function.[351]

The location of the two toponyms, usually read *Iuai* (*i-wꜣ-i*) and *Iasy* (*i-ꜣ-ś-y*), is unknown, but some scholars proposed to identify them with the harbor cities of Ura (Cilicia) and Alašiya (Cyprus).[352] The importance of Alašiya/Cyprus[353] as pivotal center for maritime commerce in the LBA is well known, and

[347] Goedicke 2004, 21.
[348] Egyptian writing marks the two toponyms surrounding them with a wall enclosure, which suggests they are either fortified centers, or centers or regional scope, i.e. they are "city-states" (Breyer 2010, 106 and n. 505-506).
[349] After Breyer 2010, 104: "Number of the Asiatics, that were brought away from both foreign lands: 1554".
[350] But see, as a parallel, the discussion in Singer 2017 (627 ff.) of various standpoints on the credibility of some inscriptions of Ramses III (possibly concerning campaigns against P/Walastin).
[351] Grajetzky 2006, 46: in connection with the concept of "smiting the enemies", functional to the Egyptian kingship ideology.
[352] Helck 1989, 27-30. He transcribes, according to Middle Kingdom standards: *ʾ-ur-a* and *ʾ-a-r/la-s-ja*.
[353] The equation of Alašiya with the island of Cyprus is virtually undisputable; still, a number of Cypriot archaeologists reject or question the identification (see e.g. the critique to Goren et al. 2003 in Gilbert 2017); a review of the contention in Knapp 2008, 300-303.

direct information in this respect exist in the Cypriot cuneiform tablets found at Ugarit and Amarna.[354] Ch. 2 already highlighted, instead, the role of Ura as the main port of south-eastern Anatolia and its importance for communications and trade in the second half of the 2nd M., and presumably earlier.

There are two place names in Egyptian texts that have been equated with Alašiya, *ʾisy* (*ʾa-si-ja*) and *ʾirsʒ* (*ʾá-la-sá*) (these the transcriptions in Knapp 1996, 8, 42 ff. and 2008, 311); while the second identification is normally accepted, the first – close, but not identical with, the attestation in *Amenemhet* – is controversial. In the contexts of reference, it appears that from both locations notable quantities of copper were shipped to Egypt, and although the first editors of the Annals' blocks dismissed the identification (Altenmüller-Moussa 1991), there would no philological obstacle to the reading (Breyer 2010, 106).

Despite views to the contrary, in particular for the insular location of Cyprus/*Iasy*,[355] Helck (1989, 28) provided arguments to show that the whole expedition to Lebanon must have in fact happened by sea.[356] Other considerations for the historical and philological plausibility of Helck's reading were also presented in Quack 1996. He made the point that the four-months long campaign suit well a naval enterprise to Cyprus and Cilicia.[357] It would seems unexpectedly long, on the contrary, for a mission set in the vicinities of the Egyptian northern frontier (Quack 1996, 79.).

In support of the identification may come also a later text – which lists tributes for the pharaoh – that mentions Alašiya and Ura together (spelled: *i-r-s* and *i-w-r*);[358] similarly to the much earlier passage in

[354] Eight tablets from Amarna (mid-14th c.) and two from Ugarit (13th c.), published in Cochavi-Rainey 2003; more tablets from Ugarit remain unpublished (ibid. 3; also Knapp 2008, 309 with some bibliography on preliminary treatments).
[355] Altenmüller-Moussa 1991; note that the reading Ura/*i-wꜣ-i* is not discussed therein. With a different argument, Goedicke (1991, 94) pointed out that the description of the prisoners taken in those locations as "Asiatics" (*ʒmw*-people), would contradict the identifications. Still, it does not seem unthinkable that both areas would be understood to belong to broader "Asia" as well, from an Egyptian perspective.
[356] Briefly after the passage under discussion, the "ten boats with which the armies went to Lebanon", would show the naval character of the last expeditions described.
[357] Contra Altenmüller-Moussa 1991, 35 n. 24; also Goedicke 1991, 94.
[358] Breyer 2010, 107 (Papyrus Anastasi IV, 17,9 ff.).

Amenemhet, the correlation can be ultimately explained from an Egyptian perspective, as the two are in fact relatively close geographically and belong to a same maritime regional scope.

Thus, the reading seems plausible, but in any case the interpretation concerns rather the history of Egypt and the Middle Kingdom and their contacts with Cyprus (likely) and Cilicia (possibly). The brief note, otherwise, doesn't provide any indication on the political status of Ura – if the reading is correct – apart from the fact that this was important coastal center of presumable importance already in the MBA. This would not be particularly surprising in consideration of the later LBA sources regarding Ura, and the role of this Cilician port at the Göksu outlet for trade (ch. 2).

3.4.3 Discussion

Historically, the Levant appears to be involved in the Egyptian political discussion since the founder of the 12th Dynasty, Amenemhet I; contemporary inscriptions refer to military campaigns in Nubia, Asia and Libya, as well as a slightly later work of literature, the *Teaching of Amenemhet*, a testament-like didascalic composition.[359] The expansionistic attitude of this dynasty is confirmed by the stable conquest under Senwosret I of territories outside the Egyptian home land, far south in Lower Nubia – in fact the first 'foreign' conquest in Egyptian history.[360] The Annals of Amenemhet II confirm this view, along with the archaeological information from Egypt that certifies connections also with the broader Eastern Mediterranean coast, possibly reaching out as far as the Aegean area. The nature of the Egyptian presence in the Levant is understood mostly in form of pure trade relationships, but some implied forms of stronger "cultural" hegemony without direct control: for example, Breyer (2018, 110) saw hints of more invasive Egyptian political presence, for example in the status of Byblos as "Egyptian" city. The evidence, instead, does not show any clear hints to consistent connections with Cilicia.

[359] Grajetzki 2006, 31.
[360] Grajetzki 2006, 42.

In conclusion, while the content of the *Annals of Amenemhet II* certainly shows an expansion of the scope of international activities under the rule of the 12th dynasty, with regard to *Sinuhe* I would refrain – for the typology of text and the uncertainty of interpretation of crucial passages – to go as far as to say that:

> "Die Geschichte des Sinuhe ist mit ihren detaillierten Angaben zu Speise- und Begräbsnissitten und zum System der Landvergabe durch die Fürsten Nordsyriens ein Spiegel der gesellschaftlichen Situation der städtischen Kultur Syriens." (Breyer 2010, 111)

While the *Annals of Amenhemet II* should be given some credit for the information provided on the foreign policy of the Middle Kingdom's 12th dynasty (as Breyer 2010, 111), the scholarly disagreements on 1) the overall interpretation of the text, and on 2) the reading "Alašiya" of one of the toponyms in the passage, do not allow to ultimately verify the interpretation for which Cyprus/Alašiya and Ura in Cilicia had been targets of military raids at this time.

3.5. Excursus: on Cyprus and southern Anatolia in the second millennium

In respect to Alašiya and its early connection with Egypt, one point requires a brief discussion. Breyer (2010, 108), in fact, proposed a Luwian origin of the toponym; it would be formed from a base *alassa/i-,* with the meaning "sea", and the "belonging" suffix *–iya,* also employed to form place names. If this name is Anatolian, one should assume that the population of the island was presumably speaking Luwian at that time, or explain otherwise this "Anatolian connection" of Cyprus in the MBA.

Cuneiform sources clearly indicate that Alašiya was the *local* name of the island in the 14th c.,[361] but a number of MBA external sources show that this was certainly the case earlier on as well (Knapp 2008, 307; references collected in Knapp ed. 1996). The earliest attestations comes from Old Babylonian period documents from Mari, dating to the end of 19th-early 18th c.; the toponym is contained in at least nine

[361] The texts stemming *from* Alašiya refer to the land with this name; see the letters published in Cochavi-Rainey 2003.

letters,[362] all notably dealing with the import of bronze and copper. There is also a Babylonian tablet of mid-18th c. (Knapp 2008, 308) and two texts from Alalaḫ (lev. VII) (Wiseman 1953: AlT 269, l. 33, AlT 385, l. 2) that date to the 17th c. with the MC. In Hittite texts the toponym is attested at least in two texts of MS paleographic ductus, which can be dated to mid-15th and early 14th c. BCE, the *Misdeeds of Madduwatta* (CTH 147) and an evocation ritual (CTH 483.I.A; I 58).[363] Notably, several of these Hittite texts identify the island as the destination of political exiles.[364]

The possible attestation in *Amenemhet* would push back the earliest mention of Alašiya of circa one century. While this does not seem particularly difficult to accept, the problem lies in the supposed Anatolian origin of this toponym, which implies that a "Luwianization" of the island of Cyprus happened at least very early in the second millennium – posited of course that both the reading of the toponym and the etymology proposed by Breyer are correct. If speakers of Anatolian Indo-European languages, namely Luwian, did reach Cyprus in early time, this happened, presumably, from southern Anatolia. Cilicia or the area of the Göksu outlet would be the best candidates for direct contacts, considering the close proximity to the island coasts (some 80 km between the Cypriot northern coast and Silifke).

While appealing, this etymology is nonetheless hard to verify: the meaning of *alassa/i-* is actually unknown, and a connection with "sea" is based on a derived lexeme *alassamma/i-*, for which, by the way,

[362] Collected by J. Sasson in Knapp ed. 1996, 17-19.
[363] Following RGTC 6, 6 and G. Beckman in Knapp ed. 1996, 31-35. The other attestations are all later:
1) the text on the prayer of the Mursili II "first" *Plague prayer to the assembly of gods* (CTH 378.1), in reference to the exile of the relatives loyal to Tudhaliya "the young", murdered by the conjurers allied with Suppiluliuma I;
2) in a fragmentary passage, the Accusation/prayer *Against Tawannanna* of Mursili II (CTH 70);
3) the *Evocation ritual for Ištar of Nineveh* (CTH 716), where Ištar is summoned from a variety of places, including Alašiya, sjh. copy, but the earliest fragmentary man. is MS;
4) a ritual (CTH 413.1; KUB 2.2 and copies, all pal. jh.), interesting for the note on bringing of "copper and bronze from Alašiya, from the mountain Taggata" (URUDU ZABAR (KUR) ^{uru}*A-la-ši-ya-az* $^{ḫur.sag}$*Tág-ga-ta-az ú-te-er*),
5) the Apology of Ḫattusili III (CTH 81),
6) the text on the conquest of Alašiya by Suppiluliuma II (CTH 121; KBo 12.38), the treaty *with* Alašiya (CTH 141), also probably dating to Suppiluliuma II (sjh.),
7) a medical text (CTH 461, jh.), an oracle (KBo 32.226) and two jh. inventory texts (CTH 241.1 and .2).
A mention in an Akkadian text from Ḫattuša also exists, perhaps a letter, KBo I 26 (CTH 216)
[364] Not only: a letter from Ugarit (RS 17.352) informs on the decision of the queen of Ugarit to exile two of her sons to Alašiya (quoted in Knapp 2008, 320).

the translation remains tentative ("sea?": Melchert 1993, 8).[365] The suffix *–iya* is productive in both Hittite and Luwian, forming adj. from nouns or adverbs, but also ethnica in Luwian:[366] if the interpretation is correct, the meaning of the toponym would be "marine".

Anatolian linguistic reflections in Cyprus were also recognized in toponyms such as Tamassós,[367] Amassós, Tegēssós, types possibly deriving from adjectival formations featuring the Hitt.-Luw. adj. suffix *–assa/i-*.[368] In fact, the same analysis may apply to the name Alašiya itself, *if* the name derives from *alassa/i-*, as this is clearly another adj. formation from a stem *ala/i-*.[369] These names in Greek context (cfr. e.g. Alikarnassos) derive from Anatolian toponomastic forms and are attested in Cappadocia, Caria, Lycia and Pysidia. These toponyms are normally thought to date back to the LBA, but one could actually question whether they are necessarily connected *directly* to a Luwian-Anatolian background. It is otherwise possible that such formations for city names are secondary, if toponomastic forms in –ssós, originally productive in LBA Asia Minor, were adopted in Greek and became formative in the colonization context during the Iron Age; in this case these formations could be substantially later.

Other etymologies have been also proposed, and one interpretation posits that the name Alašiya has a Hurrian, rather than Anatolian background;[370] it was proposed by Astour (1964), on the basis of similarity with Hurr. *alla(i)-* "lady", presumably with toponomastic suff. *–ži* and a less clear element *–ia*.[371] On the

[365] On *āla(/i)-* "meer": Starke 1990, 187. According to Melchert 1993, 6 *āla/i-* "high; deep (of sea?)".
[366] Starke 1990, 179-180. These formations are relatively rare in Cuneiform texts, but well attested in Iron Age Luwian (AH script). Some of these adj. forms alternate with the basic toponym without apparent distinction: e.g. Arzawa- / Arzawiya-, Wiluša- /Wilušiya-.
[367] From Tamassos comes a bilingual inscription mentioning the hypostasis of Apollo *Alasiotas* (Ἀπολλωνι τωι Ἀλασιωται; Phoen. *Rešef Alaḫi*[*o*]*tes*), which would suggest survival of the old local name (already Forrer 1928, 67; Breyer 2010, 108).
[368] Buchholz 1999, 38.
[369] It it tempting to connect, then, also the modern toponym Alassa (Ἀλασσα) – a village in the district of Limassol – to Alašiya, considering also the typical alternation in Anatolian between forms with and without *–iya* ending (see previous note n. 83).
[370] This etymology is quoted by Knapp in various works (e.g. 1996, 2008).
[371] *-ia:* for Astour (1964) "onomastic and toponymic suffix in Hurrian", the meaning would be "pertaining/belonging to the (divine?) lady"; for Knapp 1996, 73, instead, sg. poss. *–i(y)/-(iy)a*, i.e. "his, her its", hence "her ladyship/queenship"; *-ia* might be otherwise hypochoristic, and it is not clear whether it might apply in this case; on the hypochoristic *–ia* see Giorgieri 2000, 290-291.

basis of this interpretation, the etymon has been connected to the cult of a goddess, which would be the principal deity of the island, identified in some texts with Near Eastern Ištar (Knapp 2008, 320-321). Another hypothetical Cypro-Hurrian connection was put forward with the proposal that the un-deciphered Cypro-Minoan script of the Enkomi tablets expresses Hurrian.[372] Again, this is destined to remain a conjecture as the script, realistically, will never be deciphered with the present data.

If etymologies do not seem particularly helpful, the Cypriot onomastic evidence shows that Alašiya was at least a poly-lingual environment in the LBA. In a census list from Ugarit (RS 11.857) and other texts significant for this topic, the predominance of Hurrian onomastics is remarkable, but many Semitic and Anatolian names are also attested (Knapp 2008, 322). Similar indications emerge in some characteristics of the Akkadian Alašiya tablets, which would show the non-Semitic background of the scribes. This evidence would correspond also with various strands of archaeological data showing high connectivity with both the Levant and Egypt (ibid. 323).

All this evidence reflects, though, a situation of the advanced LBA. Instead, for the earlier period, the archaeological picture suggests clear isolation of Cyprus from the peninsula, between the Anatolian EB III (Bachhuber 2015a) until the end of MBA/initial LB I, when Cypriot imports appear again in the surrounding coastal regions (Eriksson 2003).

In order to find a close "connection" between Anatolia and Cyprus it is necessary to go back to mid-third millennium, with the phenomenon of the "Phylia" archaeological facies on Cyprus (ca. 2400/2350-2250: Knapp 2013/ ca. 2500-2350: Bachhuber 2015a).[373] The material culture of this period in Cyprus marks a sharp discontinuity from previous traditions on the island, since the new pottery horizon (types and decoration) is characterized by significant connections with Anatolian EB I-II.[374] Other cultural

[372] Suggested in various works by E. Masson; ref. in Knapp 2008, 322.
[373] On the Phylia phase see Knapp 2013, 263-347; Bachhuber 2015a.
[374] The red-polished pottery is the typical indicator, particularly in the form of handled beak-spouted pitchers; Bachhuber 2015a, 142.

innovations of this period appear to be adaptations from Anatolia as well, such as the introduction of new species in animal husbandry, of new agricultural, metalworking and domestic technologies, architectures, childcare practices (cranial shaping), mortuary practices (pithos burials), and of the use of stamp seals (Webb and Frankel 2007, 193-204; Knapp 2013, 265, 269 ff.). Of course, the migration explanation was explored in the past, but has been frequently discarded for the processual discomfort with the "Indo-European" migration narratives. More recently, several scholars proposed a conscious re-engagement with migrations and mobility as explanatory tools for the interpretation of this archaeological record on Cyprus (Knapp 2008, 2013; van Dommelen 2014; Bachhuber 2015a; van Dommelen-Knapp 2010). Bachhuber (2015a), for example, explains the close material-cultural connection with Anatolia in the Phylia-period in a framework of continuous connectivity motivated by ascendance. The settlers, who arrived towards the end of the EB II, maintained for few generations social, ideological and trade connections with their Anatolian homeland, which explains the particular layout of this archaeological horizon. The reason for these population movements probably lie in the inclusion of Cyprus in a network of metal circulation with Anatolia, the Aegean and perhaps the Levant (ibid. 145), but the specifics of these dynamics are quite unclear.[375] It seems that the kin-based communication networks, which maintained social memory among the migrants and a link with their Anatolian past, were interrupted sometimes during the EB III, since no materials of the period can be found in Cyprus; the halt happened presumably in connection with the notable changes in the Anatolian socio-economic and political landscape at this time (*supra* §3.1, p. 84-85).

The idea of an Anatolian migration in Cyprus in mid-third millennium should be thus considered seriously; it would represent one of the multiple streams of population movements in Anatolia motivated by large-scale phenomena of increased mobility and instability (Bachhuber 2015a, 151).

[375] Several proposals exist as to why Anatolian settlers came to Cyprus, and what is the suitable migration model; brief discussions with additional references in Bachhuber 2015a, 145 and Knapp 2013, 264-268.

However distant in time, this migration phenomenon would be eventually the best candidate to explain an early Anatolian linguistic presence in Cyprus, whereas it appears that in the MBA there was little to no connection between Cilicia – and Anatolia in general – and Cyprus, and both regions were in fact similarly isolated from the plateau from a material-cultural point of view. Linguistically speaking, if a migration did take place, it seems possible that speakers of an Anatolian language (e.g. a proto-stage of Luwian) could arrive on the island according to this chronology. Still, from a historical point of view, this would be only significant if the proposed Anatolian etymology for Alašiya is correct, *and* if the two facts were connected, neither of which can be either proved or disproved.

3.6 Conclusions

This chapter attempted to employ different types of sources to outline a general picture of Cilicia during the MBA, a period which is poorly known in the region. Although the archaeological evidence is scanty and of difficult interpretation, it provides a basis for a discussion. Differently, the historical, cultural and socio-linguistic settings remain largely hypothetical, as they can be only addressed resorting to models and parallels.

The archaeological record of the MBA shows, within a general trend of regional isolation throughout time, a more pronounced isolation from the central Anatolian plateau, and larger connectivity with the east. In a broader Anatolian perspective Cilicia remained, thus, 'insularized' during the MBA, at least from a material cultural perspective. The propensity to regionalization was also determined by its geographical layout. These factor are not only significant for a discussion on the period, but useful also for contextualizing in the long term the new geo-political situation of the LBA, when Kizzuwatna appeared in the textual evidence.

The poor documentation of the MBA architectural phases at most sites offers very little for reconstructing the socio-political organization of the main regional centers. Thus, it is not possible to build even just a broad layout on the political organization of the region at this time from an archaeological perspective. However, from the sparse evidence of long-distance trade activities, it can be suggested that at least few sites, notable also for dimension, presumably had a key structural role in the supra-regional commercial system, in particular Tarsus and Mersin – already since the EBA – and to some extent Kinet Höyük. The latter appears to be an important center between Cilicia and the Levant, and probably had a significant part in the contact dynamics between the two regions. Potentially, these roles corresponded also with a leading political position in the region.

Instead, the proposal for the existence of a polity named Kawa in Cilicia in the MBA, based on some references in Egyptian sources, has been considered unconvincing. There is no evidence, textual or archaeological, to infer a polity of regional scale preceding Kizzuwatna existed in Cilicia; of course, this does not exclude this possibility either. The inclusion of Cilicia in a long distance trade network directory, that had to be to some extent institutionalized, suggests that the commercial partners had to dialogue locally with structures of some sort. Reasonably, these were analogous to the palatial institutions of northern Syria or the upper Euphrates (and central Anatolia), or alternative ones that absolved the same economical-administrative functions. In the MBA, the evidence of trade barriers and exclusive commercial directories implies administration of the system at local level, i.e. the existence of institutions able to grant, allow, and to some extent govern the functioning of commercial activities and the compliance to rules and agreements, in parallel with better documented cases. This picture suggests an administrative-institutional background, not necessarily manifested as a unitary political body of regional dimension, but more likely as a local network of a plurality of self-determined entities of diverse importance, presumably city based, in a layout approximately similar to that of contemporary central

Anatolia. Archaeologically, one could evidence the existence of localized. micro-regional trends of material-cultural affiliation, potentially revealing such political picture.

There is reason to think that the local trajectories in terms of population dynamics are also regionally specific, although the view presented in this chapter remains largely hypothetical. It was suggested, on the basis of various indicators, that the distinctive socio-linguistic facies of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna in Cilicia, as it appears in the LBA, may be the product of long term dynamics, rooted in the previous era. Regional specificity is mirrored in the linguistic characterization of the LBA Hittite texts referring to the kingdom of Kizzuwatna, and the distinctive religious traditions of this land. The picture here presented for the constitution of this regional socio-linguistic and cultural background tentatively explained times and modalities of this process. It remains possible, but considered less likely for the reasons here presented, that the LBA situation is the outcome of later contacts with central Anatolia and Syria during the earliest phase of expansion of the Hittite kingdom (for the diffusion of Luwian) and the Mittanian apogee (for that of Hurrian), i.e. respectively during the 16th c. and throughout the 15th c. The possible presence of linguistically diverse groups would not correspond to a material cultural divide; a good parallel in this sense is provided by the well-known case of Kaniš, where the Assyrian presence is archaeologically invisible, if not for textual evidence of the merchants' records.

Chapter 4. Historical premises to Kizzuwatna in 17th-16th c. Review of the evidence.

4.1 Statement of the problem

After a documentation gap following the end of the *kārum* period at Kaniš (late 18th c.), written sources appear in Anatolia again for the late 17th and 16th c. BCE – some contemporary and others, later, referring back to this period. These texts mostly inform on the emergence and early stage of the Hittite Old Kingdom in central Anatolia but few provide possible information on the early relations between Cilicia and the emerging Hittite power. This chapter has the explicit goal to review the available primary evidence relevant to the topic of the origins and emergence of the state of Kizzuwatna.

Since the nature of the relations between the Hittite kingdom and Cilicia at this time is far from clear from these sources, their interpretation has, obviously, critical effects on the understanding of the historical role of the region prior to the time in which the kingdom of Kizzuwatna appeared in the records, at the end of the 16th /early 15th c.

This chapter is, at the same time, a review of the previous historiographical literature – in fact not particularly rich – dedicated to the origins of Kizzuwatna. It will be shown that some important problems still exist concerning the historical understanding of the period, although these have not been frequently addressed in previous research.

One section of this chapter is dedicated to the available archaeological evidence for the period, corresponding to the transition between MBA and LBA in Anatolia, and aims at integrating and contextualizing the historical-philological discussion.

4.1.1 Sources for a history of Cilicia during the early Old Hittite kingdom (17th-16th c.)

Although very rarely dealing with Cilicia explicitly, several sources dating or attributed to the Old Hittite period (ca. 1650-1450) potentially inform on the involvement of the region in the earliest phase of expansion of the Hittite kingdom. For this topic, the main contemporary texts considered in historical treatments are:

- The so called *Annals* of Ḫattusili I (CTH 4), interesting in particular for the geography of the campaigns and the possible itineraries taken by the Hittite army. In fact, it has been frequently suggested that the itinerary the Hittites took to undertake their military campaigns in northern Syria passed through Cilicia.[376]

- Fragments of texts with historical content, in particular dating to the time of Ḫattusili, Mursili and Ḫantili (CTH 14-15; CTH 13, CTH 12, CTH 11, CTH 10.1 and 10.2).

- KUB 48.81, a fragment with a list of Cilician cities, tentatively attributed to CTH 13.

Needless to say, the nature, typology and content of these texts must be accounted individually, since virtually none of these compositions actually has a historiographical goal, and the reliability of some of their content, often highly political, remains debated.[377] In general, they can't be all attributed to the same text genre either.[378] Other texts are more difficult to catalogue, given their mixed historical and fictional content. Hardly ascribable to traditional genres familiar to us, they combine historical elements with clearly fictional narratives, and have etiological or didactic-ethical scope:[379]

- the *Zalpa text* or *Tale of Zalpa* (CTH 3)

- the *Siege of Uršu* (CTH 7)

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[376] Other documents, not strictly of interest here, belong to the Old Kingdom historiographical corpus and additionally inform on the early campaigns, their historical-political meaning, geographic scope, military-strategic background (e.g. the so called *Cannibals' text*, concerning conflicts with the Hurrians (CTH 17), the *Tigunani letter*, an *Edicto* of Ḫattusili (CTH 5)).

[377] On the reliability of Hittite "historiographical" literature see the remarks in the introduction (p. 4 n. 2).

[378] De Martino (2003, 11-16) suggested possible typological distinctions in the "Annalistic" tradition on the basis of their structure and style; the Hittite term *pesnatar-*, "deeds" defines the content in the colophons of some of these documents, although it was not always employed.

[379] On this type of texts and for a definition of Old Hittite historical literature see in particular chapter 2 in Gilan 2015. Ultimately, distinctions of "genre" among the earliest Hittite compositions remain often problematic, and text types, especially dating at this time, should be considered fluid concepts.

- the *Puḫanu text* (CTH 16)

Some information from these documents have been employed as secondary evidence on the involvement of Cilicia in the Old Hittite history. Another document which provides potential information on Cilicia is a later composition, which deals with the former period in retrospect:

- the *Edict of Telipinu* (CTH 19), with its historical introduction on the age of the predecessors of this king. CTH 20, a text relating on contemporary events and military activities, can be also taken into consideration.

Finally, only one document exists which can be used in reference to both its content and its find spot. While all the other texts stem from the Hittite capital Ḫattuša, in fact, only a land grant issued by a Hittite great king and found in Tarsus was found *within* the territory of Kizzuwatna.

A review and discussion of all these sources involves a variety of topics, but the main issues concern the interpretation of the original texts, the identification of toponyms, and military and strategic considerations.

4.1.2 Current views in Hittitological literature

It was anticipated that most textual evidence of the 17th and 16th c. relates on the activities of the first historical kings of the Hittite kingdom. In scholarly literature, there seems to be a general consensus on the basic historical framework of the Hittite conquests under Ḫattusili and Mursili in late 17th and early 16th c. [380] However, methodological problems lie in the fragmentary state of the evidence and its intrinsic complexity, but also the fact that the historical reliability of some compositions and their content appear to be oftentimes problematic. The absence of corroboration from archaeological data also limits the historical reconstruction of the period, which remain a complex task for historians.

[380] On the Hittite military activity in the Old Kingdom, see Miller 1999, Klengel 1992, 80-83, de Martino 1992a, 2003.

As far as a history of Cilicia/Kizzuwatna is concerned, virtually all studies agree to some extent on one critical point: Cilicia fell under Hittite control at least during the time of Ḫattusili I – but possibly even earlier than that. According to this view, the region remained under more or less continuous Hittite political influence between the mid-late 17th c. – before Ḫattusili's Syrian campaigns, – and through the 16th c.[381] For example, Beal concluded his landmark article suggesting that "Kizzuwatna was a *Hittite province* until the time of Ammuna when it rebelled and gained its independence" (Beal 1986, 445). While such political control is not explicitly communicated in the sources, this reconstruction is based on various indirect hints, and, in particular, for a very specific reason: that the Hittite kings *needed* to control this region in order to travel through it with their armies, while conducting their campaigns in northern Syria. In most views, this basic reconstruction is a corollary of the assumption that the main route for those campaigns passed through the mountain pass of the so called "Cilician gates" on the Taurus. At the same time, the Hittites necessitated to secure the control of Cilicia in order not to leave their western flank defenseless while fighting in Syrian territories east of the Amanus.[382]

While this general reconstruction is maintained by virtually all scholars in Hittite studies, one notes that there is more variation in the interpretation of individual pieces of the available evidence, different views have evident consequences for the discussion of the question of the itineraries, or the extent of Hittite political reach during the Old Kingdom). However, despite various views exist on single matters, it appears that the broader historiographical picture has been hardly put into question.

To my knowledge, the only scholar that makes an exception is A. Ünal, who explicitly addressed this problem in two articles of similar content (2014, 2017). In these and other works since the 2000s, he also tried to present a comprehensive view – albeit necessarily in summarized form – of the state of the evidence on Cilicia and Kizzuwatna in the LBA, and to tackle some major interpretative, methodological

[381] The literature is vast. Specifically on Cilicia see e.g. Beal 1986, 424-426 and 445; Desideri-Jasink 1990, 51-53; Klengel 1999, 74; Bryce 2005, 104 ff.
[382] A detailed discussion in Beal 1986, 424 ff.

and historiographical problems affecting current historical views. While some of Ünal's proposals deserve attention, it appears that these contributions have been not yet received in the scholarly community. This also depends on the fact that most treatments are invested in Hittite history and touch Kizzuwatna only cursorily.

One of the main points at the basis of Ünal's view concerns a "peripheral" position of Kizzuwatna in the Hittite perspective. In particular, the lack of evidence of Hittite political involvement in Cilicia in the early Old Kingdom would indicate that the area "had no military or geopolitical importance" (2017, 215). Historically speaking, he argues that the basic framework assuming Hittite political presence in Cilicia as early as – or even earlier than – the Syrian campaigns of Ḫattusili, is unwarranted. As a matter of fact, while it is true that most scholars acknowledge the uncertainty regarding the degree of Hittite political presence and/or actual control of Cilicia throughout the Old Kingdom, still, in most historiographical literature this is the picture implied from the outset with moderate confidence. This view is overwhelmingly favored over possible alternatives, even though the evidence at the basis of any proposed reconstruction remains very scanty.

Ünal also employed arguments based on the environmental characteristics of Cilicia, which would also suggest a different historical reconstruction is in order. For example, he argued that terrain characteristics of Cilicia in ancient time would make it very difficult to cross this land with armies, or to exploit it for transportations and trade, which contradict the point frequently made that through Cilicia passed the main route for the Hittite armies to reach Syria. Original topographical conditions would have included large swamplands and marshes, now dried up or converted to usable soil (2017, 212). It is probably true that temperatures in Cilicia were effectively higher than those in the Anatolian highlands also in the past, as ancient sources do indicate. The short articles of Ünal, however, for reasons of space can't deal extensively with all sources. Some significant texts were not discussed in detail as well as the many implications deriving from a general re-assessment of the historical picture. A more comprehensive

overview is presumably to be found in Ünal's book on Cilicia (Ünal-Girginer 2007); unfortunately the volume is published in Turkish, thus I was unable to employ it extensively for this study.

I note here that, in several respects, the historical picture proposed in this chapter (and elsewhere in this dissertation) is compatible with some of the views presented in Ünal's works. However, important differences exist in specific details in the interpretation of individual sources, the underlying argumentations for some reconstructions and the historical conclusions. To make but few examples, Ünal is skeptical that the destruction of Alalaḫ VII can be attributed to Ḫattusili I, and maintains that the dynasty of Tudḫaliya I is of Kizzuwatnean origin (see my different views in §4.5 and §7.4). In order to maintain an independent approach to the problems, I have not engaged directly in his points and arguments while writing this or the other chapters. Still, the general convergence on compatible views – even with different takes on several details – indicates in my view the existence and impact of these interpretative problems in first place and, implicitly, some of the weaknesses in current reconstructions.

Although they did not delve directly into the broader historical problems, other contributors also addressed specific issues of interest, for example in reference to the itineraries of the armies (next §4.2), the geographical scope of the Hittite campaigns, and other questions of historical geography (§4.3). Some recent contributions on these and a range of other topics, quoted throughout this chapter, provide different possible interpretations of specific sources, and allow alternative views which may undermine some of the previous assessments.

The following discussion follows a thematic order: although some of the topics partially overlap, it is useful to review the evidence concentrating on some fundamental themes since this also allows to review the main arguments and interpretations made in previous research literature.

The goal is to verify if an early *independence* of the Cilician territory during the late 17th and 16th c. can be actually ruled out. In fact different streams of evidence seem to indicate that this region remained

largely uninvolved in central Anatolian dynamics until the end of 16th c., the same time in which Kizzuwatna appears in the Hittite texts. In opposition to the general picture presented in previous treatments, thus, the documentary situation would rather exclude a view of more or less consistent subordination of Cilicia to the Hittite kingdom at this time. The chapter's conclusions tentatively draw some basic lines for a revised history of early LBA in southern Anatolia, which has repercussions also on the general history of the Old Hittite kingdom, apart from the obvious implications for a history of Cilicia.

4.2. The 'via Tauri' and the route to Syria

One of the main arguments put forward in support of an early Hittite conquest of Cilicia is connected with the Old Kingdom's campaigns in Syria. It is often suggested that in order to reach Syria and the Middle Euphrates the Hittites presumably crossed Cilicia passing through the mountain pass of the "Cilician gates" on the Taurus.[383] Accordingly, most historians infer that the Hittites controlled the whole region, a prerequisite to safely cross that land. However, while the available texts dating back to Ḫattusili I deal with military campaigns in central Anatolia, the Anti-Taurus and the Syrian Euphratic area, we don't have clear information on military activities in Cilicia. This fact is often explained with the hypothesis that this territory was already conquered earlier on, despite no account of those activities was either composed or preserved. This section discusses the evidence on the use of this itinerary and contextualize historically and geographically the possible role of Cilicia during the early Hittite campaigns. While this section discusses specifically the issue of the itineraries, the following will expand on the question of the early Hittite contacts with the region (§4.3).

[383] E.g. Beal 1986, Bryce 2005, 70-71, Collins 2007, 39; Desideri-Jasink 1990, 52; Forlanini 2004b, 372; Freu 1992, 47; Trémouille 2001, 58.

In most scholarly works the topic is treated only cursorily, but the preference for a Cilician itinerary among other possible routes is very clear. The evidence in this regard, however, is very scarce, as observed A. Ünal (2014, 477-479; 2017, 211-213). Some examples from previous literature will be useful for contextualizing a discussion of the topic:

> "(…) no Hittite kings could afford to conduct a campaign in the south-west without either occupying, allying himself to, or isolating Cilicia, which otherwise would have threatened the flank of his army". (Seton-Williams 1954, 125).

> "Le contrôle de la plaine cilicienne et des cols du Taurus et de l'Amanus était le prelude indispensable à toute intervention hittite en Syrie". (…) "Ḫattusili Ier et ses successeurs avaient fait de cette region une province du Hatti et leur base de depart pour leurs attaques contre le royaume de Yamḫad (Alep), et contre Babylone". (Freu 1992, 47).

> "Il faut sans doute en chercher la raison dans le fait que la route vers la Syrie, et vers Alep en particulier, passait précisément par Kizzuwatna." (Trémouille 2001, 58, n.5).

> "Labarna dovette soprattutto orientare i suoi interessi verso il Paese Basso, affidandone le principali città ai figli e questo fa pensare che risalga a lui l'uso militare della strada attraverso le gole del Tauro e il raggiungimento della costa mediterranea con la conquista del futuro Kizzuwatna." (Forlanini 2004b, 382).[384]

> "Control over the countries of south-eastern Anatolia provided them with access into Syria via several routes. One of these led through the pass later known as the Cilician Gates, and no doubt came to be used regularly by the Hittites for both commercial and military purposes. This may well have been the route now taken by Ḫattusili's army (...)" (Bryce 2005, 70).

Apart from the preference for the Cilician itinerary, another element that these reconstructions have in common is the concept that the Hittites *needed* to control Cilicia in some form in order to cross it undisturbed for reaching Syria, their main – one would say final – military goal. Thus, the idea that the Hittites controlled to a certain degree the region would be strongly implied by the content of the *Annals of Ḫattusili* themselves, according to this interpretation.

[384] See the chapter "espansione ittita prima di Ḫattusili I" (382-386).

While the possibility of the use of another itinerary has been at times taken into consideration – one which from the east went through the Anti-Taurus and the region of Maraş, – this alternative has been, in general, rejected. As an example, I quote here the summary of Desideri and Jasink (1990, 52-53) on the question:

> "In favore dell'ipotesi dell'utilizzo di questo percorso e non di un percorso più orientale, attraverso Kayseri e Maraş, si possono addurre due elementi che *scaturiscono dalla lettura delle fonti stesse*: in primo luogo Alalha (=Alalaḫ/Tell Açana nella pianura di Antiochia) fu la prima città ad essere conquistata, mentre non viene fatto alcun cenno ad Aleppo, di cui Alalaḫ era stato vassallo, che geograficamente è *sulla linea di un percorso proveniente dal nord*; in secondo luogo, il sovrano, al ritorno da questa campagna, marciò contro Ursu, a nord-ovest di Karkemish, tenendo come base delle operazioni *Lawazantiya*: questo confermerebbe che la zona orientale non era ancora saldamente in sua mano". (Desideri-Jasink 1990, 52-53; my emphasis).

Perhaps the critical argument is that the first center which was conquered, according the Annals of Ḫattusili, was Alalaḫ-Tell Açana in the plain of Antiochia, which would be directly on a route coming from the north into Cilicia. But this is not explicit in the sources, and one can't exclude other possibilities. For example, the argument referring to Lawazantiya may be reviewed, following the treatment in ch. 2 (§2.5). The authors here certainly refer to the Luḫuzantiya of the *Uršu text*, for which – as shown – a Cilician location appears to be unlikely. One also observes that Aleppo can hardly be considered located on a route coming directly from the north, since it is at least 90 km east to a more direct route which flanks the Amanus directly to its east and proceeds to Alalaḫ. Otherwise, we don't really know anything about the possible strategies of Ḫattusili, and it is doubtful that his actions would entirely depend on the convenience of the itinerary. One also wonders why Ḫattusili should have necessarily decided to face Aleppo directly; if anything, the opposite would make sense strategically, i.e. an attack to Alalaḫ allowed to *avoid* immediate engagement with the most important center of the region, pillage the surroundings, and at the same time deprive Yamḫad of a settlement of some importance with access to the Mediterranean.

In reference to the choice of the Cilician itinerary, I will continue the discussion following the reconstruction of Beal (1986), of which I summarize the principal points:

- Alalaḫ was the logical first target of a Syrian campaign, since the Hittites were in possession of Cilicia. This was principally based on the evidence provided by a land grant found in Tarsus – which has been more recently re-dated to a later time – and on the content of other later texts (Beal 1986, 425). These documents are discussed in detail in the next sections of this chapter.

- The movements of the armies and the sequence of cities mentioned in the Annals of Ḫattusili favor this view, with the king proceeding north *after* the destruction of Alalaḫ, to return to central Anatolia. A north-south then south-north itinerary implies that the Hittites travelled through the same zones twice, and had to double back in order to hit cities close to the original path, which seems unlikely.

- A route by-passing Cilicia would expose the army on both western and eastern flanks to hostile territories (Cilicia to the west, Yamḫad to the east) while proceeding directly to Alalaḫ from the north.

- The purpose of the destruction of Alalaḫ, and the choice of this city as first target, would remain unclear imagining a hostile or neutral Cilicia and/or a different, eastern itinerary.

Having presented a brief overview of the main arguments provided in previous works, I will consider here an alternative reconstruction, which, although equally hypothetical, provides in my view a picture which overall fits better the available evidence. For visual purpose, these two views were summarized as two different "itineraries" in *fig. 19*.

While the Cilician gates have been considered in literature the major path to Syria in Hittite time, it is necessary to discuss (1) whether it was actually convenient to travel systematically through Cilicia in order to reach the main theatre of war during the Hittite campaigns (i.e. the upper-middle Euphrates and the north Syrian area) and (2) whether the content of the available texts indicates, even indirectly, that this was the path actually taken by the Hittite kings. To both questions several scholars have provided, in fact, also negative answers.[385]

[385] An "eastern" road of the Hittite conquests is implied, explicated or preferred in de Martino 1992a, Börker-Klähn 1996, Miller 1999, Ünal 2014, 2017, Gilan 2015, Cohen 2017; also Klengel 1992 with some variations.

There is reason to think that it was not necessarily the case that crossing Cilicia was the best way to reach Syria, and that, on the contrary, a different path could be preferred. Practical arguments related to the Cilician environment and the opportunity to cross the Taurus were made by A. Ünal (2014, 477-478), who went into details concerning the terrain difficulties – in both the mountain pass and the Cilician plain – for large scale transportation and military march. It is argued that the environment of Cilicia in ancient time was characterized by extensive marshlands in the plain; it is also plausible that sweltering and humid temperatures in summer distinguished Cilicia from the Anatolian highlands also in the past, like today. I am unable to evaluate these environmental considerations, and I will not employ them in my study, but one can at least comment on those stringent geo-morphological aspects of the territory that remain largely unaltered in the course of time. In a Ḫattuša-Euphrates line, the route through the Cilician Gates requires to turn to the south-west travelling the whole southern Cappadocia along the Taurus, and to cross *two* mountain passes, the steep and tortuous Cilician gates and a second pass through the Amanus, after traversing good part of the Cilician plain. From this point of view, it is quite clear that the Gezbel pass can be more easily crossed in every season whereas the Taurus was certainly prohibitive in winter; its elevation profile (with a much milder slope) and the landscape characteristics also allow better transversability, especially in the case of military movements.[386] Thus, it is hardly warranted that the route through Cilicia was the easiest to reach Syria, at least in the Late Bronze Age.

Principally on the basis of archaeological data, A. Matessi similarly reconsidered the widespread assumption that the Cilician Gates were indeed the most important passage to Cilicia – and ultimately Syria – also for commercial purposes.[387] The significance attributed to this itinerary is probably deeply

[386] See already Börker-Klähn 1996, 54-55: "(…) weder führten der Heerweg noch der Lastenverkehr durch die halsbrecherische Kilikische Pforte oder über die Pfade südwärts derselben." (54). See also Ullman 2014, cit. *infra*. and Ünal 2014, 477-479; 2017, 213.
[387] Matessi presented a paper on this topic at a conference at Pavia University (2018: "Attraverso il Tauro: uso, ovvero non uso, delle Porte Cilicie nell'affermarsi dell'impero ittita (XVII-XVI sec. a.C.)".

rooted in research literature especially for its importance for communications in later periods, and a presumed continuity in use. All written references derive from later times: the route is documented at least in the 5th c. by Greek historians, and especially in the Roman imperial period the pass became a crucial crossing point for itineraries through the provinces of Asia.[388] Matessi points out the scarcity of evidence for the use of the pass in first place, versus the documentary significance of other routes leading out of Anatolia.

The importance of the Göksu river valley and of the port of Ura at its outlet was already discussed in the previous chapters (ch. 2, p. 49, ch. 3, p. 124-126); this route was critical for trade with central Anatolia, and the argument can be made that a Cilician connection seems to have played a lesser role not only from a military-strategic point of view – as I will show in the next pages – but also in the domain of economic contacts. Notably, the fact that the RLW-m ware was likely imported from Cyprus or southern Anatolia along the Göksu valley, perhaps even earlier than the 15th c.,[389] unmistakably suggests that the passage through the Taurus was far from being the main, let alone exclusive way of communication with the south. Even more so if one imagines that the Hittites were in control of Cilicia precisely at that time. Matessi additionally observed that rock reliefs located along this route or in the region – similarly to the case of the Gezbel pass (see *infra*) – marked the passage at least in the Early Iron Age.[390] Instead, the archaeological data from the area of the Cilician gates in the LBA are very scanty, and it seems that the importance of the site of Porsuk, at the entrance to the *via Tauri* from the north (usually identified with Hitt. Tunna and Gr. Tynna) might have been disconnected from the alleged strategic role in the control

[388] The anachronism was already pointed out in Ünal 1997, and again recently (2014, 2017): "(...) the artificial role assigned retrospectively and anachronistically to the Cilician Gates as a major geographic passage (…) is unfortunately an invincible challenge" (Ünal 2017, 211).
[389] The earliest appearence of this ceramic class is still difficult to assess (Kozal 2012, 54-55), but the large amounts found at Kilise Tepe level III, and the "significance of levels IVb-IIIa (...) for defining the earliest appearance of the ware" (ibid. 55) suggest indeed an early date; elsewhere it appears at Kinet in lv. 15 and at Alalaḫ after the destruction of lev. VII, somewhat later depending also on the chronology adopted.
[390] The relief of Ermenek, now lost, probably dated to the LBA (13th c.), according to Bittel (see Kohlmeyer 1983); the dating of the Keben relief is unclear, as stylistically and iconographically this has parallels in the EIA, but proposals for an LBA date exist as well (see Ehringhaus 2005).

of the pass; it is likely that the area was, rather, of importance for the exploitation of the metal resources on the mountains. Note that a revision of the stratigraphy of the site finally indicates that there was no occupation after the end of 15th c., which would suggest that the importance of this itinerary – if any – during the Hittite apogee even declined.[391] I find it significant that this picture, based on entirely independent research premises and which I came to learn at an advanced stage of completion of this chapter, nicely dovetails a perspective focused on the systematic review of the textual documentation.

The Anatolian LBA textual corpus does not provide many hints of travels through the *Pylae Ciliciae* mountain route and, in particular, not in the context of military movements.[392] Several other inland routes existed, which connected directly central Anatolia to northern Syria; some of them more conveniently connected the plateau in the direction of the Euphrates, in contrast with the long detour to south-west that leads to crossing the Taurus, the Cilician plain and the Amanus to reach Syria much further south.[393] The route passing through the Gezbel and Cataonia was already mentioned, whose mountain pass was also signaled in Hittite period by several landscape monuments located in its proximities (*supra* §2.7).

Note that the geographic focus of the documented Hittite military activities under Ḫattusili and his successors (17th to 16th c.) included south-central Anatolia (Konya plain), Arzawa (west to the Hittite territories), the south-eastern fringes of the Anatolian plateau and the centers of northern Syria, north of Alalaḫ and Aleppo, as discussed more in detail in the next section.[394] Departing from the core of the

[391] Dating of the destruction layer to the late 15th c. is supported by a series of ^{14}C data and archaic pottery assemblage: Matessi, *forthcoming*.
[392] Forlanini (2018, 30 ff.) found two texts which describe an itinerary through the Cilician gates: the first is a fragment of a prayer text (KUB 57.87 vs. II 1-13; belonging to CTH 389.3) which lists some deities worshipped along a route going from the area of Konya to Adana. The itinerary fragment KUB 40.110 (CTH 824.I.1A), instead, can indirectly hint at another route coming from the north in the area of Tuwanuwa/Tyana, reconstructed through a list of stages of the travel of a cultic functionary inspecting several towns.
[393] The article of Ökse 2007, for example, discusses the road network between the two regions and underlines the existence of several different routes actively used from the Chalcolithic to recent times.
[394] With few exceptions, seen in fact as exceptional enterprises and achievements, such as the sack of Babylon.

Hittite kingdom, a route through Cilicia to reach these areas appears to be quite inefficient. Since the upper Euphrates[395] attracted most of the energies and resources of the early Hittite kingdom, it seems that a direct path through the Anti-Taurus – namely the Gezbel and the plain of Tufanbeyli and Elbistan, – stands out as the most convenient, direct and express communication route.

Of similar opinion is also de Martino (2002), who even suggested that Ḫattusili might have taken a road further to the east, entering Syria from the region of Tur Abdin in order to avoid the direct opposition of the NW Syrian cities of Yamḫad, especially Aleppo, perhaps attacking Ḫaḫḫum from the *east*.[396] This route would be, after all, similar to that taken several centuries later by Suppiluliuma in his march against Wassukkanni; at that time, he could additionally take advantage of the control of the land of Išuwa east to the bend of the Euphrates (ibid. 82). While travelling in this area, Ḫattusili probably tried to benefit from agreements stipulated with local leaders who were involved in regional disputes and contrasts between factions (see e.g. CTH 7, rev. 7). A tangible historical trace of these stipulations is the letter with Tunip-Teššob of Tikunani/Tigunānum, a secure contemporary original text.[397] If the interpretation of de Martino is correct "the conquest of Ḫaḫḫum and Ḫaššum opened up to the Hittites *the main lines of communication* between Anatolia and Syria" (ibid. 85). This main communication route should be, therefore, individuated in the east. Other scholars are of the same opinion,[398] lastly Y. Cohen, in a recent contribution on the historical geography of Hittite Syria (2017, 296):

> "Ḫattusili entered Syria either by a northern passage way through the Anti-Taurus range, via Elbistan either to the Gaziantep plateau or via Pınarbaşi, Göksun and Maraş into the Islahiye valley. Or, *less likely,* he may have entered by a southern passage, via the Cilician gates and into the plain of Adana, and from there,

[395] Following Cohen (2017, 295) this includes the area of Maraş, the Islahiye valley, the Gaziantep plain to the Euphrates river valley (from Samsat to Karkemiš).
[396] de Martino 2002, 81-82; also Devecchi 2005, 21.
[397] Bibl.: Salvini 1994, Miller 1999, 16-23.
[398] Barjamovic (2011, 215) also stressed the convenience of this route: "However, it is the shortest route between the Euphrates crossings in the Karababa Basin and Kayseri, which is a good reason to consider whether the Assyrian merchants may have used it".

through the Amanus range in one of its passes, into the south of the Gaziantep plateau and the Aleppo plateau". (Cohen 2017, 296).

Ullman (2014, 117) indeed proposed that the route passing through the Gezbel was employed as a military itinerary. In particular, she suggests that the reliefs located at Hanyeri, Fraktın and Imamkulu (*supra* §2.7) could function as road-markers for the marches of the Hittite troops to northern Syria, possibly because they correspond to long known locations where the military would stop and camp.[399]

Is it possible to reconcile this different view with the fact that Alalaḫ, according to the Annals of Ḫattusili, was the first military objective in Syria? While I will analyze in better detail the *Annals* in the next section, I would stress here that Alalaḫ is an exception within the Hittite "road map", since most of the military activities refer to a much northern area, even in later time. First of all, this indicates that none of the territories "conquered" by Ḫattusili remained firmly under Hittite control, and required continuous intervention. Strategically, the take and destruction of Alalaḫ could have meant to weaken the enemy Aleppo subtracting an important port center on the Mediterranean. I certainly agree with Y. Cohen, who suggests "holding Alalaḫ was the key to controlling Syria" (2017, 298); it was perhaps the initial step of a more ambitious plan to defeat Yamḫad.[400] A route through Cilicia and the Amanus certainly lands directly to Alalaḫ, but it implies other kinds of difficulties for the march of the army, in first place the crossing of two mountain ranges and the vast plain. An eastern path, otherwise, did not necessarily force Ḫattusili to confront directly the cities of the upper Euphrates; if his strategy was to land a blow to Yamḫad by hitting this specific center, he could proceed along the flanks of the Amanus.

[399] "(…) these locales must have been noted and important for their natural attributes and/or location, and only later on did the Hittites intervene in the landscape by adding images of their rulers and gods"; Ullman 2014, 117. The scholar proposes that the locations would be particularly suitable for military encampment, for the supply of water, defensibility of the location and presence of adequate space (ibid. 118-119).

[400] Note that Ḫattusili did not only defeat, but immediately *destroyed* Alalaḫ, possibly as a strategic measure before a future move further east, into the core of Yamḫad and against Aleppo. KBo 10.2, I 15-16: MU.{IM.MA}-*an-ni-ma I-NA* ^{URU}*A-*^{r}*la-al*$^{\urcorner}$*-ḫa pa-a-*^{r}*un*$^{\urcorner}$ *na-an ḫar-ni-in-ku-un* "in the following year I marched against Alalaḫ, and destroyed it".

The reconstruction of an eastern route becomes particularly plausible, finally, if one considers the possibility that Zalpa/Zalpa(r), the first city conquered by Ḫattusili I in the first year of campaigns, is not the Black Sea coast's Zalpa/Zalpuwa, but a Syrian center, either Zalpa(r) on the Euphrates or Tilmenhöyük in the Islahiye valley.[401] Especially the latter location, less than 100 km distant from Alalaḫ "may help explain how Ḫattusili I, after conquering the city, advanced on a more accessible route (...) when his progress in the Annals is read chronologically" (Cohen 2017 297). This question, connected with the location of this center, unfortunately remains open.

The argument for which the Hittites would be open to attacks while proceeding south taking a route along the Amanus (e.g. Beal 1986, 426) is subordinated to various factors. It is not necessarily the case that Cilicia was a hostile territory; indeed we have no indication that this was the case. There is very little evidence, in fact, not only of military encounters, but of contacts in general, as I will show briefly after. As previously in the MBA, the impression is that Cilicia was relatively isolated also in this period, as the archaeological evidence also suggests (§3.1). One can't rule out the possibility that good relationships existed with the region either: after all, Cilicia might have even benefited by the overthrow of a powerful center in the area like Alalaḫ, if this was seen as a political or commercial competitor by Cilician local formations.[402]

[401] Recently discussed in Cohen 2017, 297, with previous literature in n. 9. There are reasons to think that this Zalpa, in fact, was a center located in NW or NE Syria – possibly the Zalwar by the Amanus (Miller-Corti 2017, 200 ff. §5) – and not the Black Sea center of the "Zalpa tale" (CTH 3). This reconstruction would 1) correspond better geographically with the general content of the Annals; 2) match with the information contained in other texts, such as the Tikunani letter, the Uršu text (CTH 7), the "Edict" of Ḫattusili I (CTH 5) and perhaps the Hittite Laws (§54); 3) the orthographic variation in the Hitt. version of the Annals (*Za-al-pa*; KBo 10, 2 I 9; 3 I 7′) and the Akk. (*Za-al-ba-ar*; KBo 10, 1, 4). The spelling with final *–r*, in particular, would be the only case in the Hittite texts *which* would refer to the northern Zalpa, while it would more easily conform to the distinct toponym Zal/rwar. The main struggle in the reconstruction of a coherent picture remains the orthographic idiosyncrasy in the Hittite texts in referring to at least three centers that had very similar names. A detailed account on this question in Miller 1999, 51-58; Klinger 2014, 79-80, Miller-Corti 2017 (in part. 194, §2), with contrastive views of the two authors on this interpretation.

[402] In this respect, one could consider the later disputes for territorial questions between Kizzuwatna and Alalaḫ, witnessed by some diplomatic documents (AlT 3, AlT 14; discussed in §5.7.1, §7.1).

In part connected with this question is the fact that the preference for an eastern itinerary could be also determined by the relative facility with which the Hittite armies could pass through this route. There is reason to think that the region, including the Amanus, was probably not highly populated or militarized. Archaeological surveys suggest the whole Commagene was not densely populated or rich of urban centers (see p. 70); the most important centers were chiefly located along the Euphrates much further east. Additionally, it is not clear that the local polities, or Yamḫad itself, maintained a solid territorial control on this sparsely inhabited area between the river and the Amanus. This is at least the impression one gets from the Annals, which suggest a situation of relative independence and self-determination of most centers in the area (Ḫaḫḫum, Ḫaššuwa and those further north, on the Anti-Taurus). This and other texts show that the Hittites did not have to face a unified "Hurrian" front,[403] and that the local polities were hardly able to withstand the enemy unless under a coordinated effort, which only occasionally was attempted.[404]

While, in principle, it seems implausible that the Hittite armies crossed undisturbed vast lands to target a distant site like Alalaḫ, similarly ambitious military enterprises happened repeatedly. Other glaring examples of the vagaries of warfare are the destruction of Ebla (with Ḫattusili or Mursili)[405] and especially the astonishing sack of Babylon with Mursili I (ca. 1587 BCE). It is unconceivable that the Hittites needed actual control of Mesopotamian territories in order to run their raid in one of the most eminent cities of the known world; in perspective, while such an achievement certainly comes close to the incredible – and it would probably be so considered if substantial evidence did not corroborate its historicity – it does not seem particularly difficult to contextualize the destruction of Alalaḫ and Ebla in a logic of aggressive

[403] The political fragmentation of the Upper Euphratic world is evident: the information provided e.g. by the content of CTH 17.1 (KBo 3.60) and the letter of Tikunani, the first mentioning the four Hurrian kings, the second the existence of factions and inner conflicts among the "city states" of the broader region. On this also de Martino 2014, 64-66.
[404] See for example the "coalition" of Ḫaššu which tried to oppose the Hittites at the Adalur, which included the troops of Aleppo.
[405] De Martino 2014, 66.

pillage warfare. Indeed, the geographic scope and the nature of the Hittite military activities, as emerges from the content of the Annals and from the scanty information contained in documents of Ḫattusili's successor, clearly show that virtually nowhere outside central Anatolia it was possible to realize a systematic project of conquests (§4.3.1).

In conclusion, we are still unable to reconstruct a full picture of the activities of the early kings of Ḫattuša, and since no sources explicitly inform on the itineraries taken by the armies, the problem ultimately remains open. However, while most scholars agree for a different view, this section proposed arguments to suggest that an alternative reconstruction is indeed possible, and perhaps more likely.

There is one document which was not discussed, and that has been explicitly connected with the "crossing" of the Taurus, the so called *Puḫanu text* (CTH 16). A separate section discusses this difficult document, and its possible significance for the present topic.

4.2.1. The *Puḫanu Text* (CTH 16) and the "crossing of the Taurus"

A passage of a very peculiar text, known in literature as *Puḫanu text* (CTH 16)[406] has been frequently quoted as a direct reference to the Hittite "crossing of the Taurus" during the Old Kingdom campaigns.[407] Note, for example, that with this very title a translation of the relevant passage was published in one of the volumes of *The Context of Scripture* under the category "historiography", along with the Anitta text, the tale of Zalpa and the Annals of Suppiluliuma.[408] This section discusses whether the text provides these information in first place and, more in general, if it can be employed as a historical source for the period under discussion.

[406] Bibl.: Otten 1962, 157-168; Soysal 1987, 172-253; 1999, 109-145; 2006; Steiner 2002 (transl.); Hoffner 1997 (transl.), Gilan 2004; 2015, 295-310 (both with ed. and transl.); de Martino – Imparati 2003.
[407] Gurney 1979a, 154; Hoffner 1997; Soysal 1999, 114-119 with additional ref. to former works; more recently see the discussion in Gilan 2015, 313-315.
[408] Hoffner 1997.

The *Puḫanu text* is preserved in late copies (NS/jh.) but was presumably composed in the Old Hittite period. It is attributed traditionally to Ḫattusili I for prosopographic reasons, but a lower date can't be excluded: the time range falls within the Old Kindom until the time of Tudhaliya I.[409] Evidently, a direct connection with the military activity of Ḫattusili I can be definitely excluded if the text was to be dated to a later time.

The text has a very peculiar structure, and consists in several self-standing episodes that are quite obscure and of difficult interpretation, in particular for their symbolic or metaphorical character. While these episodes are apparently disconnected to one another, a broader structure and logic in the background seems to re-associate them in a unitary composition, as proposed A. Gilan in some detailed studies of the composition (2004; 2015). Gilan observed that Puḫanu, author and protagonist of the tale, is the main "connector" of all the episodes, and that two central themes frame the composition: the Syrian context of some Hittite military conquests and the role of the city of Aleppo and its Storm-god. One of these episodes is significant for the present topic:

KUB 31.4+ (CTH 16): A 15-19. Transcr. Gilan 2015, 300; integrations Steiner 2002, 812, Gilan 2015, 300.

§6 15. [*a-ap-p*]*a-ma-ša-aš* GUD.MAḪ *ki-i-ša-ti na-aš-ta ka-ra-a-wa-ar-še-et te-e-pu li-ip-š*[*a-an*] 16. [*ú-ka-an*] *pu-nu-uš-ki-mi ka-ra-a-wa-ar-še-et ku-it ḫa-an-da li-ip-ša-an UM-MA ŠU-MA* [...] 17. [*a-ru-na-a*]*n ma-a-an la-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ki-nu-un nu-un-na-aš* ḪUR.SAG-*aš na-ak-ki-e-et ka-a-ša* GUD-M[AḪ-*aš* ...] 18. [*da-aš-šu-u*]*š e-eš-ta ma-a-na-aš ú-e-et nu u-ni* ḪUR.SAG-*an ka-ra-ap-ta ša-na-aš-ta* [...] 19. [*e-di na-a*]-*eš a-ru-na-na tar-ḫu-en nu ka-r*[*a*]-ˈ*a-waˀ-ar-še-et a-pé-ˈeˀ-da li-ip-ša-an* [...] //

§7 20. [*ki-nu-na-a*]*š* ^{d}UTU-*uš e-eš-zi nu pé-še-e-nu-*[*uš ḫa-a*]*t-ʳreˀ-eš-ke-ez-zi* ^{uru}*Ḫal-pa i-it-te-e*[*n*] 21. [*nu a-pi-ya*] ÉRIN^{meš}-*ti te-et-en* (...)

[409] On the basis of the centrality of Aleppo in this text, Gilan (2015, 310-311) noted that Tudḫaliya I, its second conqueror, might be actually a good candidate, in alternative to his illustrious predecessors Ḫattusili or Mursili. The fact that the text is only preserved in Hittite, and in late versions, can be perhaps explained through oral transmission (e.g. Archi 2010, 42) but may be also a significant hint for a dating later than the 16th c.

15. [Behind] them[410] he becomes/appears (as) a bull, and his horns are a bit cracked.[411] 16. I ask [him] "why are his horns so cracked"? Then he [answered]: [...] 17. "When I was going to fight [the sea][412], the mountain was an obstacle to us. But this bul[l ...] 18. was [strong], and when he came, he lifted this mountain and there 19. [he moved it] [away], and so we overcame the sea. That is why its horns are cracked" [...].

20. [Now] he is "the Sun", and he dispatches men (i.e. with written orders[?]): "Go to Aleppo [...] 21. [... and there] tell the troops (...).

In many studies, this passage has been connected with the campaigns of Ḫattusili I, and interpreted as a symbolic representation of a historical event, namely the crossing of the Taurus of the Hittite armies on their way to Syria. Commenting this passage Gurney (1979a, 154) wrote: "the first exultant penetration of the Taurus passes was an event celebrated in the Hittite literary tradition in highly poetical imagery". The story would underline the role of the Storm-god (of Aleppo), personified in his symbolic animal, in favoring the march of the Hittite army to the conquest of Syria, allowing to cross the Taurus and reach the Cilician shores. The passage has been also paralleled with the information in the *Edict of Telipinu* referring to "making the sea the border of the lands" (discussed in detail in §4.3). The reference to Aleppo (§7) has been then connected with the content of the second year of the *Annals* (CTH 4).

The text belongs to a variegated group of Old Kingdom documents which are peculiar for their inextricable combination of history, mythical-legendary narrative, and that lay between the domain of historiography and fiction (Del Monte 1993, 9-11).[413] Disparate approaches have attempted to clarify the explicit meaning and function of this obscure document.[414] The unusual, complex structure is probably

[410] de Martino – Imparati 2003, 814: "Hinter ihm aber bildet sich (=erscheint) ein Stier"; see also Gilan 2015, 300: "[Hinterher] wurde/erschien er ihnen zum/als Stier (...)".
[411] "Bent, broken, split, or scratched", CHD, L-N 71-72 a.
[412] cfr. Hoffner 1997, 184: "Whenever I went on campaigns/trips"
[413] This type of texts includes compositions like the *Tale of Zalpa* (CTH 3) and several texts whose main topic is the conflict with the Hurrians, like the *Cannibals' text* (CTH 17.1). It is possible that an inspiration for this type of miscellaneous historical-mythical compositions was the tradition of the Mesopotamian *narû* literature on Sargon and Naram-Sin; copies of these texts and even Hittite translations found at Ḫattuša testify for the interest in this kind of texts, copied throughout Mesopotamia and Syria during the Old Babylonian period (see del Monte 1993, 10).
[414] See Gilan 2015, 295-297 for a summary. For Soysal (1999, 133-137) it is a unitary work of historiography but driven by a religious discourse and stemming from Kizzuwatna; according to Steiner (2002, 807-818) it is a more or less arbitrary collection of *mirabilia,* episodes and events that are curious, unusual or exceptional, without a clear

the key for an interpretation (Gilan 2015). The various episodes are all similarly organized: a first person narrator assists to a situation or scene, then asks questions to some other character and comments or interpret their answers. Thus, the episodes, although highly symbolic, should not be taken independently but connected with one another as a continuum.[415]

According to this interpretation, the tale relates a particular perspective on a series of military events involving the Hittites and Aleppo. The main theme of the text seems to be the encounter of the Hittites – who fought in Syria under the aegis of the solar deity of Arinna[416] – with Aleppo and its Storm-god. Thus, the military rivalry is represented "theologically" (in detail Gilan 2015, 310-325).[417] Similarly, Singer (1994, 87) saw in this text the theological delivery of Aleppo to the Hittites through its god.[418]

While the clear message in the background of the composition and the identity of the audience of this text remain obscure (and go beyond the present discussion) the global interpretation of Gilan helps framing the episode of the "divine" bull. He proposed that the centrality of the Storm-god of Aleppo suggests that this episode can be explained as a *mythological* reference to the tradition of the Syrian god, rather than a symbolic representation of any historical fact (2015, 316). Specifically, both §6 and another passage (§11-14) deal with the mythological conflict between the sea and the Storm-god, while they're hardly a celebration of the Hittite "reaching" of the sea.[419] Thus, the "marine" setting – rather than a

logical, content or chronological connection which frames the text. Similarly, for Melchert 1986 this was a collection of unrelated narrative pieces of Hittite lore. On the composite nature of the text see also de Martino – Imparati 2003.

[415] See a schematization in Gilan 2015, 307-308.

[416] The Hittite conquests – certainly in the Old Kingdom (see the *Annals* of Ḫattusili) but even at the time of Mursili II – were ascribed to the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

[417] On this aspect see also de Martino – Imparati 2003, 263.

[418] Already Ḫattusili I recalls that he sacked and brought to the temple of Arinna a statue of the god of Aleppo in Ḫaššuwa (CTH 4, §11-12, ll. 78-90 de Martino 2003, 55-59). On the introduction of the cult of Teššob of Aleppo in Ḫattuša see in particular Schwemer 2001, 494-502.

[419] Explicit references to the fight with the sea exist in other texts from the Hittite context, e.g. in KUB 44.7 I 11´ ff. and KUB 33.108 II 17; see also the Hurrian "song of the sea" (KUB 45.63) and the so called "second version" of the myth of Illuyanka (KBo 3.7, III 22). On the mythologem of the battle against Chaos in the context of the tradition of Ḫalab see Schwemer 2001, 226-237: in particular pp. 233-234 on the fight between the Storm-god and the Sea.

physical, geographic reference – can be well explained though this mythological background.[420] For this reason, Gilan (2015, 316-317) finally excludes the interpretation as a reference to the crossing of the Taurus.

This interpretation, after all, follows more closely the text itself. The integration at l. 17 with *aruna* and the meaning of *arunan tarḫuen-* at l. 19 "defeat the sea" can't be simply dismissed as a metaphoric indication for reaching the sea.[421]

There is indeed another passage which refers explicitly to crossing mountains, and expands upon the personality and role of the Storm-god of Aleppo (§14-17). Following Steiner (2002), this passage also relates of a fight "with the sea". One interesting element of these paragraphs – rather fragmentary thus not quoted here at length – is the insistence on the "cutting" (Hitt. *kars-*) through/of the mountains (KBo 3.40 – dupl. D – §14-16, 1′ [ḪUR.SAG-*a*]*n karšikanzi* and 2′ [ ] *karšikanzi*; 6′ [(*uni*)] ḪUR.SAG-*an kuin karšikazi*) apparently describing the repeated, perhaps vain attempt to open a mountain pass.[422] One wonders whether these passages should not be reconnected with §6, where the bull (symbolizing the Storm-god) helps "lift" up the mountain. One can speculate that the broken, cracked horns of the poor bull are indeed the consequence of the "cutting" through the mountain. Althought the content of the section §14-16 is not quite clear, it states that the storm-god of Aleppo "runs at our side" (8′ [ur]u*Ḫalpaš* dIM-*aš anzitʿazʾ ḫūwāi*). The divine presence parallels §6, with the (divine) bull helping in the crossing.

[420] Pace e.g. Forlanini 2018, 37. If one wanted to seek any geographical detail in this reference, this should be sought in a Ḫalabite, Syrian perspective: the mythical setting of the fight of the storm-god of Aleppo with the sea would certainly refer to the Amanus and the Mediterranean shores. See Vigo 2012, 275 and n. 53 for literature (in particular on the importance of mt. Casius/Jebel al-ʾAqraʿ-Kel Dağı); also Rutherford 2001. Indeed, the interpretation can be entirely disconnected from geographical issues, considering the older tradition of this mythology of the defeat of the sea. A good parallel is the reference to the defeat of the sea (Tiʾâmat/tamtu) in a letter sent from Aleppo to Mari (ed. in Durand 1993; discussed in Tugendhaft 2018, 48 ff.). Also in this case the mythology is in service of an Aleppo perspective, rather than having to do with the Mediterranean.

[421] In fact, a previous restoration suggested "went on campaigns" in l. 17, instead of "fight the sea", as e.g. in Hoffner 1997.

[422] Gilan 2015, 317, also Forlanini 1988, 129, de Martino – Imparati 2003, 261.

To Gilan's points, I would add another detail suggesting that these episodes reconnect through the broader background of the composition. Towards the beginning of the text an unidentified character recites a monologue (§1-5, ll. 3-14),[423] whose final lines state:

> §5 A 12. [(KUR.KUR$^{ḫi.a}$)]=*ma ḫu-u-ma-an ku-iš ḫar-zi na-at-ta ú-uk* ÍD^{meš}-*uš* ḪUR.SAG^{meš}-*uš a-ru-nu-uš-*^{r}*ša*$^{\neg}$ [...] 13. [*a-ap-p*]*a tar-ma-i-iš-ki-mi* ḪUR.SAG-*an tar-ma-e-mi ta-aš-ta e-di na-at-ta ne-e-a-ri* [...] 14. [(*a-ru-n*)]*a-an tar-ma-a-mi nu a-ap-pa* * * *na-at-ta la-a-ḫu-i*
>
> 12. "I am the one who holds all the lands. Is it not I (am I not the one) who make the rivers, mountains, and the sea [...] 13. [alw]ays stable? I make the mountain stable, so that it does not crumble? away [ ]. 14. The sea I make stable, so that it doesn't flow back".

In my view, an opposition is clearly set between this character and the power and the ability of the Storm-god to 1) cut through the mountains and 2) "defeat" the sea, as §6 and §11-14 suggest; for this reason §5 and §6 can be read in dialogue with each other and in continuity. The Storm-god/bull is clearly able to bind the laws of nature at will (cfr. also §14-17), so it stands in opposition to the character speaking at ll. 3-14, the "keeper" of natural order, whomever it is. It seems very likely, with Gilan (2015, 320), that this is the Anatolian Sun-goddess.

The present interpretation is not the only reason to dismiss this text as a possible historical source. The eminently literary-fictional nature of the *Puḫanu text*, as well as the fact that its inspiration is only vaguely, or secondarily, historical, pose a clear methodological problem for such an employ.[424] History is only one component of the complex fabric of this composition, who appears to have predominantly didactical or perhaps even entertainment goals. A historiographical *function* must be probably set apart,[425] or at least handled very prudently.

[423] I can't deal with these details here and refer to the analysis of Gilan 2015, esp. 317 ff. for the interpretation of this part of the text and in particular this "scene", §1-5.
[424] See the remarks of Gilan 2015, 325. On these issues see also previously Liverani 2004, 28-31.
[425] As suggests Gilan 2015, 293, also in reference to the *Siege of Uršu* (CTH 7).

4.3 The early Old kingdom campaigns and other sources on Hittite contacts with Cilicia

4.3.1 The Annals of Ḫattusili: nature and geography of the Old Kingdom conquests

Having discussed the question of the possible itineraries employed during the Hittite Old Kingdom campaigns, I will now consider the topic of the extension of the Hittite conquests and the textual evidence on the early contacts with Cilicia.

Historiographical literature credits Ḫattusili – and frequently also his predecessor Labarna – with the conquest of large part of central, southern (Cilicia) and northern Anatolia (Pala). For example:

> "prima di lui (i.e. Ḫattusili I) esisteva uno stato che aveva raggiunto nella sua espansione già i limiti dell'Anatolia"; (...) "l'annessione della pianura di Kizzuwatna con la città santa di Kummani *precedette le imprese di Ḫattusili I*, che, senza di essa, non sarebbero state possibili." (Forlanini 2004b, 383-384).

> "(…) at least part of the territory which came to be called by this name (Kizzuwatna) was probably a separate political entity before then (i.e. the time of Telipinu), with the name Adaniya. Adaniya *may previously have been incorporated into the Hittite kingdom, during Ḫattusili's reign or even earlier*. If so it had clearly broken its ties with Hatti by the reign of Ammuna, when it was listed as one of the hostile countries against which Ammuna campaigned without success. It was probably then that the independent kingdom of Kizzuwadna was established". (Bryce 2005, 104).

On the "land of Adaniya", I will return later on (§5.2). Like R. Beal (1986), T. Bryce also supports an early date for the incorporation of Cilicia, in particular for the existence of a Hittite land-grant document found at Tarsus (ibid., 418, n. 40) and for the information contained in later texts. For a long time the tentative dating of the land grant, along with that of similar documents sealed by unnamed Hittite kings, spanned throughout the whole Old Kingdom as early as the time of the first Hittite kings in 17th-16th c. (e.g. Carruba 1993), but the chronology of this text type has been now convincingly reassessed for a much later date, to the kingdom of Telipinu (Wilhelm 2005a, Rüster-Wilhelm 2012). Thus, the existence of this original document does not support any longer a scenario in which the Hittites had a degree of political control in the region fairly early, i.e. before Telipinu (the object is discussed in detail in §4.4). The other

cornerstone for this reconstruction is the historical introduction of the later *Edict of Telipinu*, which gives a brief account on the achievements of his illustrious predecessors (*infra* §4.3.3). The *Annals*, the main source of information on the early expansion of the Hittite kingdom, do not provide, instead, any explicit information on military operations in Cilicia.

The text of the *Annals of Ḫattusili I* (CTH 4)[426] is preserved in two versions, written in Akkadian and Hittite, which are not entirely parallel: one is a *versio,* rather than a translation of the other.[427] It is debated whether the original version was the Akkadian (e.g. H. Otten, H. Güterbock, A. Kammenhüber) or the Hittite (e.g. A. Goetze, O. Carruba, C. Melchert; bibl. in Devecchi 2005, 26-27 and de Martino 2003, 24 ff.); Archi (2010, 42) thinks that both versions are later reworks, as the lost original was an inscription (very likely in Akkadian) written on the "gold statue of myself" (i.e. Ḫattusili), as the Hittite version recalls.[428] The manuscripts are all paleographically late (NS), but the composition is mostly thought to date back to an Old Kingdom original, despite the lack of substantial linguistic archaisms. This characteristic might depend on the scribal tradition and the long editorial history. But there are also other views: Del Monte (1993) doubts that this document belongs to the annalistic tradition in first place, and that it dates, in this form, to the time of Ḫattusili. He suggested, instead, that the text is a *cento,* a composition of later date which collects earlier textual materials combined within an annalistic frame. The inspiration would come from the new form of annalistic historiographical writing developed at the time of the new dynasty of Tudhaliya I.[429] It is difficult to define the main goals of the Annals – as they are not explicit – but

[426] CTH 4: Melchert 1978, Del Monte 1993, Miller 1999, de Martino 2003, Devecchi 2005 (with review of literature p. 12; 26 ff.), Beckman 2006a.
[427] A discussion of the similarities and differences between the two versions in Devecchi 2005.
[428] The question is also connected with the problem of the origin of Hittite writing in Anatolia; some proposed that the Hittites wrote only or primarily in Akkadian until at least the late 16th c. or even mid 15th c. (Popko 2007, van den Hout 2009a; 2009b); a brief review of the discussion, with arguments and counterarguments in Archi 2011.
[429] According to del Monte, earlier compositions still belong to the old tradition of royal inscriptions and of the *narû* literature (fictional royal inscriptions). While the view of Del Monte is not largely followed, it remains worth of consideration observing the peculiarities of this text. Steiner 1999 and Devecchi 2005 (114-115 and ff.) found traces of Mesopotamian and north Syrian influence on the composition: the amount of motifs and literary topoi of the Annals likely indicates that the author(s) had knowledge of the celebrative inscriptions of the kings of Akkad and the Mesopotamian tradition of the fictional or non-fictional royal inscriptions. To make a few examples, the

throughout the text a particular insistence on some themes emerges: in comparison with the concise description of fights and destructions, more time is devolved to the listing of precious offerings – obtained as booty – for the temple of Arinna. The dedicatory part is thus the formal background in which a deliberate glorification of the king is framed. It is an interesting procedure, because by doing so the attention is diverted towards a pious endeavor, while *de facto* the text is a self-praise.

From a historiographical point of view, the logic and structure of the composition reveal that Ḫattusili considered the defeat of Ḫaššum and Ḫaḫḫum his main military achievements; again, the text lists with due detail the booty there subtracted.[430] This is somewhat explicit in the Hittite version, better preserved towards the end of the text, with a recap on the destruction of the two cities as the motor of the whole composition (A III 37-38 ff.).[431] The unprecedented character of these achievements is also emphasized with the topos of the crossing of the Euphrates and the reference to Sargon of Akkad (Hitt. A III 29-32; Akk. II 20).

The Annals account for military activities arranged in "six" years. In consideration of the laconic style of this text, it is difficult to reconstruct with precision the development and chronology of these conquests. Plausibly, the text presents only a summary of the most important turning points of the conquests of Ḫattusili, and we do not know the precise chronological extent of his activities, likely occurring over a longer time span.[432] The Annals, however, cover a relatively clear geographical horizon: central and

insistence on the lion imagery derives from the traditions on Akkad (*contra* Collins 1998: Hattian); the model of the *andurarum* is also inspired to Mesopotamian models of the liberation from slavery and exemption/cancellation of debts and taxes (Annals, akk. vers. II 14); the "general rebellion" of the third year also recalls the "general" rebellion against Naram Sin or in the "chronic" on Sargon (see Steiner 1999, 434-435, n. 4.4). Phraseology and formulary expressions also adumbrate literary inspiration.

[430] E.g. akk. vers. I 34-37 "LUGAL.GAL (…) ^{uru}*Ḫaššuwa kīma* UR.MAḪ *ina ritti-šu išṭapakšu. epram ana muḫi-šu iššapakšu ù makkur-šu* ^{uru}KÙ.BABBAR-*ti undalli.* KÙ.BABBAR-*šu* GUŠKIN *panam ú babam ūl išu*": "The great king (…) like a lion with his paw *cast down*? Ḫaššuwa. He covered it in dust, and he replenished Ḫatti with its possessions. Its silver and gold were without limits". The list of goods goes on until l. 46. On Ḫaḫḫum: rect. II 1-18.

[431] This version also includes the colophon, with the "title" of the "manly deeds" of Ḫattusili (LÚ-*nannaš ŠA Ḫattusili*).

[432] Also Miller 1999, 23: "(…) the Annals include only the early years of Ḫattusili's exploits or that they are very selective, or both" (23). Thus the Annals possibly refer to the earlier part of his reign, and the incorporation of other territories were left to other compositions.

south-central Anatolia, the west and the northern Euphrates and northern Syria; Cilicia remains outside of the picture, but this depends on the interpretation of the section on the fifth year (see *infra*).[433]

In the "first year" Ḫattusili lead campaigns in central and northern Anatolia – if the Zalpa of the Annals is Zalpa/Zalpuwa on the Black sea, which is not entirely certain (previously p. 150). In the second year, he directly deals with Alalaḫ, which he destroyed, and with other cities in northern Syria, among which Uršu, which couldn't be immediately vanquished.[434] When in the following year he turned to Arzawa, in west-central Anatolia, the "Hurrian enemy invaded the country from the back" and "all the lands became hostile".[435] Through the encirclement topos it is indicated that, almost to their surprise, the Hittites had to face the Hurrian reactions to the east, which came very close to reach the center of the kingdom. Afterwards, the text says it took a whole year to siege and retake an important central Anatolian center, Šanaḫuitta, and move further east, concluding the annual campaigns with the take of Alḫa, which is probably not a "second" conquest of Alalaḫ. This Alḫa/Alaḫḫa (KBo 10.2 II 9-10, Hitt. vers. ^{uru}*Al-ḫa-aš*, KBo 10.1 I 30, Akk. vers. ^{uru}*A-la-aḫ-ḫa*)[436] is more likely a different city located in the region of Malatya (de Martino 2012, 377) or in the area of Durmitta and Ḫurma (Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 287). Only in the fifth year Ḫattusili was able to go back *in* Syria, fighting the Hurrians at Zaruna by the mt. Adalur and to finally defeat Haššuwa (east to the Amanus) and then Ḫaḫḫum (area of Samsat), two key centers in the Upper Euphrate region.

The topographic setting of these events opens up a more complex problem (*Annals,* Hitt. II 11-23; Akk. I 31-36). Ḫattusili attacked and destroyed Zaruna and then proceeded against Ḫaššuwa; he faced its people, supported by the army of Ḫalab, defeating them at mt. Adalur.[437] The armies then crossed the river

[433] On the geography of the Annals see in detail Miller 1999. A review also, recently, in Cohen 2017, 296-300.
[434] It is possible that CTH 7 reflects a more detailed account of the operations for the siege of Uršu.
[435] KBo 10.2 (Hitt.) I 24-25: EGIR-*azziyaz=ma=mu=kan* ^{lú}KÚR *ŠA* ^{uru}*Ḫurri* KUR-*e anda uit nu=mu* KUR.KUR^{meš} *ḫūmanda menaḫḫanda kurunaḫḫir.* (Akk.) I 11-12 EGIR-ya ana KUR-tiya ^{lú}KÚR ^{kur}Ḫanikalbat iterub $_{12.|}$ KUR$^{ḫi.a}$ kalušunu ittiya ittakru.
[436] Cfr. the spelling of Alalaḫ in both the versions, Hitt. A I 15 *A-ʾla-alʾ-ḫa*, and Akk. I 6 *Al-ḫa-al-ḫa.*
[437] The detail of the location of the battle by this mountain is only contained in the Akkadian version (I 33).

Puruna, and sacked Ḫaššuwa itself. In the geographical interpretation of Forlanini[438] a Cilician setting for these events is implied, in particular for his identification of Ḫaššu(wa) with Ma'ama, in the area of Maraş. The Adalur is at the Amanus (a peak at the Bahçe pass or the Nur dağı), Zaruna is located in Cilicia, and, consequently, river Puruna must be identified with the Ceyhan (cfr. ancient Pyramos), the only river that can be crossed in order to reach Ḫaššu.

However, a different reconstruction on these topographic details was put forward, which fits better with the text of the Annals itself *and* the much later Annals of Shalmaneser III (mid 9th c.).[439] According to the content of the last text, mt. Adalur should be a separate mountain between the Amanus and modern Az´az, which can be only located in the chain of the Kurt dağ.[440] The topographic sequence can be thus shifted further east, and the best candidate for the Puruna river becomes the Afrin in Syria.[441] Zaruna should also be sought east of the Amanus,[442] and, finally, an important center like Ḫaššum should be sought in one of the large mounds further east, rather than at Maraş.[443] This alternative reconstruction, which moves out of Cilicia these particular episodes, is topographically clearer and more consistent. While recently Forlanini has reiterated his previous proposals (2019) – and some questions remain open to debate – I am of the opinion that the amount of evidence which excludes a Cilician setting in the *Annals* is considerable, and makes the view summarized in Hawkins-Weeden 2017 more compelling.

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[438] See Forlanini 2001, 55; also ibid. 2013, 9-13; and ibid. 2019.
[439] Details in Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 291-293; similar conclusions were already drawn in Miller 2001a (65-101) and the same author, previously 1999, 69 ff..
[440] Shalmaneser reached the Adalur in his first campaign, in the year 858, a visit accounted in the "Kurkh Monolith" (I 51- II 13). There he set up a statue of himself next to the one erected by Anum-Ḫirbi almost one millennium earlier, in the early 18th c. While Forlanini did consider this text for his reconstruction, another (earlier) document written on a slab from Nimrud contains a version of the same composition but with some notable differences; the more intelligible topography of this version would indicate that the mount can't be at the Amanus for the particular itinerary there described; I address the reader to Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 292 for details.
[441] This identification was suggested already by Wilhelm 1992, 28 and Archi 2008, 98. *Contra* Forlanini (2019, 215).
[442] The mention in the statue of Idrimi (l. 68) of the attack to a series of cities belonging to Hatti, including Zaruna, works quite better with this reconstruction as well, since at the time of Idrimi a Zaruna located in Cilicia would be very likely in the independent Kizzuwatna.
[443] Hawkins and Weeden (2017, 293, with ref.) quote proposals for Til Beshar and Oylum höyük; but see already the previous discussion in chapter 3 (p. 104) with various other suggestions. This remains a very open problem.

After Ḫaššum, the king marched to Zippaššana and, most importantly, Ḫaḫḫum, further to the east on the Euphrates, allowing him to emulate the illustrious precedent of Sargon of Akkad in crossing the river, this time in the opposite direction; an enterprise he gladly reminds no one ever accomplished before (II 29-36).

While activities in Cilicia can be probably excluded from the picture, it is worth pointing out two other aspects concerning the *Annals*, before moving on considering other sources. The Annals show, first of all, that the Euphratic region and Syria were the main military goal for the early kings of Ḫattuša and a geographical continuum of military activities linked central Anatolia to the upper and middle Euphrates *directly* (here n. [1]).[444] Secondarily, like other documents of the Old Kingdom, this text suggests that the modalities of warfare and the goals of the Hittite kings were, at least in origin, hardly focused on territorial control but had predatory interests; this contradicts the idea that the Hittites could establish a long lasting control not only in Cilicia, but in several other peripheral areas (from a central Anatolian perspective) quite early (n [2]).

[1] The same geographic focus of the *Annals* emerges in fact from most other Old Kingdom texts of military content: they all deal with central Anatolia, west-central Anatolia and the upper-middle Euphrates.[445] In my view, the importance attributed to the north-Syrian Euphratic area has roots in the

[444] I find significant that, in reference to the "Hurrian" military reaction in the third year of the Annals, the movements of their armies also happen to proceed along the same route which probably the Old Hittite kings took, but in the opposite direction (i.e. towards north-west), right to the hearth of Hatti.

(KBo 10.2 I 24-26) 24. EGIR-*azziyaz=ma=mu=kan* ^{lú}KÚR *ša* ^{uru}*Ḫurri* KUR-*e anda wet* 25. *nu=mu* KUR.KUR^{meš} *ḫūmanda menaḫḫanda kururiaḫḫir* 26. *n=ašta Ḫattušaš=pat* URU-*riaš* 1-*aš āšta*

"(…) the Hurrian enemy *invaded the country behind me*, and all the countries became hostile to me; Ḫattuša was the only city remaining".

[445] The content of the *Uršu text* (CTH 7), is compatible with some of the information on the year 2; CTH 14-15, for the episodes related to the allegiance of Aleppo and Ḫaššu, the *Palace anecdotes* (CTH 8-9) and the *Zukrasi text*, on the installation of a governor in Ḫaššu, the *letter of Tunip-Teššob of Tikunani* for the clash with *Ḫaḫḫum* and the allegiance with the Hurrian Tikunani – also mentioned in CTH 4 in reference to the envoy of precious gifts and tributes as a form of submission and friendship; – the "Cannibal text" (CTH 17.1), and later texts in retrospect, such as in particular the historical prologue contained in the treaty with Aleppo (CTH 75, on which recently Gilan 2017).

previous age. From one side, for its long lasting commercial relevance, perhaps also in connection with the supply and trade of tin from the east,[446] but another motivation may be the ideology of prestige – commercial, political, even cultural – that would derive from the hegemony over this area both on an Anatolian and international level. Salvini (1994, 69), commenting the content of the Tikunanu letter, underlined that the toponyms there mentioned (namely Niḫriya and Zalpar) are well attested in the Old Assyrian documents and that the expedition of Ḫattusili in the 6th year – in particular against Ḫaḫḫum – follows the old routes, which at the time evidently maintained some importance. Hence, one can't avoid seeing signals of strong continuity with the MBA antecedents in the early Hittite kings' geopolitical vision, at least for what emerges from the Annals and the other documents of the period.[447] The early importance of the regional trade network, but also the spatial setting of the northern conquests of Šamši-Adad – with his attempt to extend hegemony on the whole macro-area – remained influential "memories" of the past. The Annals of Ḫattusili themselves, of course, largely communicate the ideological implications of conquests in the area, through their celebrative and propagandistic tones. The Hittites tried to seize, and perhaps destroy, through a new militaristic strategy, the previously existing "system" of exchanges, contacts, and prestige/power dynamics. One can at least observe that, at the same time, Cilicia does not appear to be involved in this project.

While it is true that there could be campaigns of which we are not informed,[448] the geography here described is ubiquitous in *all* the literature of the early Old kingdom, with very few exceptions (next section, §4.3.2). Even if the "historiographical" corpus is not entirely preserved, the consistency of the

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The last text suggests additional conquests were attributed to Ḫattusili, perhaps even a submission of Aleppo. For a general evaluation of these texts in historical terms see Devecchi 2005 and also Miller 2001b.

[446] Devecchi 2005, 15; Bryce 2005, 82; Collins 2007, 37.

[447] Forlanini 2004c, 255-256 suggested that a "kanišite" viewpoint in the Anatolian territorial denominations of the Hittite Kingdom would correspond to a point of view centered in Kaniš, hence the spatial meaning of the definitions of "Upper Land", "Lower Land", eventually in reference to the course of the Maraššantiya river. Although it is true that those labels seem to be in use only from in the Empire period (14th-13th c.), and would have chiefly administrative character (Matessi 2016, 134 ff.), this would still show that the perspective of this geographical conceptualization remained the same even much later on.

[448] Miller 1999, 23.

geographical range of interest is remarkable. Other fragmentary texts that refer to the time of Mursili and Ḫantili, show that the immediate successors of Ḫattusili followed closely his footsteps, with military activities in the same territories. It is the case of CTH 12, with deeds of Mursili or Ḫantili in Anatolia, and CTH 13, attributed to either Ḫattusili or Mursili.[449] The first deals with campaigns in south-eastern Anatolia (L[aḫuzantiya], Te[garama]?)[450] and especially in the Euphratic region (Uššukanna=Waššukkanni?) – and perhaps even east of it (Ḫatra in Išuwa?) – and in the area of later Commagene and Melitene (Haššuwa, Šinuwa, Tawanaka). The second text lists various locations and territories that must also be sought in the same macro-area, including Laḫuzantiya, all said to have defected to the Hurrians (KBo 3.46+, II 16´; 52´: (…) *Ḫurli neyantatati*). These documents testify again for the volatile control of the area and the need for continuous campaigns.

[2] The same documents also show that the Hittite military activities had to large extent predatory interests. It is evident that Ḫattusili, at least at the beginning of his reign, was not yet able to control firmly *any* territory beyond a limited territorial range in central and south-central Anatolia. The information from the *Edict of Telipinu* (CTH 19; §3, 9-12) that the early kings set up in the local districts governors and rulers of royal lineage – namely the sons of the king – does not itself suggests a consistent attempt to a systematic control of the conquered territories.

> "When he came back from an expedition, every son of his went to one of the (conquered) lands: to Ḫupišna, to Tuwanuwa, to Nenaša, to Landa, to Zallara, to Paršuḫanta, to Lušna. They governed the lands, and large towns were founded". (Edict of Telipinu §1-4, A I 2-12; transl. Liverani 2004, 31).

First, none of this information can be found in the earlier sources, and one wonders to what extent this notion reflects a practice contemporary to the age of Telipinu, and retrojected in the past. At any rate,

[449] Both treated in de Martino 2003. CTH 12: attributed to Mursili I (de Martino 2003) or Hantili (Kempinski-Košak 1982). CTH 13: attributed to Ḫattusili (Kempinski-Košak 1982), Mursili I (de Martino 2003).
[450] See the chapter on geography for the location of Luḫuzantiya. Already Forlanini 1997, 119: "diese Luhuzzantiya kann nicht in Kilikien gesucht warden".

even closely following the textual information, this practice is clearly restricted to centers in central Anatolia, in particular in the land of Ḫattuša proper and in what will become the "Lower Land". For the administrative organization of the Old Kingdom, other textual sources communicate indeed a territoriality of town-based "districts", nucleated on several local centers and certainly not articulated in a system of regional provinces.[451] But whether a similar territoriality extended beyond this localized horizon is not so clear. Miller (1999, 122-123) saw indeed the campaigns of Ḫattusili as the attempt to "incorporate all of northern Syria into the Hittite administration of vassal kingdoms and protectorates", and that he was successful in conquering all the major regional centers. Apart from the content of the introduction of the Aleppo treaty (CTH 75), of much later date, early documents like the *Zukrasi text* (KUB 36.100+) and the *Tigunani letter* may indicate at least the establishment of agreements with local powers, but this did not mean a stable hold on Syrian territories.[452] Even if it was true that Ḫattusili was able to incorporate important locations in Syria under a more concrete control, the texts imply that, soon after, rebellions broke out and that the Hittites had to undertake continuous military activities in the areas over the next generations.

While the content of the *Annals* does not show any methodology for achieving long lasting control on the territories involved in military campaigns – nor gives the impression of an evident interest in doing so – virtually all the early documents refer to pillaging, destructions and sacks. In this sense the early kings' military approach is consistent with this model of warfare, which also explains the raids against Alalaḫ with Ḫattusili, and even later on the take of Aleppo and Babylon with Mursili. This approach may be seen within the Old Hittite conception of power of familial and private imprint, and an ideological background of heroic military ethos. It was only at a second stage that the Hittites attempted to build a

[451] Matessi 2016, 139.
[452] See indeed also Miller 1999, 20 and n. 75 on the content of the Tigunanu letter: "It seems more likely that the Great King Labarna's (i.e. Ḫattusili I) claims on Tikunani are largely wishful thinking (...)". The dating of the *Zukraši text* is also an issue; a discussion in Archi 2010, 38-39. This text may date in the Old Kingdom down to the decades preceding Telipinu.

more solid hegemony, going back to Syria and concentrating on a new strategy. J. Klinger (2014, 81) recognized signals of a mutated approach already after the Hurrian reaction, for Ḫattusili seems to pursue a more systematic plan whose ultimate goal was to eliminate Aleppo and with it Yamḫad.[453]

However, as concerns Cilicia, conceivably the Taurus still represented a significant natural barrier – as it had been for a long time – for similar enterprises, and very little evidence suggests that the Hittites had any particular ambition in that direction this early. The most likely – and simpler – solution, is that Cilicia was hardly (or at all) involved with these events, neither previously (with "Labarna") nor later during the 16th c., if not sporadically. An evaluation of the other early relevant documents, few containing more concrete references to early Hittite contacts with Cilicia, supports this picture, as shown in the next sections.

4.3.2 Early evidence for contacts between the Hittite kingdom and Cilicia

Among the Old Kingdom documents that witness possible contacts between the Hittites and Cilicia are few sources containing references to Kummani.

The first is the *Tale of Zalpa* (CTH 3.1), a peculiar text which combines mythical and historical elements, and mostly interpreted as a moral tale of didactic scope.[454] The composition is divided in two parts: the first deals with a mythical story on Kaniš and Zalpa, set in a legendary past.[455] The second, preserved after a long lacuna, contains some episodes of apparent historical content, revolving around the defeat

[453] That the "plan" of the elimination of Aleppo was already clear in the mind of Ḫattusili seems indicated indirectly in a few texts, in particular KBo 3.57 (=CTH 11), some "Res Gestae" of a ruler (perhaps Ḫantili I or Ḫantili II), potentially a *Sammeltafel* or collection of later date (Ḫantili I: de Martino 2003; Ḫantili II: Carruba 1988).
[454] CTH 3: Stories on the city of Zalpa. Recent bibl.: Holland-Zorman 2007 (ed.), Zorman 2008, Gilan 2007, 2015, 179-210 (ed.), Hoffner 1997 (transl.), Haas 2006, 20-26 (transl.).
[455] The story relates about the thirty sons and daughters of the queen of Kaniš; while she abandoned to the river stream (presumably the Kızılırmak/Maraššantiya) the first horde of babies in a proverbial basket, she reared herself the thirty daughters which she bore a few years later. The sons, brought downstream to Zalp(uw)a, a city by the sea (the Black Sea?), where there raised by the gods. Years went by and the sons eventually travelled to Kaniš, and met their younger thirty daughters, unaware of their identity. The recognition moment prevents an incestuous marriage.

and conquest of Zalpa. At the end of a conflict, the Hittites managed to take this city after the locals refused to surrender by consigning the leaders. These events would date to the early Old Kingdom period.

In this second part, one finds a reference to a travel of the king to Kummani, in unclear context: in a fragmentary passage (KBo 3.38, rs. 17´-19´; also supplied by C rs. 1´-5´) someone, presumably the Hittite king, "goes back to Kummani". Afterwards, Zalpa became inimical, so that he "returned/went" to some other place in lacuna (^{uru}x[ ]). Unfortunately, it is impossible to reconstruct a clear picture of this section, while the last lines of the text are better preserved (B 20´-32´).

Another problem with this composition is that, since the central part is missing, the precise connection of the two main parts remains unclear. Some scholars have also suggested that the two may not belong to one and the same text, i.e that the tablet contained two distinct compositions (*Sammeltafel*[456]). In my view, this is unlikely, since a unitarian interpretation provides a good frame for the composition logic: possibly, the mythical story on the queen of Kaniš and her thirty sons and daughters was an aetiology for the conflicts between the Hittites and Zalpa, and an ethical-historical justification of its destruction.[457] Since the composition refers to the Old Hittite period and even to the mythical origins of the Hittite state,[458] it was certainly composed very early, and even if the copy KBo 22.2 is somewhat later than what previously thought (i.e. dating to 16th c.), for its mixture of MS and OS shapes it must be a copy of an older version of the text.[459]

Apart from these general questions on this composition, for the present topic a significant issue is how to reconcile the main setting of the story (Zalpa) and the described military activities and movements

[456] On Hittite *Sammeltafeln* see Mascheroni 1988. Also Gordin 2015, 79 n. 372 with additional bibliography.
[457] Scholars have divergent opinions, as emerged recently during a discussion at the 65th Rencontre Assyriologique in Paris (July 2019), following the presentation of an article on this text by R. Marineau ("Stitching a Story Together: Language Use for Transition and Cohesion in the Hittite Tale of Zalpa"). Gilan (2015) provided, on the contrary, a unitary interpretation for this composition.
[458] See in particular the interpretation of Forlanini 2004b, 363-368.
[459] Holland-Zorman 2007, 12-17.

with the references to distant centers like Ḫurma and Kaniš, let alone Kummani. Since Zalpa/Zalpuwa is understood to be a center on the Black Sea coast in northern Anatolia, it is unclear what is the meaning of the travels of the kings to a Cilician (or even Cataonian) Kummani. Unless one accepts the possibility that this Zalpa is in Syria.[460] Considering the references to Ḫurma and Kaniš, the traditional identification of Kummani with Comana/Şar would place all these centers relatively close to each other in the south-eastern fringes of the central Anatolian plateau. Instead, a trip of the king in the Cilician plain in the context of battles with Zalpa seems to make very little sense. Accepting that this reference to Kummani is indeed probably early, it seems that something is still missing from the picture. The mention is even more problematic considering the general scarcity of references to this centers in the Old Kingdom documents.

In fact there is only a single other early reference to Kummani, in this case much clearer in respect to the geographical context. The small fragment KUB 48.81 (*fig. 71*) lists a few toponyms in a text of unclear content; the setting is clearly Cilicia, as the list includes Ataniya (Adana), Arusna and Kummani.[461] This fragment has been generally attributed to the historiographical corpus of the early Old Kingdom, in particular to CTH 13.[462] While the copy is certainly late (NS) the original was probably early, on the basis of linguistic features (especially the use of the conjunction *šu* in the chain *ša-aš*, l. 1′).

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[460] On the issue of the number and location of the various Zalpa see previously p. 150. In the *Tale of Zalpa* the northern Anatolian location is preferred on the basis of the mythical tale about the abandonment of the basket in the river. However, assuming the Zalpa of the tale is the same destroyed by Ḫattusili I (CTH 4), a northern Euphratic location would be coherent with the other available information from the *Annals* (see lastly Miller-Corti 2017, for a summary of the divergent views).

[461] 1′ *ša-aš* ^{uru}*A-ta-ni-y*[*a* "(and) he [ ] the city of Ataniy[a
2′ *nu-uš-ši* TUG$^{hi.a}$ ZA.GÌN [and [...] blue cloths to him [
3′ *ša-aš* ^{uru}*A-ru-u-u*[*š-na* and he [ ] the city of Aru[šna
4′ *ša-an ḫar-ni-in-k*[*u-* and destroy[-] him/her
5′ *nu-za pa-aḫ-ša-nu-an*[- and protect[-
6′ ^{uru}*Ku-um-ma-an*ʳ*-ni*ʾ[the city of **Kummani** [ ]"
Tenses are probably in preterit; as a rule, **šu-* was employed in complementary distribution with *ta-*, used with present-futures (GHL, 390 §29.3). An edition of the fragment in de Martino 2003, 150.

[462] Trémouille 2001, 62 n. 37; de Martino 2003, 127-130, 151.

The attribution to CTH 13 seems, instead, quite uncertain. De Martino (2003, 128) thinks these toponyms refer to a geographic area compatible with the content of the main manuscript of CTH 13, KBo 3.46 +, but I suspect that the reason to say so is principally the reference to *L*[*aḫuzzantiya*] in CTH 13, previously discussed.[463] Hence the faulty correlation of Luḫuzatiya with Kummani and the other Cilician cities in this fragment. While the tablet, still, dates to the Old Kingdom, the precise dating can be debated. Miller (2010, 510) already pointed out that "The fragment's attribution to Mursili's era (...) must be seen as tentative at best, since only six lines are partially preserved. That it indeed likely represents a *copy* of an older text, whatever its exact date, is suggested by the older conjunction *su*= (...)". Currently many scholars maintain that Old Hittite language forms were in use at least until the time of Telipinu.[464] Ünal (2017, 221) even suggests a dating to Tudḫaliya I. While this very late date is in my view unlikely,[465] ultimately a dating in the Old Kingdom down to the time of Telipinu can't be excluded.

Independently from the question of dating, the document itself – regrettably so fragmentary – does not help framing the nature of this Hittite early presence in Cilicia. It clearly refers to 'military' activities (*harnink*- "destroy", but also *pahs*^{a}*-nu*- "protect", ll. 4-5), but even if there had been military encounters locally, the small evidence beyond this single fragment hardly speaks of continuous or substantial presence in the region.

The only other early source that indicates clear contacts of the Hittites with Cilicia is a passage from KBo 3.54, part of a late copy of the *Res Gestae* attributed to Mursili I or Ḫattusili I (*fig. 73*).[466] The passage of interest is the following:

[463] Additional details in de Martino 2003, 128. The attribution to CTH 13 was probably first suggested in Trémouille 2001, 62 (n. 37), who said the fragment "appartient probablement aux Annales étendues de Ḫattusili I". A brief note suggests the attribution is based on a personal communication by D. Symington. The fragment was also discussed in: Forlanini 1979, 168-173; 2004a, 297; 2013, 18-19; Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 286; Ünal 2017, 221.
[464] E.g. Melchert 2013b, 161 (n. 7).
[465] This conflicts with the antiquity of the use of the conjunction *šu*, if Melchert (2013b, 161 n. 7) is correct in considering *ta/šu* was already abandoned in the period after Telipinu.
[466] Ed. de Martino 2003, 127-153 (in particular 134-144).

A III 1′	[*ma-a-an pa-ra-a*] ⌜*ši-ia-*⌝[*ti*	[When] spring came
B 28′′	*ši-*]*ia-ti ša-aš* ^{uru}*Ḫa-at-tu-ša-a*[*š*	] Ḫattuša he [
B 29′′	]x LÚ ^{uru}*Pu-ru-uš-ḫa-an-da* ^{uru}x[	] the man of Purušḫanda, $^{(city)}$[
B 30′′	^{u}]^{ru}*Ḫa-ra-aš-ḫa-pa-aš* ^{uru}*Ta-aš-ša-an*[-	] Ḫarašḫapa, Tašan-[
B 31′′	[^{uru} *-i*]*š-ta-aš* ^{uru}*A-ri-ma-at-ta*[*-aš* ^{uru}	-i]štaš, Arimatta[
B 32′′	[^{uru}]*-aš* ^{uru}*Pa-ru-ki-it-ta-aš* ^{ur}[^{u}	]-aš Parukitta, $^{(cit}$[$^{y)}$
B 33′′	[^{uru} *-i*]*a*$^{?}$*-aš* ^{uru}*Zu-un-na-ḫa-ra-a*[*š*	]x-aš, Zunnaḫara, [
B 34′′	[^{uru} ^{ur}]^{u}*Ši-nu-wa-an-ta-aš* ^{ur}[^{u}	]Šinuwanda, $^{(cit}$[$^{y)}$
B 35′′	[*ḫa-ra-a*]*p-ta-ti ke-e-d*[*a-*	]he grouped (with), th[is/ese

What follows is even more fragmentary (eight lines until the end of the paragraph, preserved in the parallel tablet A; KBo 3.46+). The significance of this fragment is that it lists a series of cities, two of which may be located in Cilicia; these are Zunnaḫara and Šinuwanda. Both are attested in one locus of the later *Annals of Arnuwanda I*, among cities that were being rebuilt; there, a Cilician context is suggested by the sequence Zunnaḫara, Adaniya, and Šinuwanda, among few other toponyms. Zunnaḫara is also attested in Kp 05/226= KpT 1.11, a Hurrian fragments that deals with campaigns – probably at the time of Tudḫaliya III – in Kizzuwatna and Mukiš (the historical content of these documents is discussed in §7.6).

However, the geography described in KBo 3.54 is not entirely intelligible. First, the fragment lists other centers – from a sparse geographical context – that have no connection with Cilicia. Then, Šinuwanda is mentioned in the *Bronze Tablet* (CTH 106.I.1) and in the *treaty with Ulmi-Teššob of Tarḫuntašša* (KBo 4.10; CTH 106.II.2), in reference to the borders of the Hittite kingdom with Tarḫuntašša. A Cilician location is difficult to reconcile with this context, and according to Forlanini (1988, 133 ff.; 2017, 241) this place was in fact rather on the other side of the Cilician Gates coming *from* Kizzuwatna, thus in the Lower Land,

not very distant from Tunna-Porsuk höyük.[467] While in the Cilician vicinities, this remains in the central Anatolian domain, north of the Taurus.

Instead, for Forlanini Zunnaḫara is Misis/Mopsuhestia (in the vicinities of Sirkeli), and is a center often associated with Adaniya, including tablet twelve of the *(ḫ)išuwa-* festival, where Kummanna, Zunnaḫara, Adaniya, Tarša, Ellipra appear in sequence.[468] While this remains the only Cilician toponym securely mentioned in this fragment, one can't exclude that more could be listed. For example, a reconstruction of B 33´´ as [Adani]ya ([...]x-*aš*)[469] does not seem implausible, given their correlation in other documents[470] and their presumable vicinity. This would be the earliest reference to Adaniya in the Hittite corpus.

As for the content, the meaning of the verb *ḫarp-* (ll. 35´´ and in tablet A III 11´´) is not transparent from context, but in m.-p. voice it means something like "group (with someone), join (someone)". What is clear few lines afterwards is that a plurality, perhaps these cities, [*n*]*e-ya-an-ta-ti* "turned to" someone. De Martino (2003, 144) follows Soysal suggesting that the sentence should be reconstructed as "turned to the Hurrians" ([*Ḫurli n*]*eyantati*), presumably forming a coalition against Ḫattuša.

Therefore, there is at least sparse evidence that in the Old Hittite kingdom the Hittites had contacts with Cilicia, but not all the documents indicate military activities and, concretely, very little can be said on these episodes. The precise dating of these documents is also uncertain.

In particular, it seems hard to employ these references, in combination with other sources, such as the introduction to the Edict of Telipinu (next section §4.3.3), to assign a large scope of political hegemony over Anatolia very early, even with Labarna (e.g. Forlanini 2004a, 297; 2007, 273[471]). The

[467] See also the map in Forlanini 2017, 252.
[468] For a discussion on Zunnaḫara see Hawkins-Weeden 2017, 284-285.
[469] Indeed, the traces seem compatible with a final vertical, perhaps double, thus <ia> fits (see *fig. 73*).
[470] With Adaniya in KUB 20.52 and KBo 22.187; with Adaniya and Šinuwanda KUB 23.21 (del Monte-Tischler 1978, 518).
[471] "(...) I do not believe that everything began with Ḫattusili I, whose first campaigns point to an already established Hittite control over Cilicia and Ḫaššum." (Forlanini 2007, 273).

collection of sources for a Hittite presence or even control in Cilicia remains, in my view, very scanty, especially in comparison with references to other areas of interest in the documents of the period. Without dismissing this evidence, the global picture emerging from the Old Kingdom documents suggests minor political involvement in Cilicia; a similar picture comes from the archaeological evidence at most sites (*infra* §4.6).

At the light of these conclusions, I take the opportunity to recall a question addressed by Forlanini (2007, 275-276) which has to do with this topic. In this article, he discussed the content of an offering list for the local gods of the kingdom, contained in a ritual which is probably part of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-*festival* corpus (KBo 4.13, I 17´-48). He proposed that the text arranges places not according to a geographical logic, but seems to mirror the historical conquests of the early Old Kingdom. Thus, the content of the tablet has a much earlier origin than its date (the tablet is pal. LNS). However, Forlanini found problematic for his interpretation that while this list includes Ḫaššuwa and Ḫalab, Cilicia and its major centers (Adaniya and Kummani) were absent. Again this problem exists only assuming Cilicia was a Hittite territory, and that through this region marched the armies directed to Syria. If one accepts Forlanini's interpretation of this document, finds that this issue is immediately solved following the view proposed in the present section.

Having considered the evidence of the *Annals of Ḫattusili* and other early documents, there is one last text to discuss, which provides a more "optimistic" perspective on the territorial extension of the early Hittite Old Kingdom. This is the section the *Edict of Telipinu* with its retrospective historical account on the early conquests of his illustrious predecessors.

4.3.3 Retrospective historical introduction of the *Edict of Telipinu*

The so called *Edict of Telipinu* (CTH 19)[472] is the main source of information on the age between the early kings and the end of 16th c. For the present discussion, the most interesting aspect of this document is that it contains a long introduction which surveys the previous history of the Hittite kingdom. This preamble deals with the dreadful events in Ḫattuša during the time of the royal predecessors of Telipinu, discussing in particular the succession history of the Hittite dynasty and the fights for the throne. A chaotic time of disarray follows, paradigmatically, a "golden age" that lasted until the assassination of Mursili, the conqueror of Aleppo and Babylon. The conception of the historical introduction follows the logic of the whole document, whose attempt is to provide a legitimation for the usurper Telipinu. While the pragmatic section is dedicated to the emanation of administrative measures, in particular re-affirming the rules of succession to the throne, his own coup d'état is underplayed by the instrumental reconstruction of the long series of murders and misdeeds of the predecessors, a negative cycle to which Telipinu, providentially, is able to put an end. The first part of the composition can be read, therefore, as a *historical* legitimation of the rule of Telipinu, a prologue that justifies and frames the content of Telipinu's deliberations ethically and politically.[473] Note that this single document provides almost all the existing information on the former time, only integrated by the few documents attributed to the reign of Mursili and Ḫantili.

[472] CTH 19: ed. Hoffman 1984; van den Hout 1997, Goedegebuure 2006 (transl.). Additional bibl. Starke 1985b, Liverani 1977, re-published in Liverani 2004 (chapter 2), Sürenhagen 1998, Gilan 2015, 137-177. We own copies of two versions of this text, in Akkadian and Hittite.

[473] The most important study on the ideological and political scope of this text is Liverani 1977 (republished in Liverani 2004, 27-52). I generally accept his political reading of the document. Gilan (2015) recently re-discussed the interpretation of Liverani, and, more in general, his historiographic approach. Gilan sees in the text a more genuine attempt at self-defense, in which Telipinu tries to distance himself from the wrongful behavior of the predecessors (177). I don't see the two views excluding each other. The suggestions of Gilan allow to better contextualize the text, and the parallel he draws between Telipinu and Ḫantili is particularly insightful. Still, the overall political-ideological interpretation of Liverani remains in my view persuasive in its general layout. Both views also participate in a historiographical meta-discourse, and mirror different trends and moments in the field of research, as Gilan also points out (2015, 170-177).

There are three passages in the historical introduction of the Edict, in particular, that contain potential information on Cilicia and the origins of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna.

1] Conquests of the early kings. The text states that during the reign of Labarna, the immediate predecessor of Ḫattusili I:[474]

§2 5. [(*nu utnē tepu ēšta ku*)]-*wa-at-ta-aš la-aḫ-ḫa-ma pa-iz-zi* 6. [(*nu* ^{lú}KÚR-*an ut-ne-e ku-ut*)]-*ta-ni-it tar-aḫ-ḫa-an ḫar-ta*

§3 7. [(*nu ut-ne-e ḫar-ni-in-ki*)]-*iš-ki-it nu ut-ne-e ar-ḫa tar-ra-nu-ut* 8. [(***nu-uš a-ru-na-aš ir-ḫu-u***)]***š i-e-it*** (...)[475]

"The country was small but wherever he went on campaign, he held the enemy lands subdued by force. He destroyed the lands one by one, he made the lands powerless, **and he made them the borders of the sea**". (*Edict of Telipinu* CTH 19 KBo 3.1+, copy A, col. I; ref. text edition: Hoffman 1984).

Taken at face value, the passage suggests that the kingdom of Labarna extended on a territory stretching along all Anatolia, from the Black sea to the Mediterranean. There are two reasons to suspect this statement. First of all it is immediately contradicted by what follows; in §3-4 it is said that after every campaign Labarna set up one of his "sons" as a governor or ruler: but the list includes exclusively locations in south-central Anatolia, between the Tuz Gölu and the Taurus range.[476] What about the lands that "border with the sea", further to the north by the Black sea coast or to the south, reaching the Mediterranean? No other early sources refer to the reaching of the sea explicitly, nor, as previously

[474] On the problem of the historicity of Labarna and the ambivalent value of this title and name see the overview in Liverani 2004, 31-32. The question is quite obscure: similarly to Starke (1983) Liverani does not believe a historical Labarna existed; according to them, this ancient *title* was re-projected secondarily as an archetypical figure of ruler. Less skeptical positions exist, and the opposite – i.e. re-semantization of a proper name as title – is suggested as well: Labarna is seen as historical figure e.g. by Forlanini (2004b) and de Martino (2016, 21). Kloekhorst (2008, 520) also supports the onomastic interpretation, but proposed that the name should be considered non-IE (contra Melchert 2003, 19), on the basis of spelling conventions in different languages; only secondarily this became employed as a title for the Hittite kings.

[475] (KUB 3.85, the Akkadian version: I 8) *ù* KUR.KUR-*tim a-na* ZAG A.AB.BA ˹*e*˺-[*pu-uš* (Hoffman 1984, 13, n. 4; 58) / ˹*ú*˺-[*ti-ir* (Beckman 1986rev, 571) "he *conquered* the lands to the border of the sea". The Hitt. formulation somewhat changes the meaning of the Akkadian one (if *epuš* is the correct integration), well attested elsewhere; see on this point Starke 1985b, 109 (n. 29).

[476] Hupisna, Tuwanuwa, Nenassa, Landa, Zallara, Parsuhanta, Lusna.

discussed, the geography described in the annalistic literature indicates otherwise.[477] Second, the passage in question employs a blatant topos of universal conquest derived from a long lasting tradition of political, celebratory literature.[478] While the formulary nature of the statement is already self-evident, it is entirely unmasked since ll. 7-8 are repeated verbatim twice again referring to the successors of Labarna, Ḫattusili (incl. line 6) and Mursili (=§5-6, 15-18; §8, 26-27). The use of such stereotypical motifs does not exclude *per se* a historical reliability of the information, but the extension of the same motif to all the "good" model rulers of the Old Kingdom warns to caution. The repetition, actually, extends to the phraseology of the entire passage; the description, rather than a historical reality, portrays the "model" kingdom, well-governed and prosperous. Ultimately, if Labarna already extended control over Cilicia down to the Mediterranean, why both Ḫattusili and Mursili were still in need to "make the lands the border of the sea"? The topos is clearly ideological, and the sentence *nu aruna irḫus ieit,* very rarely employed in Hittite context, is most likely a stock phrase derived directly from Mesopotamian models.[479]

Thus, a literal interpretation of this passage is not necessary.[480] The formulary character of the sentence and the didascalic goals of the historical introduction suggest that the phraseology is royal inscription

[477] For a reference to the sea in an Old Kingdom's annalistic text (CTH 18), see *infra* p. 182-183.

[478] On the topoi of "imperial" ideology in Hittite context see e.g. Steiner 1999 (in particular, on the expansion "up to the sea", 430 and 431-432). On the metaphorical nature of this phraseology, and in particular the connection with the Sargonic tradition, see also Dardano 2012, esp. 624-625. The ideal of universal dominion is attested through similar formulations also in the Hittite Empire period: see e.g. KUB 11.23 VI 8-11, a blessing for the king spelled in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{sar} festival "*nu kizza arunaš irḫan wemiškiddu kizzi=ya arunaš irḫan wemiškiddu*" to this (side) may he always find the border of the sea, in this (other side) may he always find the border of the sea" (see Wilhelm 1993, 4). Note, however, that these universalistic messages are extremely rare in the Hittite repertoire, and restricted to some of these early sources and other very late ones, at the end of the Empire period (see Gerçek 2017, 41, with bibliography).

[479] See e.g. the contribution of Vigo 2012, 277 (n. 69) and already Wilhelm 1993, 4. Vigo underlines that the "cosmological significance" of the sea communicated in this and other Hittite texts reveals Mesopotamian inspiration (269); the frame is "mythological" and not territorial and geographic. On this passage, in particular ibid. pp. 277-278. Note that the formulation was probably already employed before Telipinu, see e.g. CTH 10.1 (KUB 26.74) ro. I 6.

[480] Explanations which delve into the possible geography described in this passage were also put forward: since Hitt. *aruna* indicates a large body of water, it can be translated as either "sea" or "lake". In a more limited sense this *aruna* might be either the Tuz Gölu or a paleolake that had existed in the past in southern Cappadocia, now in the Konya plain (e.g. Vigo 2012, 279-281).

repertoire, and metaphorically refers to "universal" conquest. In this case "universal" is enclosed in an Anatolian perspective, and the historical realization of this ideal pan-Anatolian reach hardly happened before the Hittite Empire period (Klinger 2000, 168). The employ of this motive corresponds to the general goal of the introduction, which is to oppose good and bad ethical-political models, in the background of the cliché of the opposition of an original golden age to the degradation of the present.[481] Should we assign historical meaning to this information, or, in other terms, consider that it was in fact relevant that the information was accurate? Rather, the narrative *function* of the text reveals other reasons, i.e. to represent an ideal model of the State and the world. Following Liverani 2004, 96:

> "The problem then is not to understand whether a detail is exact or not, but to understand why such a detail was used – be it true or false. The problem is not so much checking whether the events took place in a certain way, but rather appreciating how and why they were told according to a particular narrative pattern."

2] The "rebellion" under Ammuna. A second block of the narrative of Telipinu indicates that the previous history of the Hittite dynasty was stained by a sequence of murders (§10-23) until, providentially, he became king (§24-27). The murders and misdeeds of the usurpers of the throne, Ḫantili, Zidanta and Ammuna, brought a sequence of troubles upon the kingdom, therefore the transgressors had to face divine punishment.[482] During the reign of Ammuna (mid-16th c.):

§21[483] II 1. **KUR-*e-ma-a-aš-ši ku-u-ru-ri-e-it*** ^{uru}[...]-*ag-ga-aš* ^{u}[^{ru}*Ma*$^{?}$-*t*]*i-la-aš* ^{uru}*Gal-mi-ya-aš*

2. (KUR)[484] ⌜**^{uru}*A-da*⌝-*ni-i*[*a-aš*]** KUR ^{uru}*Ar-za-wi*$_5$*-ia* ^{uru}*Šal-la-pa-aš* ^{uru}*Pár-du-wa-ta-aš* ^{uru}*Aḫ-ḫu-la-aš-ša*

3. *la-aḫ-ḫa-ma*[485] *ku-wa-at-ta* ERÍN^{meš}*-uš pa-iz-zi ne a-ap-pa ú-ul* SIG$_5$*-in ú-e-eš-kán-ta*

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[481] On the pattern good – evil – good in this text see Liverani 2004, 31 ff.

[482] Particularly interesting in this regard is also the suggestion of Gilan 2015, 176-177; it is proposed that the text creates a substantial parallel between Telipinu *and* Ḫantili. This connection would be in fact the *Leitmotiv* of the composition, whose goal would be to express a deeper, introspective realization of Telipinu's misdeeds, communicated through the insistence of the similar destiny associating the two.

[483] Transcription is simplified and updated from Hoffman 1984, 26; it combines the three parallel tablets A, B, D (KBo 3.1+, KUB 11.1, KUB 11.5).

[484] Add. D: vs. 14´.

[485] B II 9: *la-aḫ-ḫa-an.*

> "The land(s) **became hostile towards him**[486]**/ became his enemy**[487]: the cities of [ ]-agga, [Mat]ila, Galmiya, (the land of) **Adaniya**, the land of Arzawiya, Šallapa, Parduwata and Aḫḫulla. Wherever the troops went on campaign, however, they did not come back successfully."

This generalized "rebellion" happened one generation earlier than Telipinu. Chiefly on the basis of this passage, the majority of Hittite histories suggests indeed that these territories must have been previously under Hittite control; their revolt at this point in time implies a previous – more or less continuous – status of subordination. The passage previously discussed (n. [1]) would confirm that since the time of Labarna and Ḫattusili these lands were among the Anatolian territories conquered by the Hittite kingdom. For several scholars, additionally, this passage pinpoints the creation of an independent kingdom of Kizzuwatna (e.g. Bryce 2005, 104), on the basis of the identification of the land/city of Adaniya (modern Adana) with Kizzuwatna.[488] It also meant for the Hittites the loss of their main access to Syria via the Taurus mountain passes (Bryce 2005, 102).

While the interpretation of these episodes as local revolts implies that previously during the Old Kingdom Cilicia *and* other Anatolian territories outside the plateau had been under some form of political dependence from Ḫattuša, the problem with this reconstruction remains the little evidence in this respect.

A different understanding of the passage finds ground both in its phrasing and its detailed content. First, an interpretation of the verb *kururiya-* as "to rebel" is not entirely justified and charges the term of a very specific meaning.[489] A *rebellion* implies the opposition to a previous status of subordination, and consequently a loss of territories in the Hittite perspective. However, a more literal translation, like those here preferred, "become hostile" or "become enemy" is linguistically more appropriate. Note that

[486] Goedegebuure 2006, 231.
[487] van den Hout 1997, 196.
[488] The same secession event would also be at the origin of the kingdom of Arzawa. Also Freu 2001, 13; Liverani 2011, 423. The topic of the "independence" of Adaniya/Kizzuwatna will be discussed in §5.2.
[489] Friedrich 1991, 119: *kururiia-* "feindlich sein"; *kururiiaḫḫ-* "bekämpfen, bekriegen; Krieg führen". See also Ünal 2017, 218 on the semantics of this verb.

in the *Annals* of Ḫattusili (A I 22-24) *kururiya-* is also commonly translated as "to become hostile".[490] Since the phraseology is formulary, one can argue, indeed, that Telipinu employs here the same topos, although in this occasion indicating more precisely the geographical areas where the Hittites troops were involved in military activities.

Contextually, it is clear that the upheavals in Adaniya are only part of a larger problem, which is that several territories in Anatolia "became hostile" against Ḫattuša. It is not explicit that these lands[491] were part of the Hittite territories, and in fact, from what we know about these toponyms, there is reason to think that all of them were located *outside* the territorial scope of the Old Kingdom. First, Adaniya was mostly out of range until this time, and in fact the toponym is never attested previously.[492]

In reference to Arzawa, hardly the Hittites had ever controlled this land before Tudhaliya I. I agree in this respect with Gander (2017, 263, with n. 18), who doubts the historicity of the conquest of Arzawa attributed to Labarna in the *treaty of Muwatalli II with Alakšandu* (CTH 76). Gander is equally skeptical that a passage in the collection of anecdotes known as *Palace Chronicle* (CTH 8), in which it is said a certain representative of the king, "Nunnu of Ḫurma, was in the region of Arzawa" (KBo 3.34 obv. I 11)[493] suggests that Arzawa had become a Hittite province in the early Old Kingdom. Indeed, in these early documents it appears that Arzawa indicates an area different than in the later period (namely the New Kingdom), indicating roughly the area immediately west to the Hittite domains and *beyond* their actual sphere of influence (ibid. 264).[494] Ḫattusili I was likely unable to make any significant progress in Arzawa either, and indeed he was interrupted by the Hurrian counter-attack:

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[490] The phraseology "all countries turned hostile against me" (*nu=mu* KUR.KUR^{meš} *ḫūmanda menaḫḫanda kururiaḫḫir*; Annals A I 22-24), while pointing to a more or less concrete political instability, conforms to the the topos of the encirclement by enemies.
[491] KUR-*e*, i.e. *utnē* can be employed both as sg. and pl. nom-acc., thus "land" or "lands".
[492] For the possible reference in the fragment KUB 48.81 see the previous section.
[493] Ed. Dardano 1997 (33).
[494] Through time this definition did not always identify the same geographical area: in the Early New Kingdom, Arzawa appear to have expanded much to the east, even encompassing "vast territories south of the Hittite

A I 22-24 "In the following year I marched against Arzawa, **plundering it for cattle and sheep**. However, the Hurrian enemy invaded the country behind me, **and all the countries turned hostile against me**; **Ḫattuša was the only city remaining** (steadfast)".

The goal of these raids is explicit – that is to collect booty. Thus, also for the case of Arzawa, one can hardly speak of Hittite hegemony during the Old Kingdom. In comparison with the formulation in the *Annals,* Telipinu lists concrete places, depicting more vividly the situation of danger.

As for the other toponyms, it is true that Matil(l)a was certainly close to Ḫattuša in the area of Arinna.[495] According to Kryszen, however, the integration is unlikely (2016, 7, n. 199). As he points out, the low political significance of this center, compared to the others in the list, as well as the fact that "the passage seems to refer to regions outside the bend of the Kizilirmak", makes even more unlikely the scenario in which a place so close to Ḫattuša could have defected.

Galmiya, unfortunately, is an hapax, but Šalapa was an important place, and quite far west of the Halys (de Martino 2017, 258). Even in the Early New Kingdom this area appeared to be far for the reach of the Hittite kingdom, since the city was still involved in military actions with Tudhaliya III.[496] In fact this place was close to the borders between Ḫattuša and Mira later on, during the Empire, and the texts clearly indicate it was on the main road to reach Arzawa, although its precise location remains uncertain.[497] The broad area where this city was located is identified approximately to the north or north-west of the Tuz Gölu, and some placed it even further west, beyond the Sakarya river (at Sivri Hisar-Justinianopolis; Garstang and Gurney 1959, 77).

heartland" (Gander 2017, 269), in Lycaonia and Cilicia Aspera, although its original core in western Anatolia more or less corresponded with classical Lydia.

[495] Kryszeń 2016, 74-80: "the most important settlement in the local cluster of Arinna".

[496] KUB 19.12 II 5-6; this fragment belongs to the corpus of the *Deeds of Suppiluliuma.* See de Martino 2017a, 259.

[497] De Martino 2017a, 259 with references. From Šalapa Mursili II departed for the expedition to Arzawa with the brother Šarri-Kuzoġ, and there he summoned Mašḫuiluwa, ruler of Mira, after his rebellious activities. Šallapa was close in fact to the border between Mira and the Hittite kingdom.

Parduwata was probably close to Šallapa. This would be confirmed in the few other mentions of this toponym, i.e. in another Old Kingdom text, KUB 26.71, an annalistic composition which can be attributed to the age of Telipinu according to De Martino (2003, 81-87; 2017, 260 with refs.), but copied on the reverse of the tablet containing the *Text of Anitta* (CTH 1), and perhaps in KBo 19.54 (probably a fragment of the *Deeds of Suppiluliuma I*). Aḫḫulla is another hapax.

I believe this makes quite clear what this passage means: all the countries *surrounding* the kingdom became hostile. All the toponyms which can be located with some confidence, and presumably the few hapax as well, are approximately located around the core of the land of Ḫattuša, i.e. the Halys' bent and eventually the Lower Land, Hittite territories probably from the early Old Kingdom. This perspective, I believe, additionally supports the idea that these territories are listed within the framework of the 'concentric attack', an ideological tool recurrent in the Old Kingdom literature and drawn from former Mesopotamian traditions.[498]

Note, also, that none of these cities or territories appears in the list of the *Edict* as seats of the "houses of the seal" of Telipinu. If at least some of these areas had been previously under Hittite hegemony, it means that *none* of those could be reconquered by Telipinu during his reign and before his administrative reforms. It is more likely, in my view, that these territories marked the *boundaries* of the kingdom of Ḫattuša during his reign and likely before as well.

While it can't be ultimately proved that Cilicia was not affected by the early Hittite predatory campaigns, also this source, therefore, discourage to think of a relatively stable Hittite presence in the region.

Since the text is extremely concise, we do not know whether the reason of growing hostility was the aggressive policy of the Hittite kingdom, which, for a whole century, was raging in constant

[498] Note that Adaniya is to the south, Arzawa is to the west along with some other toponyms; one can't exclude the other few places unattested elsewhere refer to eastern or northern centers, closing up the "circle" of enemies surrounding the land of Ḫattuša.

depredations all over Anatolia and Syria and presumably attempted activities also beyond the Taurus (§4.3.2). One possibility is that the increasing influence of Mittani in the macro-area forced some adjacent territories, in particular Adaniya, to cope with the emergence of this new, powerful actor in the broader area, which had consequences in the supra-regional political and diplomatic perspectives.[499]

The sequence of treaties with Kizzuwatna could also mirror such evolution of the political situation, with Kizzuwatna in Cilicia becoming a potential ally – also located in a favorable strategic location – disputed by the two powers (§5.5). The strategic quality of this territory, rather than being generically geographical, materialized precisely *within* the circumstances of the conflict between Ḫattuša and Mitanni: consequently, the importance of the territory of Kizzuwatna emerged fully in the late 16th and 15th c., and not before. With this view, the earlier minor involvement of Cilicia in the central Anatolian dynamics is not particularly surprising either.

Finally, the ideological scope of the Edict should not to be underestimated. Ammuna is clearly a "negative" model in the perspective of the extensor or the text, so it is quite possible that the disastrous picture of his kingdom is exaggerated.[500] In order to contextualize historically the turmoils attributed to the time of Ammuna, one may take into consideration one of the few documents that have been attributed to this ruler (CTH 18).[501] There are in this text references to campaigns, although not referring to Adaniya. Shelestin (2014) suggests that the passage "in the third year the king seized the sea (i.e. as boundary)" (KUB 26.71 rev. III 14′: [*INA* MU.3KA]M LUGAL-*uš arunan arḫan ṢBAT*) indicates the Mediterranean, for he suspects that the mention of Adaniya in the Edict of Telipinu refers precisely to these events. However,

[499] As suggests Ünal 2017, 218; the "rebellion" of Adaniya might or might not be in concert with Mittani, but the background is a reaction to the climate of warfare and hostility inaugurated especially – but perhaps not only – by the Hittite kingdom.
[500] Of this advice also de Martino 2016.
[501] The authorship and attribution of this text are uncertain. Two versions (CTH 18.A, B) are found on the tablets KUB 26.71 and KUB 36.98, both *Sammeltafeln* which contain also a version of the text of Anitta (CTH 1.B, C). For some scholars, KUB 26.71 also contains a third "annalistic" text (in the reverse), which should be attributed to another ruler, perhaps Telipinu. Others attribute this portion of text to Ammuna as well (e.g. Shelestin 2014, 801-805 with details on these problems, and transcriptions of the texts).

this seems unlikely, since the focus of these military activities seems to be rather in the north, as most scholars suggest (the Kaška area? Pala?).[502] On the formulary phraseology of this line, the previous remarks also apply. These information may indicate that the reign of Ammuna was, after all, not as unsuccessful as presented under the negative lens of Telipinu.

3] The defection of Laḫḫa in Lawazantiya. One last sequence of events has been linked with the emergence of independent Kizzuwatna:

§25 II 20. ˹*ma*˺-*a-na-pa* LUGAL-*uš* ^{uru}*La-wa-az-za-an-ti-ia ú-wa-nu-un* ^{m}*La-aḫ-ḫa-aš-*[*mu*? *ku-u-ru-ur*?]
21. ˹*e*˺-*eš-ta* ***nu*** ^{uru}***La-wa-za-an-ti-ya-an wa-ag-ga-ri-ya-at*** *na-an* [DINGR^{meš}]
22. *ki-iš-ša-ri-mi da-a-ir*

"When I, the king, came to Lawazantiya, Laḫḫa was [hostile to me], and **he made Lawazantiya defect**.[503] [The gods] put him in my hand".

I proposed in §2.5 that this Lawazantiya is probably equivalent with Luḫuzantiya of the Old Kingdom texts, located in the Anti-Taurus area.[504] As previously discussed, this city has nothing to do with the Lawazantiya of Cilicia, thus this mention can't be taken as another hint of rebellions or insurrections *of* Cilicia and the "birth date" of the new polity. Indeed, this event does not appear to be connected to the alleged Adaniya rebellion either.

In contrast with the passage about the hostilities at the time of Ammuna, note that here the verb employed is not *kururiya-*; with the verb *waggari-* the text communicates, instead, that Laḫḫa and Lawazantiya "failed" the king in the context of a regulated system of military-diplomatic relationships. In this case one can probably speak of a real "defection" of Luḫuzantiya, following the terminological choice; this is

[502] Contra Shelestin 2014, 814. Most of the scholars (see references in ibid.) understand the sea to be the Black sea. Ḫaḫḫa, a center the author locates along the Euphrates, is also generally located in northern Anatolia.
[503] I prefer this translation which has a military component, rather than a more general "he made…rebellious". The verb *waggar-* does not mean to "rebel" but to "fail" (Tischler 1998, 192: *wakkariya-* "jemanden seine Unterstutzung entziehen"; Friedrich 1991, 241: "fehlen, verfehlen").
[504] Of this opinion also van den Hout 1997, 196.

historically coherent since the south-eastern fringes of the plateau were consistently included in the Hittite sphere of action for a long time, and the broader area was the focus of continuous military activities throughout the Old Kingdom. The same applies less well to a Cilician Lawazantiya.[505]

The content of another document, CTH 20,[506] which relates on the same events, is consistent with this geographical scope: the fact that Laḫḫa is located in Ḫaššuwa (l. 10) points to the same south-eastern direction. Rather than a rebellion tout court, I understand that Laḫḫa, perhaps the Hittite governor or attaché in Luḫuzatiya/Lawazantiya, defected from his duty of support and assistance to Ḫattuša (being the center allied with or subordinated to the Hittites). We can only speculate on the reasons for the possible change of banner of Laḫḫa, but we can see perhaps the shadow of the new developments in the north Syrian area.[507]

Thus, it appears that, at closer look, the content of the *Edict of Telipinu* excludes too that Cilicia was involved in the Hittite internal political history.

4.4 A document from Tarsus: land grant of Tabarna[508]

A sealed refuse pit of the Late Bronze Age IIb level (late 13th-12th c.) at Tarsus, excavated in 1936, contained mixed materials including Mycenaean pottery fragments, a Hittite land grant of much earlier time (*fig. 21-22*) and twenty-seven sealed cretulae bearing Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions, including one of Pudo-Ḫeba, the queen of Ḫattusili III.[509]

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[505] Going back to the question of the orthography of this toponym, one could speculate that the "expected" form, La/uḫuza(n)tiya, might have been modified through the long editorial history of this composition, of which we know several copies, all rather late. Note that the only (potentially) MH manuscript, KBo 7.15+ is not preserved in this section. The same applies to the Akkadian version, KUB 3.85+, which can't be dated with confidence anyway.
[506] Eds. Hoffman 1984, 63-67; Torri-Barsacchi 2018 9-13.
[507] The insistence of Telipinu on the events involving Laḫḫa – mentioned both in the *Edict* and in CTH 20 – despite the episode does not appear to have relevant political or historical consequences, may be functional to the broader apologetic narrative (similarly Liverani 2004, 41 ff.).
[508] This section is published as an article in Trameri *forthcoming*.
[509] Goldman 1937, 281. Photos of the land grant and the seals figs. 39-40, p. 280; here ns. *fig. 21-22*. The pit seems to indicate refuse, and included also "insignificant" bronze fragments and a faience beads bracelet (ibidem 281).

Hittite land grants were documents issued and sealed by the chancellery of the Great King. These documents permanently allocated portions of land to individuals of high rank; in this way lands of the royal estate were transferred to other members of the Hittite élites with the goal to solidify bonds of personal loyalty and to connect economically and politically the members of the ruling class. This is the text of the fragmentary document from Tarsus:

Land Grant from Tarsus (ed. Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, text n. 21, p. 139; seal n. 5, p. 43).[510]

1	[^{na4}KIŠIB *T*]*a-ʿba-ar-na*ʾ LU[GA]L.GA[L]	[Seal of T]abarna, Great King
2	[É *I-d*]*a-ʿḫa*ʾ*-kap* 2 LÚ ^{mr}*Ī-da-*[*ḫa-kap*]	[household/property of Id]aḫakap: 2 men, Ida[ḫakap]
3	[^{m} x] MUNUS 1 ARAD 1 [GÉ]ME [	[^{m}PN, n.] women, 1 (male) slave, 1 (female) slave
4	[É *M*]*a-an-ʿti*ʾ*-ya* 1 ʿLÚʾ ^{m}*M*[*a-an-ti-ya*	[household/property of M]antiya: 1 man, M[antiya
5	[ ] MUNUS ʿŠÀ.BAʾ ^{f}*Ka-za*ʾ-x[	[n.] women, among them Kaza-[
6	[x *k*]*a-pu-nu* A.ŠÀ *iš-ʿtu*ʾ ḫur.sag*Ša-ak-ʿtu*ʾ-[	[n. *k*]*apunu* field from/to Mount Šaktu-[
7	[ ]x KI	[ ] land
8	[ ]x x x x	

seal

Seal: (outer ring) – ʿna4ʾ[KIŠIB] *Ta-ba-ar-na* LUGAL.GA[L] Seal of Tabarna, Great King

(inner ring) – *ša* ʿ*uš*ʾ*-pa-aḫ-ḫu* BA.Ú[Š] whoever alters (the words) shall die.[511]

The existence of a similar find from Tarsus has been seen in several studies as critical evidence for Hittite political control in Cilicia during the Old Kingdom, since it would suggest the presence of local Hittite administration.[512] This argument goes back to the first edition of the tablet by Goetze (1939, 3): "It shows that the Hittite kings, at that time, could dispose of real estate in Cilicia on their own authority. It thus appears that local kings capable of disputing this right did not exist".

[510] In literature the German term *Landschenkungsurkunde* (afterwards abbreviated LSU) is often employed. The reference edition of the corpus is Rüster-Wilhelm 2012 (=StBotBh4); this work is also our reference for the texts and seals catalogue, unless otherwise specified.

[511] Later seals (from Ḫantili II) show the formula stands for *ša* ***a-wa-sú*** *uš-pa-aḫ-ḫu* (…); both recall, in abbreviated form, the longer formulations found in the Land Grant documents: "The word of the Tabarna, the Great King, is (made) of iron, not to be neglected, not to be broken. Whoever alters it, his head will be cut of" (e.g. Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 88: IK 174-66, ll. 19-21).

[512] E.g. Beal 1986, 425; Desideri-Jasink 1990, 54-56 Bryce 2005, 418 n. 40.

However, there are reasons for a review of this picture, also thanks to recent contributions on this category of documents and their chronology. The dating of the earliest land grants, sealed by "anonymous" Tabarna (a title of the Hittite Great King), has been long debated and suggestions ranged between a time even preceding Ḫattusili I (i.e. Labarna) down to the age of Telipinu.[513] All the Tabarna land grants are now dated with some confidence to the kingdom of Telipinu, with the exceptions of two documents that may be slightly earlier, dating to early kingdom of Telipinu himself, the brief reign of Huzziya II, or in the late years of Ammuna.[514] The successor of Telipinu, Alluwamma, employed instead an entirely new seal design, characterized by the addition of the king's own name, an innovation adopted by all the following rulers.[515]

The chronology is relevant, since the validity of the argumentation proposed by several scholars, according to which the presence of this tablet at Tarsus indicates Hittite political control at an early date, largely depended on a higher chronology of these documents.[516] The lower dating makes Tarsus a less likely location for Hittite local administration, as by the time of Telipinu the city was presumably within the territory of independent Kizzuwatna. A finer chronology is hard to establish, however, which means that it can't be excluded that previously, *during* the time of this king, the region had been under Hittite control before it became independent. The land grant could have been issued in this previous phase.

But to locate a chancellery of Telipinu at Tarsus because this tablet was found there is problematic for other reasons. The content of the document itself doesn't show any clear connection with the location where it was found. In consideration of the only toponym mentioned in the text, a candidate can be only

[513] For a brief history of the dating Wilhelm 2005a. The latest relative chronology of the LSUs in Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 49-57.
[514] Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 51; 58.
[515] The dating of virtually all the earliest LSUs to the kingdom of Telipinu well matches with the connection, already proposed by Liverani (2004, 45, n. 34), between the paragraphs of the *Edict* concerned with the control and productivity of agricultural lands (§35-40) and the diffusion of land grants. See also Liverani 2011, 425.
[516] The text from Tarsus was tentatively attributed to the kingdom of Zidanta or Ammuna. E.g. Beal 1986, 424-425; Desideri-Jasink 1990, 54-56; Bryce 2005.

found in north-central Anatolia, mountain *Šaktunuwa* – if that is the correct reconstruction of the fragmentary ḫur.sag*Šaktu*-[ ].[517] One should also consider the poverty of written and administrative materials at the site in general, which seems incompatible with the existence of a Hittite administrative center, especially able to issue a document of this importance. This is the only tablet dating to the LBA found in Cilicia, and the rest of the administrative materials from Tarsus – in form of sealed cretulae – all date to the Empire Period in 13th c.[518] For the sporadic nature of the tablet find and in consideration of the archaeological context (see *infra*), it is problematic to conclude that the grant was issued at Tarsus just because it was found there.

Indeed, there are other reasons to think that the document was, in fact, issued in central Anatolia – more precisely at Ḫattuša – and carried away at some point in time later and discarded in Tarsus. Apart from its content, this can be inferred particularly from the tablet's seal impression.

Note that the tablet, apparently, went lost at the museum of Adana, so the last editor could not collate it directly.[519] Although the quality of the available photographs is quite poor (*figs. 21-22*, from Goldman 1937 and 1956), it seems very likely that the seal used for this tablet is the same seal used to seal e.g. Bo 90/729 and Bo 90/750 (LSU n. 11 and 12), thus seal n. 3 in Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 42-43 (see the clear picture of Bo 90/750, text n. 12, taf. XI; here ns. *fig. 23*).[520] The possible identity of the two seals was already suggested by Güterbock (SBo I, 52, n. 88) and acknowledged in Beal 1986, 425 n. 3. However, Rüster and

[517] Rüster-Wilhem 2012, 139. For the attestations of this toponym see RGCT 6, 331 and RGCT 6/2, 133. Of the same opinion Ünal 2017, 223. One notable reference to this mountain is found in HKM 96 (rev. 18′), the text previously discussed concerning the mobilization of troops of the Upper Land for war in the eastern frontiers (§2.5, p. 56).
[518] Actually, among the relatively few seal impressions from Tarsus comes the only known seal impression of a king of Kizzuwatna, the seal of "Great King" Išpudaḫšu, found in 1935 (Goldman 1935) (discussed in detail in §5.3). This unique find additionally suggests that Tarsus was presumably within the Kizzuwatna territorial domain at about the same time in which the tablet was produced, although this cretula was also found in secondary context.
[519] See the remarks of Wilhelm in Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 43 ("die Tafel (…) nicht verfügbar ist"). Wilhelm also reiterated this in person at the *65e Rencontre Assyriologique Interationale,* held in Paris in 2019, during my presentation of an article on this topic.
[520] It must be said that the drawings in both Goetze 1939, 2 and Goldman 1956 II, pl. 408 n. 64 are inaccurate in reference to the photographs, thus these illustrations can't be used as reference either. A remarkable difference in the Tarsus tablet is, instead, the orientation of the seal print, which is unique to this document.

Wilhelm (2012, 43) cautiously catalogued this seal under a separate number (n. 5) on the basis of minor differences pointed out in Müller-Karpe 1998, 104 n. 5. A photograph collation suggests that the arguments of the latter are not convincing, though (see our *fig. 24a-b*).

Müller-Karpe suggested that the seal impression from Tarsus, in comparison with its closer comparanda from Boğazköy (n. 3a and b), shows a different alignment of elements of the sign <TA> in *Tabarna* of the outer ring with the sign <UŠ> of *ušpaḫḫu* of the inner ring, a detail which would distinguish the two slightly but unmistakably. In this respect, the seal from Tarsus would be close, but not identical, to the impressions from Boğazköy, similarly to other "Tabarna" seal impressions found at Kuşaklı-Šarišša in 1997. These similar, but distinct seals, were presumably those employed by the local administration.

While the suggestion that the prints at Šarišša were produced locally remains possible, photograph collation shows that the argument, applied to the Tarsus tablet, can't find confirmation – as shown in *fig. 24c-d* and *fig. 25*. The specific description of the layout of the signs <TA> and <UŠ> of Müller-Karpe (1998) does not seem to apply, and the seal impressions appear to be perfectly compatible. The reported diameter measurements, 31 mm vs. 32 mm (Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 43-44) are compatible as well; otherwise, seals which are unmistakably different generally show appreciable size differences (see the measurements listed in next *tab. 6*).

The identity of the seal appears to be even more likely in consideration of other characteristics of the tablet. The seal impressions identified as n. 3 in Rüster-Wilhelm 2012 were found on the land grants n. 11, 12, 15, 16 of the catalogue, which constitute a group dated to the time of Telipinu.[521] We know from some preserved colophons that a scribe Ḫutarli wrote the land grants n. 11, 12, 17; two of them, n. 11 and 12, were issued in Ḫattuša and I do not see any reason not to integrate the gap in n. 17 likewise (see

[521] Wilhelm 2005a, 276; Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 50-51, 58.

Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 135), since Ḫutarli always wrote in Ḫattuša, as far as we can tell.[522] Of these three tablets, the seal of text n. 17 is not preserved, but the other two tablets bear the same seal. This seal (n. 3), as already mentioned, sealed also n. 15 and 16, whose colophon is missing. Therefore, it is possible that all these tablets belong to a group that was 1) written by the same scribe Ḫutarli, 2) written in Ḫattuša, 3) sealed with the same seal. If indeed the seal of our grant from Tarsus *is* the same as that of those tablets, we can imagine that this document also belongs to the same group issued at Ḫattuša and perhaps even written by the same scribe (see *tab. 6* for a schematization; see also *fig.* 24a-d and *fig. 25*).

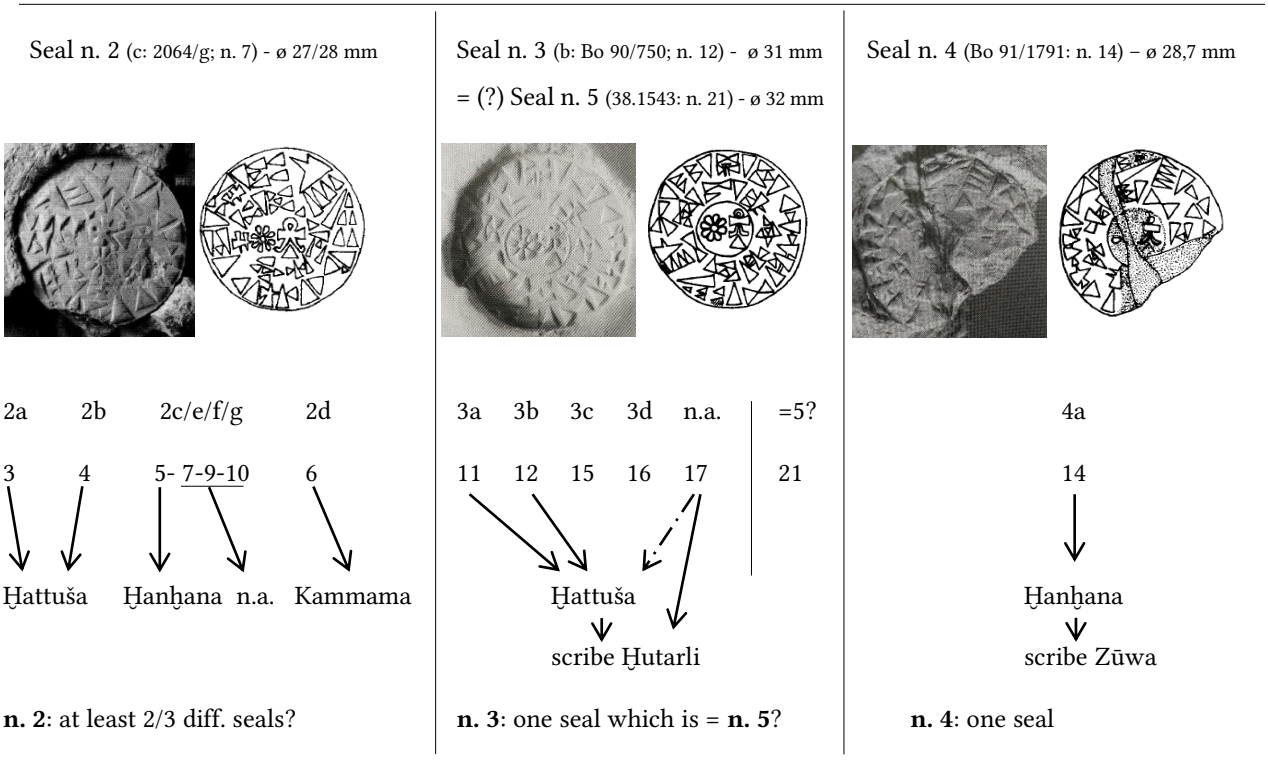
Seal n. 2 (c: 2064/g; n. 7) - ø 27/28 mm
Seal n. 3 (b: Bo 90/750; n. 12) - ø 31 mm
= (?) Seal n. 5 (38.1543: n. 21) - ø 32 mm
Seal n. 4 (Bo 91/1791: n. 14) – ø 28,7 mm
2a 2b 2c/e/f/g 2d
3 4 5- 7-9-10 6
Ḫattuša Ḫanḫana n.a. Kammama
3a 3b 3c 3d n.a. =5?
11 12 15 16 17 21
Ḫattuša
scribe Ḫutarli
4a
14
Ḫanḫana
scribe Zūwa
n. 2: at least 2/3 diff. seals?
n. 3: one seal which is = n. 5?
n. 4: one seal

Table 6. Distribution of different anonymous 'Tabarna' seals nr. 2, 3, 4 in Hittite land grants, and correlation with location of emission and tablet scribes. The first line lists the variants of the seal according to the catalogue of Rüster-Wilhelm 2012; the second the cat. nr. of the sealed document, the third the location of issuance, the fourth the name of the scribe (when attested).

[522] The colophons are absolutely identical. On the contrary, another tablet of the same period (n. 14), with similar colophon *but* written in Hanhana, was also written by a different scribe (Zuwa) and bears, indeed, a different seal as well (seal n. 4a).

It remains possible that different, individual seals existed that were created on the basis of the same *model*, and which produced very similar prints; the differences, however, do not seem sufficiently appreciable to distinguish them with confidence. Additionally, even if this was the case, all the texts sealed with one or more versions of seal n. 3 appear to be produced in Ḫattuša and not elsewhere. If *entia non sunt multiplicanda,* it seems more likely that the different prints of seal nr. 3 in various tablets *and* seal nr. 5 on the Tarsus tablet were made with the same seal.

Additionally, cross-checking the colophons of the contemporary tablets issued *elsewhere*, that is to say Ḫanḫana and Kamamma, it is clear that seals *different* than nr. 3 were employed there: these other administrative centers of the kingdom had their own royal seal, used on behalf of the Great King.[523] Thus, if the tablet from Tarsus can be connected to the Ḫattuša group through its seal, one can reasonably assume that this document was also issued at the capital and perhaps even written by the same scribe who wrote the other tablets (Ḫutarli). While it is not possible to know for certain whether the seal was also used elsewhere, two out of five prints were certainly done in Ḫattuša, a third one probably so, and in other two cases the tablets are simply broken, but were found at the capital and nothing prevents to think they belong to the "group".[524]

Notwithstanding the hypothesis here presented on the identity of the seal, all the land grants we can attribute to an emission center stem from central Anatolia, Ḫattuša in large majority (14/23) and other centers of north-central Anatolia proper (Ḫanḫana 5, Kamamma 3, Katapa 1).[525] Secondarily, the

[523] The history of the seal usage might be complex: e.g. the seal nr. 2 might have travelled elsewhere *after* it was employed in Ḫattuša (sealings 2a and b), or new identical seals based on that prototype were made and distributed (2c? 2e-g? 2d?).
[524] The only particularity of the seal of the Tarsus tablet is that the seal is impressed with a different orientation. Normally, different tablets sealed with the same seal show approximately the same orientation of the sealing in respect to the direction of writing (cfr. the tablets sealed with nr. 3 vs. those sealed with nr. 2, listed in Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 41-42; see tab. 6). The seal on the tablet from Tarsus, instead, is unusually sealed with the sealed turned some 90° counter-clockwise if compared with tablets sealed with n. 3; this particularity does not imply, though, that a different seal was used.
[525] Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 58.

chronology of the document and the content do not favor the hypothesis that it was issued at Tarsus, as previously discussed. Hence, the document can hardly be employed as a source for local administration since: 1) it was plausibly issued in central Anatolia; 2) it might have been brought to Tarsus at any time after its issue for a variety of reasons (see *infra*); 3) it might refer to properties outside Kizzuwatna/Cilicia – and it probably does.

The archaeological context of this find was rarely taken into consideration for a global interpretation. Instead – and particularly in the case presented, – context is of primary interest for understanding depositional date and correlation with other archaeological materials: the find is episodic, and the depositional context clearly secondary. Several scholars already observed so, e.g. Mora (2000, 67) and more recently Yakubovich (2010, 273 n. 78) and Ünal (2017, 223), but this did not lead to a comprehensive re-discussion of the find and of the historical implications.

The selective nature of the content of the discard pit indicates that the land grant was stored or kept along with other administrative materials earlier on (e.g. the cretulae) and discarded purposefully. According to the excavator, this happened at some point towards the end of 13th c.[526] The time span of the depositional dating was less secure in subsequent publications (Goldman 1956; down to the early 12th c.?), and some range is allowed in the more recent general review of the stratigraphy and chronology at the site of D. Slane (2006) and in pottery studies (French 1975, Mountjoy 1993, 2005; 2018). The latest cretulae, though, are all 13th c. The disposal of the tablet signifies that at that time it held no more value, or that it was intentionally obliterated for some other reasons.

[526] The panel style Mycenaean sherd (LH IIIB$_2$ for Goldman 1937, fig. 38) sealed in the pit dates it to "not much after the third quarter of the century" (ibid. 281). The context is re-discussed in French 1975, 72, in particular on the basis of the pottery found therein. French already noticed the problem with this piece: in summary the preliminarily dating (IIIB$_2$) was later ignored and the context was not re-discussed in the final publication of 1956 by Goldman, probably because it was then thought to belong to the LHIIIC "granary style" along with the rest of the Mycenean assemblage; nonetheless, French supports in fact the previous attribution to an earlier III B$_2$ type. For Mountjoy (2018, 91) it can be LH IIIB or LH IIIC Early.

For these reasons, arguments such as those put forward by Easton (1981, 20[527]) and Desideri-Jasink (1990, 54; 55-56, n. 10), suggesting that the document shows in some form dependency from the Hittite king and that Tarsus was a seat depending from the central administration of Ḫattuša, do not apply. Otherwise, notwithstanding the dating and deposition date of the text, the sporadic nature of the find should by itself discourage to draw any far-reaching conclusion. This point was made by Yakubovich (2010a, 273 n. 78) referring to another controversial artifact: "(...) the Tarsus land grant is no more probative of the Old Kingdom rule over Kizzuwatna than the Luvian seal found in Troy is indicative of the Luvian linguistic dominance in northwestern Anatolia".

In regards to its archaeological context, Mora (2000, 67 ff., also 2012, 66-67) highlighted the similarity of the collection of materials found of the Tarsus pit deposit with the large deposit of the "Westbau" at Nişantepe and the depot of Building D of Büyükkale at Ḫattuša. In the pit deposit at Tarsus all the cretulae whose seal was recognizable dated to the 13th c., while only the original Land Grant document is much earlier. The same correlation of late 13th c. administrative materials deposited together with late Old Kingdom period texts and original documents (along with cretulae sealed by early New Kingdom rulers) characterize the deposits of Ḫattuša as well. The materials from the Tarsus' deposit are expression of bureaucratic practices exported from central Anatolia, but their discussion must refer to a rather late period, at the end of the Empire. In all these contexts, the cretulae seem to have sealed official documents like land grants, official acts of juridical-administrative content (possibly written on perishable supports), economic records/inventory texts,[528] eventually delivery notes accompanying goods, and containers of goods themselves. In particular, the correlation with documents referring to incoming/stocked goods and eventually their containers (especially luxury items) had been more recently re-considered by Mora (2012,

[527] Easton 1981, 20: "Presumably, then, each land donation was issued in multiple copies: one for the central archives, one for each beneficiary or his local archive, and perhaps one for the archive of the issuing office".
[528] For this terminology see van den Hout 2006a, 85-87 and Mora 2012, 62. The texts of this type are catalogued under CTH 240-250. Mora (2007) proposed in fact a link between this type of texts and the capital's large cretulae deposits.

65 ff.) after this explanation was dismissed for some time.[529] A "private" character of the deposits would also well explain the contemporary presence of older original documents and sealing materials closer to the depositional time.[530]

A land grant issued by a Hittite great king two centuries earlier was certainly a very important document, which explains why it preserved until such a late date along with other administrative and/or official materials: these materials were "very likely instruments accompanying their owners, who (…) transported them during their journeys, randomizing their final location" (Mora 2000, 67; my translation from Italian).[531] Provided it was probably issued in central Anatolia, it seems likely that the charter was brought afterward in Cilicia, archived, and there eventually discarded at the end of its documentary life, whoever its owners had been.

The Hurrian linguistic appearance of the names [*I*]*daḫakap* and *Mantiya*[532] provides indeed a "southern" connection, and may explain why the land grant ended up being brought from central Anatolia to Cilicia. If these individuals were foreigners, they or their families later on could carry the document with them at any point in time. The absence of Hurrian names in Hittite context in the Old Kingdom sources (de Martino 2011, 25) makes this scenario the most likely.

[529] It was said that he conic, pendant typology with cord perforation better suits the purpose of sealing documents, but less likely goods: Mora 2000, 67, (also n. 18); also Herbord 2005, 36 ff. and fig. 18.
[530] Mora 2012, 65-66. The pattern, after all, is characteristic also of several other "private" archives, as observes e.g. di Filippo (2008, 54) discussing the Emarite archival practices: "(…) side by side records dealing with real estate conveyances (…) it is possible to find *'daily life records'* concerned with the activities of the last generation of each family".
[531] Discussing the private nature of the deposits, she later proposed: "I wonder if the greatest families of the kingdom could have stored (…) not only the containers with their luxury goods (and their related lists), but also the grant-documents that attested the property of a real estate and of a great extension of land". Mora 2012, 66.
[532] Already Goetze 1939, 4; Beal 1986, 425 n. 3. For precisely this reason Goetze suggested a dating of the land grant to the Empire period.

4.5 Archaeology

4.5.1 Material cultural evidence in Cilicia, c. 17-16th

Chapter 3 discussed, from an archaeological perspective, the particular isolation of Cilicia during the MBA, signaled by the local material cultural horizon and the minimal connectivity with the central Anatolian plateau. Higher affinity could be inferred, on the basis of various indicators, with the Syro-Levantine area. New developments are visible with the transition to the LBA in Anatolia, broadly corresponding, chronologically, with the centuries 17th-16th.

In the archaeological literature on Cilicia, some developments in the material culture visible in this period have been connected, historically, to the increasing geo-political influence and the territorial expansion of the Old Hittite kingdom (e.g. Kozal-Novák 2017, 297). Since in this chapter I proposed a quite different view on the subject, a review of the archaeological evidence aims at investigating whether material correlates indicate increasing connectivity with central Anatolia and, if this is the case, at defining the nature and chronology of these contacts. In the previous section I already discussed an important find, the land grant tablet from Tarsus, showing that – on the basis of its dating and other considerations – it can't be any longer considered crucial evidence of Hittite presence in Cilicia at this time. Instead, I will concentrate here on the stratigraphy and material culture at the main Cilician sites. Some problems connected with the adoption of different chronological systems for the MB and initial LBA will be also discussed, as differing preferences of researchers and archaeologists have notable ramifications in the discussion of the evidence and the historical implications.

Among the Cilician sites, important archaeological documentation for this period comes from the stratigraphy of the citadel at Tarsus. Goldman (1956, 62) indicated that neither architectures and stratigraphy nor ceramic data show a sharp break between MB and LBA on the citadel; change in the ceramic repertoire is very gradual, signaled by the appearance of central Anatolian influence in ceramic

types. I will adopt for these pottery types the definitions proposed by Claudia Glatz (2009, 130), who distinguished the pottery produced in central Anatolia ("NCA", North-Central Anatolian) and the materials produced elsewhere but reminiscent of/identical with those of the plateau, defined NCA-*style* types. From a periodization perspective, the Cilician local developments very much resemble those of several sites in Syria, where the pottery assemblages show a rather smooth, gradual transition "in which many traits of the earlier period persist into the later" (Akkermans-Schwartz 2003, 331). This situation, which characterizes the M-LBA transition in the broader Syro-Levantine and Cilician macro area – but in fact is similar also in central Anatolia (Schoop 2006, 263-264) – creates problems in the chronology and periodization for these centuries at most of the sites; the archaeological understanding of the period is also limited by the fact that many sites were object of early excavations, so that most of the data is compromised by stratigraphic uncertainties, and by the absence of support of scientific methods of dating.

In recent years some research has been dedicated to these problems, and principally through: 1) new excavations, with consequent re-analysis of the older works; 2) the reassessment of sites stratigraphies based on new studies of the materials, and through archival work on old excavation reports and raw data; 3) the re-evaluation of the old chronologies, principally based on new pottery sequences; 4) the attempt to create comparative stratigraphies among various sites. The latter is the main goal addressed in three *Cilician Chronology Workshops* organized between 2014 and 2017, which resulted in the publication of a dedicated article (Novák et al. 2017[533]). The paper provides brief summaries on the stratigraphic sequences for all the most important Cilician sites, a chart with the multi-site comparative stratigraphy, a new periodization exclusive to Cilicia and a proposed chronology. Since the authors adopt a Low Chronology (following the version of Mebert 2010), this raises some issues which must be discussed separately in

[533] The article is authored by the "Cilician Chronology Group"; I refer here to this work only by the corresponding author there indicated (Novák et al. 2017). An update (corrigendum) was published in Novák et al. 2018.

better detail (§4.5.2). Some of the stratigraphic interpretations there proposed are also problematic, thus I will return on these problems while reviewing the archaeological evidence.

Tarsus (*fig. 5*)**.** As observed at the beginning of this section, neither architectural nor ceramic data showed a sharp break between MB and LBA on the citadel, according to the excavator (Goldman 1956). More recently, Slane (2006a) summarized the conclusions of her PhD dissertation (1987) on the architecture and ceramic at the site, in which she provided a more nuanced picture of the phasing. The chart in *fig. 5* helps to summarize Slane's stratigraphy and provides indications on the ceramic types characterizing the level. While a notable addition to the stratigraphic sequence is a gap between the LB I (Slane lev. A.VI) and LBIIa (Slane lv. A.IX) – identified through a more refined ceramic chronology and the review of old excavations reports, – pottery shows, otherwise, continuity throughout the MBA and LBA, as already indicated by Goldman. The presence of external influences, increasing through time, helped in better defining a relative chronology.[534]

Earlier on, clear change in the ceramic repertoire was visible between lv. A.III and A.IV, a transition located between the end of the Old Assyrian colony period and the early OH period. Thus her dates for lev. A.IV and A.V, defined "Old Hittite", would correspond, broadly, to the late 17th and 16th c. with a MC. Note that the label "Old Hittite" is mostly to be understood chronologically, as only in the following level the central Anatolian influx becomes substantial;[535] it is level A.VI which presents, for the first time, "strong correspondence between the ceramic repertoires of Tarsus and the Old Hittite sites"[536] (e.g. Inandık, Ferzant and Alacahöyük). She concludes that "it is certainly tempting to assign level A.VI at Tarsus to the era of Išpudaḫšu *solely on the basis of the good ceramic assemblage* of Old Hittite date from that level" (6). The ceramic evidence, along with the more detailed stratigraphy proposed, corresponds

[534] Slane 2006a, 5.
[535] "(…) the preceding Levels A.IV and A.V, in which a central Anatolian ceramic influence was becoming more and more evident, culminating in the *Old Hittite corpus* of Level A.VI". Slane 2006, 6.
[536] Slane 2006a, 5.

indeed very well to a date close to the mid-late 16th c. Thus, the most remarkable changes in the material assemblage can be attributed to this period, several decades after the time of the earliest Hittite campaigns.

Slane thinks that the more significant central Anatolian ceramic influence culminating in the assemblage of level VI:

> "(...) must indicate some change in the relationship between Tarsus and the central plateau. Historically, the most significant change is that of the growing political relationship between the Hittites and Kizzuwatneans, documented in the Isputahsu-Telipinus treaty". (6).

This is certainly plausible. The later part of 16th c. (with the MC), indicatively, corresponds to the culmination of a process of ongoing contacts with the plateau which begun, more sporadically, earlier on during the final MB/ early OH period. At any rate, these consideration do not mean to overestimate the weight of the central Anatolian contribution; note the proportion of NCA-style pottery types shown in *fig. 20* (published in Glatz 2009, 131) showing the difference in the material assimilation of Cilicia in comparison with central Anatolian sites throughout the LBA.

In the recent overview of Novák et al. 2017 the proposed periodization appeared to be in conflict with some of the revisions proposed by Slane (*fig. 30*). Some levels were conflated whereas they were clearly distinguished by both Goldman and Slane on the basis of pottery and stratigraphy; for example, the assimilation of lv. V *and* VI disregards the relevant material change described by those authors (see the descriptions in *fig. 5* for each level). One consequence is that the chronology of some levels changes consistently; while some adjustment clearly depend on the attempt to connect the various sites' stratigraphies *and* match the proposed chronology, other are less comprehensible. The biggest problem, for example, is the transposition of lv. IX, characterized by the Hittite "temple" and the imperial age material repertoire, entirely *into* the 12th c. I suspect the latter was a mistake, as the level should probably be attributed to the authors' MCI 4 (1350-1190), beginning with the accession of Suppiluliuma and

"traditional" birth date of the Empire. Some problems of this comparative stratigraphy are generated also by the inconsistent use of the periodization, which corresponds to different chronologies in various parts of the article.[537]

Note that in 2018 a corrigendum of the chart was in fact issued by the authors, specifically dedicated to the column of Tarsus (Novák et al. 2018; ns. *fig. 30*). Presumably, this correction was done to avoid some of the inconsistencies just mentioned. However, this reviewed version involves the periodization only in minor part, and instead omits most of the previous references to Slane's 2006 stratigraphy. The reason for this is not entirely clear, as it would have been possible to revise the problematic equivalences that I here briefly addressed.[538] A discussion remains necessary, as the consequence is that in this final version of the proposed comparative stratigraphy (Novák et al. 2018) the Tarsus column does not provide *any* archeological information – with the exception of one period – and simply offers a chronological periodization. There remain, thus, no stratigraphic information on the guide site of Cilicia, which is quite unfortunate in a comparative stratigraphy.

The only substantial correction involves the single stratigraphic correspondence there presented, between lv. AVII-VIII in Slane 2006 and the LB I period, which I consider equivalent with ca. 15th c. (somewhat differently in Jean 2010). It was erroneously considered to cover until the end of the Hittite period in the previous chart.[539] The rest of the periodization was eliminated from the chart. As the situation has become particularly confusing, *fig. 30* attempts to provide a synthetic picture of this issue.

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[537] For example in one case Middle Cilician 2 *ends* in 1420, in another in 1350; vice versa Middle Cilician 3 *begins* in 1420 or in 1350 (compare the charts in Novák et al. 2017, p. 172 to pp. 182-183). See also *infra* §4.5.2.

[538] The authors state: "The Tarsus column contains some information that should not have been inserted. For this error, we apologize and therefore publish the corrected version of the chart at this point". (Novák et al. 2018).

[539] Still, probably due to the employ of the LC, in the new chart the period would span almost two centuries (16th-15th c.), if one wants to follow the MC, which is clearly incorrect. The new presentation of the chart does not help here either, as the tab cell for this period was split between two pages, apparently obscuring the continuity of some of the columns.

At the light of these problems, I consider the reviews of Slane 2006 and Jean 2010 remain valid, and should be employed as reference independently from the preferred chronology (MC or LC).

Mersin-Yumuktepe (*fig. 6*)**.** At Mersin one finds many similarities with the situation at the key site Tarsus. In chapter 3 I introduced some considerations on the review made by Jean (2006) of the old stratigraphy of Garstang (1953). One problem with this revision is the proposal that the beginning of the LBA at the site corresponds with levels X-IX, whereas Garstang labelled the four construction levels XI-VIII "pre-Hittite", and described their pottery assemblage as the Cilician MBA one (*fig. 9a-b*; cfr. *fig. 10*).[540] This is principally proposed on the basis of considerations on the ceramic repertoire:[541] Jean observed that the painted pottery of Syro-Cilician tradition was in fact ill-represented in these levels, and concluded that "the LBA begins at Yumuktepe with levels X and IX, since *they show a change from the MBA level XI*" (Jean 2006, 319). This proposal suggests a clear-cut transition into the LBA which is not reflected in either the stratigraphy or the pottery sequence, and in fact the paucity of local painted pottery in those levels seems to also depend on the documentary situation. It is true that contacts with Anatolia increased during the early Old Hittite period – possibly these lev. X-IX – but this had gradual repercussions in the ceramic assemblage at the site (likewise in Tarsus); it is, in my view, quite relevant that "painted pottery is still *largely* represented in Yumuktepe *level VII*" (Jean 2006, 322 quoting Garstang and Fitzgerald); it shows that this "change" between MBA lev. XI and LBA X-IX can't be certified. Ultimately, these levels remain poorly documented and their chronology uncertain.

[540] Note that in lev. IX, the find of a central Anatolian bronze lugged axe-head was, nonetheless, considered by Garstang as indicative of early "Hittite intervention". This axe, typologically identical to the famous one inscribed under Ammuna, was connected historically to the descent of Mursili I against Aleppo (ref. in Jean 2006, 315 and n. 4). Reasonably, the axe can't be in fact considered a significant reflection of "Hittite" influence, or a good chronological anchor, as the type is long lasting and can be found also in late contexts (ibid. 320).
[541] The observation that the architectural types are Anatolian is not conclusive – as Jean also notes, – as lv. XI is very poorly known, and possible continuity or discontinuity of those architectures in the new levels can't be verified.

Be it that levels X-IX belong to the late MB (Garstang) or the early LB age (Jean), at Mersin the most important material and architectural watershed is represented by levels VIII (although this is poorly known) and especially VII, for which the dates proposed by Garstang seem generally valid. Level VII well corresponds material-culturally with Tarsus lv. A.VI-VIII (after the rev. of Slane 1987; 2006), which can be also dated to the late Old Kingdom, especially the 15th c. Instead, differently from Tarsus, one can register a much more visible continuity of pottery tradition in this phase at Mersin (also Jean 2006, 322). It appears that the region shows, then, similar trends of developments in the material-culture, but with local variations.

New excavations from a different area of the site generally confirm the picture,[542] with 1) central Anatolian red-burnished ware gradually diminishing from levels IX ("Old Hittite") to V (last "Empire" level)[543]; for this "new" lv. IX a ^{14}C date is also available, 1670-1430 cal BC. (ibid. 326), which does not help much; 2) painted pottery seems absent in all (new) levels VII-V, attributed to the Empire period. Introduced in Lev. VI and found until the end of lv. V, is a new type of "orange ware", with shapes paralleled at Kilise Tepe (probably RLW-m); it might be an imitation of the type.

Kinet Höyük (*fig. 7*)**.** A brief recent summary on the stratigraphy and periodization of Kinet Höyük was published by C. Eslick, C. Gates, M.H. Gates and G. Lehmann in Novák et al. 2017. Phases of interest for the transition MBA-LBA are periods 16 and 15. The Cilician Painted Ware at the site disappears in lv. 15, for a new ceramic industry of central Anatolian inspiration replaces the earlier repertoire completely; Cypriot imports appear in this phase as well (authors in Novák et al. 2017, 179). Period 14 has the clear marks of the Hittite Empire presence, with the typical standardized ceramic repertoire, including the luxury imports from Cyprus (RLW-m).

[542] A summary in Jean 2006, 323 ff.
[543] N.b. these levels refer to a new, independent numbering, thus do not correspond directly with Garstang's levels.

It appears that, at the site, the local painted traditions are abandoned somewhat earlier than in Mersin; the situation resembles very closely the one at Tarsus; the level 15 "central Anatolian" assemblage corresponds neatly with Tarsus lv. VI. Radiocarbon dates for both levels, albeit somewhat high, confirm the proposed chronology (*fig. 7b*).

A large scale building of lv. 16, which was destroyed in a massive conflagration, was assigned to the MB II (Gates 2000, 80) and the assemblage with preserved contexts in situ showed late 16th c. Cypriot pottery. The destruction is assigned to natural causes (earthquake) for structural damages to the building.

4.5.2 Chronology (problems)

According to Novák et al. 2017 the beginning of the LBA falls conventionally in 1522 – the supposed date of the sack of Babylon by Mursili I according to the chronology of Mebert 2010. The section on chronology presented in the introduction to this work already discussed the principal problems of the Low Chronology; for the period discussed in this chapter, the problem is significant since the recent comparative stratigraphy of the Cilician sites is very much affected by this choice. The chronology maintained in Novák et al. 2017 implies: 1) a very low date of the beginning of the Old Hittite kingdom, i.e. the reigns of Ḫattusili and Mursili falling in mid-late 16th c.; 2) that the destruction of Alalaḫ and the end of its lev. VII, traditionally ascribed to Ḫattusili I, falls circa in the decade 1560-1550;[544] 3) a compression of much of the Old Hittite kingdom chronology, which posits the end of the reign of Mursili immediately after 1522;[545] 4) still, that Telipinu lived around the turn of 16th and 15th c. BC: basically, while the reign of the early kings must be lowered of circa 60 years, or even more, the dates of Telipinu are virtually the same as in the MC.

[544] A similar low date is proposed e.g. by Gates (2000, 78); 1600-1575/1550.
[545] Note that while this is regarded as an established fact, there is no actual evidence that this was the case: we do not know how long after the sack of Babylon Mursili was assassinated (Beckman 2000, 25 n. 55).

The last two problems are self-evident in the synchronization charts proposed by the corresponding author also in other works (ns. *fig. 26-27*[546]), where the chronological compression is so important that not even the names of all the Hittite kings can be listed; while the second chart allows some more time, since it follows the chronology of Mebert (2010), it does not solve the issues either. There are some inconsistencies also *within* the LC paradigm proposed in this work, if compared with other chronological systems proposed elsewhere. For example, Miller (e.g. 2013) adopts a version between the MC and the LC that *also,* consistently, lowers the dates for Telipinu of two decades into the 15th c. This is particularly significant, especially provided that the chronology in the latter's work is ca. twenty years *higher* than Mebert's LC for the early Old Kingdom; still, it acknowledges that it is not possible to adopt a LC *and* maintain the dates for Telipinu "predicted" by the MC.

For the problem of the chronology at Alalaḫ, there seem to be little doubt that it was Ḫattusili to be responsible for the destruction of level VII.[547] The excavators maintain that the Middle Chronology is correct for the destruction event, on the basis of diverse streams of evidence including ^{14}C dates, thus this view becomes incompatible with a low date of the beginning of the Old Kingdom (see the previous remarks §1.5).

In fact, recent ^{14}C data published in the same paper by Novák and others (2017, 172; ns. *fig. 29*) poses some more problems for the Low Chronology, in my view. A set of four calibrated dates from Sirkeli attributed to levels ZVIII on the citadel and PVI on the plateau, assigned respectively to Middle Cilician 3 (1420-1350: LC) and Middle Cilician 1-3 (1560-1350: LC) periods,[548] show in fact much higher dates than

[546] Novák 2007, 390 and Kozal-Novák 2017a, 302.
[547] Klinger 2014, 80 and n. 13, with ref. to von Dassow 2008 for relevant literature. On the contrary, Ünal (2017) proposed that the attribution of the destruction to Ḫattusili is unwarranted; while it is true that the reconstruction is based on circumstantial evidence (also Ünal 2015), the chronology does fit with the hypothesis, and this radical approach perhaps becomes necessary only if one accepts the Low Chronology.
[548] Extrapolated from the chart at pp. 182-183; less detailed in the one at p. 172, where all samples are assigned to MC 3-4, i.e. 1350-1190. The understanding of these data is made more complicated by the inconsistent use of this periodization in this article.

those implied by the stratigraphical phasing, as they span between early 17th-late 15th and late 16th-late 15th. As a consequence, they diverge significantly from the proposed "historical dating".[549] Even taking only the *lowest* of the two sets of dates, their *lowest* terms in the range almost fall out of the proposed chronology as well, because they are too early (!), especially following the authors' presentation: all the samples are in fact attributed to "Middle Cilician 3-4", i.e. 1350-1190 (which, by the way, contradicts the stratigraphy chart of the site there published; Novák et al. 2017, 172). Of course one could suggest long-term use of timber, but the samples are said "most deriving from charcoal samples", which means it can be combustion material as well. It is evident that in consideration of the high dates of *all the samples* from these layers – a fact which is not discussed – the proposed interpretation asks for an explanation.[550] It is also puzzling that the brief description of the materials for this "Middle Cilician" period, as a whole, mostly refer to a Hittite empire 14th-13th c. inventory, although this is clearly not possible if these levels cover *also* the late 16th and 15th c., as the ^{14}C dates seem to suggest (ibid. 172). Ultimately, this issue depends not only from the adoption of the LC, but also the stratigraphic presentation of the excavators ("MC 1-2: 1560-1350", again with the complication of the inconsistent use of the periodization). For all these reasons one must say that the proposed comparative stratigraphy in Novák et al. (2017) is quite problematic for some of the sites, as already discussed for the stratigraphy and chronology at Tarsus and Mersin.

For the present section, the most important consequence of the adoption of different chronological systems is the potential reflection on the relative dating of pottery sequences, and, consequently, of the processes of material change visible in the Cilician repertoires between MB and LBA;

[549] Citadel (lev. Z VIII): Cal. BCE 1689-1536 and 1501-1427, showing that this level might have had a long life. Plateau (P VI): 1687-1536 ("P VI?") and 1528-1439. This level was also, presumably, long living, which is clear also from the stratigraphy presented at p. 171.

[550] During a visit at Sirkeli Höyük (summer 2019), M. Novák explained to me that, according to his view, the ^{14}C dates are frequently too high for the period, which implies some problems must exist with the calibration curves. In a recent conference in Würzburg (Feb. 4th 2020), instead Novák reiterated that in his view the ^{14}C dates would still support the Low Chronology.

secondarily, it determines at least in part whether such processes can be connected to specific historical circumstances, for example direct Hittite presence in the region during the Old Kingdom. One could suggest, for example, a possible correlation exists between the increasing central Anatolian influence in the ceramic repertoire and the campaigns of Ḫattusili and Mursili, if the chronology is compatible with this scenario. Although this kind of reasoning exposes to the mechanism that Bernard Knapp aptly called "the tyranny of historical contexts" (2013, 450) – i.e. the imposition of particular historical narratives on the archaeological record, – substantial differences in the determination of chronological boundaries would affect also the interpretation of dynamics of longer course. For this reason a presentation of this specific problem was necessary before drawing some conclusions on the evidence presented in this section.

4.5.3 Archaeology: summary

The chart presented for the stratigraphies at Tarsus, Mersin and Kinet, particularized in the previous paragraphs, shows that increasing connectivity with central Anatolia, signaled notably by pottery traditions, unfolds differently in two distinct phases: one, marked from the gradual introduction of northern pottery traditions in Cilicia, culminates at the end of 16th and during 15th c., with the spread of components akin to the assemblages of contemporary central Anatolian OK sites; the process occurs through time, and different sites show individual trends.[551] For example, at Mersin the painted traditions were still in use during 15th c., while at Kinet they completely disappeared already by the end of the 16th. The second "phase" involves the 14th c. and 13th c., and perhaps starts a little earlier, at the time of

[551] Similarly, Jean (2010, 396 and fig. 285; ns. *fig. 28*) established a chronological equation between levels where the new NCA-style pottery horizon strongly qualifies the assemblage (Kilise Tepe IIIa-c, Mersin-Yumuktepe VIII-VII and new "IX", Tarsus A.VI, Kinet 15). This corresponds to the passage to the LBA.

Tudḫaliya I.[552] It is characterized by the contemporary diffusion at all Cilician centers of the typical Hittite New Kingdom/Empire period assemblage, which replaced more substantially the local traditions (§7.8).

Instead, the 16th c. incipient "Hittitization" of the material culture of Cilicia certainly reflected the raise of the old Hittite kingdom as the leading power in Anatolia. Still, the process was gradual, and differentiated in space and time throughout the region; it is quite remarkable, instead, that only around the end of the 16th and in the 15th c., the age of documented *independence* of Kizzuwatna, the Anatolian connection becomes more substantial, and not before that time. Nowhere, during the Old Kingdom, there are signals of Hittite "presence" in Cilicia archaeologically, especially if this presence corresponded to political control; I believe this matches particularly well with the historical discussion presented in the previous sections. The period of visible archaeological novelties in the early LB, instead, corresponds with a phase of increasing political and diplomatic interaction between the two kingdoms, certified by the textual evidence. Although Kizzuwatna was independent, evidently the powerful neighbor exercised increasingly visible pressure, a fact that may be traced also in the detailed history of these diplomatic relations (next chapter, §5.5).

In a recent discussion on this period, Kozal and Novák (2017a), also in consideration of the adopted chronology, proposed that the transition to the LBA in Cilicia corresponds with the sack of Babylon, set in 1522. Thus, in their view, the diffusion of central Anatolian pottery traditions would correspond chronologically with the earliest phase of expansion of the Old kingdom during 16th c., when it exerted political rule and/or influence in Cilicia. Their historical view on this phase is not particularly consistent, though, as they at once suggest Kizzuwatna became independent after the death of Mursili I (i.e. briefly after 1522) and the consequent collapse of the Old Kingdom, while at the same time credit these developments to Išpudaḫšu, contemporary of Telipinu around 1500.[553] Of course this is possible only for

[552] Already Schoop (2009, 155) expressed the view that, as 'Imperial' material marker, the pottery evidence shows that "in economic sense (...) the empire begin already at this early date".
[553] Kozal-Novák 2017a, 302-303. Their definition of the Old Kingdom as "Empire" is also problematic.

the chronological compression determined by the Low Chronology adopted. In their summary, they also present a rather clear-cut picture of the material change in this phase, which obscures the gradualness of the process, for example omitting that the Syro-Cilician Painted wares are still attested at Tarsus IV-V and especially at Mersin lv. VII (ibid. 305). Clearly, their view is largely anchored to the situation at Alalaḫ, where, after the destruction of lv. VII, the local painted wares disappear (lv. VI). Indeed, they admit that at Alalaḫ "the presence of Syro-Cilician Ware ends earlier than in Cilicia" (310) which in fact reminds us that the transition between MB-LB has differences in Cilicia and in the Amuq, even just for the fact that destruction levels such as that of Alalaḫ lev. VII (or Ebla phase IIIB) – that historically can be attributed to the Hittites – are unparalleled in all contemporary MB II Cilician sites.

A cluster of documents contemporary to the time of Telipinu, i.e. the stipulation of the diplomatic treaties with Ḫattuša and the seal of Išpudaḫšu (see next chapter), strongly indicate – instead – that only around the end of 16th c., and not *before*, signals of central Anatolian interference became more compelling, and contacts solidified; this is visible also archaeologically. Contacts clearly began earlier on, possibly in relation to the changes happening in the macro-area (i.e. the end of the kanišite trade network and the emergence of the Old Hittite kingdom, broadly speaking), but this did not translate into remarkable material changes in the Cilician settlements: in other words, if the Hittites had indeed controlled Cilicia from the late 17th c. throughout the whole 16th – before the "independence" of Kizzuwatna – this did not leave significant traces in the archaeological evidence anywhere in Cilicia. This, in my view, suggests a minor degree of contacts and hardly political presence. When Kizzuwatna was *de facto* annexed to the Hittite kingdom (after the time of Tudhaliya I) and then became a Hittite imperial province (after Suppiluliuma), direct political control modified substantially the patterns of the local material culture (§7.6). A progressive re-orientation of the Cilician interaction sphere towards central Anatolia during the final MB II and the transition to the LB I, instead, seems to speak of increasing

contacts, eventually through activities of trade and communications, but hardly of control or substantial political influence.

How to explain the fact that substantial central Anatolian influx becomes particularly visible precisely at a time in which Kizzuwatna enters the documentary history as an important political actor, its status sanctioned by a series of diplomatic documents? In my view it means that, politically, the early treaties do not really signal the emergence of Kizzuwatna as a self-standing state out of a vacuum of power in Anatolia, motivated by the contraction of the Hittite power – and I would definitely exclude from a former situation of consistent inter-regional subordination – but, *on the contrary*, that this documentation is the symptom of weakening of the isolation and self-determination of the Cilician region. While this is apparently hard to connect with the fact that, it seems, the Hittite kingdom was apparently weaker than before, this impression may derive from the lack of documents from the late 16th and large part of 15th c., which make this the most obscure period of Hittite history. This counterintuitive interpretation of the diplomatic sources of the 15th c. is, after all, supported by the nature of the sources themselves, the evolution of their forms and contents and their political significance, as will be addressed in detail in the next chapter.

4.6 Conclusions

The review of the evidence presented in this chapter showed that there is ground for a re-discussion of some details of current historiographies on 17th and 16th c. Anatolia. The generally accepted views on the period, which outline a situation of Hittite political hegemony over Cilicia in this age is problematic in light of most of the available documentation. The problem is significant for a history of Kizzuwatna since a major corollary of this hypothesis is that this state obtained its independence, and emerged as a self-

determined kingdom with a local dynasty, only at the turn of the 16th c. to 15th c. after this long period of political subordination.

While there is no information on possible previous forms of local socio-political organizations in Cilicia, at the light of the arguments proposed in this chapter, it can be suggested that this territory was not under any stable Hittite control before the time of the earliest Hittite-Kizzuwatna treaties. While the political setting of Cilicia in the MBA period remains obscure (§3.6), the few references to contacts with Cilicia do not suggest that systematic military activities were undertaken in the region during the early Old Kingdom either, as in other areas. Presumably, Cilicia remained relatively uninvolved in the earliest Hittite campaigns.

Some other considerations in support of this reconstruction can be laid out in conclusion to this chapter's discussion.

1. Cilicia was not necessarily among the early kingdoms' objectives, and it appears that the idea of a pan-Anatolian project of conquests (e.g. derived from the content of the Edict of Telipinu) which reached the geographical borders of Anatolia would be anachronistic; it eventually applies first to the enterprises of Tudḫaliya I (§7.2). Nor a conquest of Cilicia was a "physiological" necessity, as frequently implied in literature; no source indicate that military campaigns targeting Syria should proceed through the Taurus and the Cilician plain. There is good reason to think, on the contrary, that other eastern routes were much more suitable for the task. A document such as the land grant from Tarsus can't be considered any longer proof of Hittite administration in Cilicia in 16th c. either.

2. Interest in Cilicia from a geo-political perspective seems to emerge clearly in the documentation at the end of 16th c., under mutated conditions. The focus remains northern Syria and the Euphratic area, but here now the Hittites had in the kingdom of Mittani a powerful opponent,[554] which made the so far

[554] Thus Klinger 2014, 85.

peripheral area of Cilicia strategically and geo-politically interesting. Previously, it appears that the military defeat of the major centers of northern Syria at the Anatolian fringes meant achieving supremacy on the whole north Syrian-central Anatolian system of interaction at commercial and political level. But in practical terms, the control over the east remained incidental, and temporary, perhaps due to the limits of the Hittite ability to stably control distant lands, and the emergence of local coalitions to oppose the Hittites, or a combination of these and other factors. There is no particular reason to assume these objectives, however, proceeded through Cilicia, neither from a logistical-strategical, nor a geographical point of view.

3. The review of the archaeological evidence discussed changes in the Cilician contacts' framework happening in the late MBA, when interactions with central Anatolia became increasingly visible in the material record. But a major moment of innovation in the ceramic repertoire, showing a consistent influx and the development of local NCA-*style* pottery, can't be correlated chronologically with the Old Kingdom's 16th c. panorama, and historically with the early campaigns of Ḫattusili and Mursili, with an alleged Hittite conquest of Cilicia. Rather, a moment of change corresponds with the turn of the century, and aligns well with the age of Telipinu and the beginning of the diplomatic history between the Hittite kingdom and Kizzuwatna.

The poor knowledge of these 150 years of history, meagerly enlightened by the information from the time of Ḫattusili and Mursili and the even scantier – and at times problematic – data provided by few later texts, determines a typical scenario in which historiography tends to flatten events and dynamics. The truth is that one can't say much about the time span between the reigns of Mursili and Telipinu, from either a textual or an archaeological perspective. In this respect, this chapter aimed at showing precisely the fragility of historical reconstructions in these conditions, which means that also the present picture remains largely hypothetical. It is critical, however, to acknowledge that a generalized

and relatively undisputed control of the Hittites over most of Anatolia during the Old Kingdom seems a simplification of what the reality could have been, and that other perspectives should be acknowledged.

The content of the available sources and the absence in those documents of a specific involvement of Cilicia in the early campaigns of the Hittite kings hardly speaks in favor of an early control or political hegemony. A situation of early independence and non-involvement in the early Hittite expansionism, instead, aligns better with the available data. The poverty of sources does not necessarily exclude the possibility of contacts or conflicts, and few sources exist, such as the fragments indicating some kind of Hittite (military?) involvement in Cilicia (KUB 48.81 and KBo 3.54) might be read in this direction.

In conclusion, while it is factually not possible to draw a complete and entirely coherent picture of the Old Kingdom's history, the large majority of the available sources – contemporary or later – communicate that the *goals* of the Hittite rulers were rather consistent in terms of to geographic scope. These activities do not seem to involve Cilicia notably at any point during the period 17th-16th c. in a systematic project of conquests; the goal, since the beginning, had always been Syria.

Chapter 5. The age of Kizzuwatna (late 16th – late 15th c.)

5.1 Topic and sources

Textual sources directly informing on the kingdom of Kizzuwatna appear at the turn of the 16th c. The history of independent Kizzuwatna was treated in various studies, some dedicated specifically to this kingdom,[555] and others dedicated principally to the history of the Hittite kingdom but dealing cursorily with the topic.[556] The book of Goetze (1940), the entry of Kümmel on RlA (1980) and especially the article of R. Beal (1986) remain, to this time, the reference readings and the starting point for the discussion of many related problems. Later on, new evidence and a better understanding of some sources – especially their chronology – allowed to redeem some open questions discussed in those contribution.

The available documents mostly inform about the diplomatic relations between the Hittite kingdom and Kizzuwatna, which allows to deal almost exclusively with details of these political agreements and their historical implications. Instead, references to historical events are virtually non-existent. A socio-economic history of Kizzuwatna is equally difficult to address, for the absence of administrative and economic records, but also the paucity and variable quality of the archaeological evidence, all problems already addressed in the introduction to this work (ch. 1).

The evidence on Kizzuwatna in this period stems from Ḫattuša and in minor part from other centers in Syria, in particular Alalaḫ. Thus, the perspective of these sources is always external, and refers to the specific interests of the polities that interacted with Kizzuwatna and the contingencies of the individual documents. The main goal of this chapter is to collect and overview the available evidence, and discuss various existing lines of interpretation. For example, the uncertain chronology of many documents

[555] Goetze 1940; Kammenhuber 1968, 87-109; Kümmel 1980; Beal 1986; Jasink 2001a.
[556] Wilhelm 1989, 23-25; Bryce 2005, 104-106; De Martino 2016, 38-53.

generates conflicting perspectives, further complicating the historiographical picture of this obscure phase of Anatolian history.

This chapter begins discussing the scanty information on the historical origins of the kingdom (§5.2). Afterwards, it will deal with the evidence directly informing on Kizzuwatna, represented by the cretula stamped with the seal of king Išpudaḫšu, found at Tarsus (§5.3-4), textual sources of various content – principally diplomatic documents (§5.5-7) – and the archaeological evidence (§5.8).

5.2 The "revolt" of Adaniya and the origins of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna

> "The land(s) became hostile towards him/ became his enemy: the cities of [ ]-agga, [Mat]ila, Galmiya, (the land of) **Adaniya**, the land of Arzawiya, Šallapa, Parduwata and Aḫḫulla. Wherever the troops went on campaign, however, they did not come back successfully."

Chapter 4 previously discussed the content of the so called *Edict* of Telipinu and the specific context of this passage (p. 177-183). Most historical overviews suggest that the upheavals in *Adaniya* at the time of Ammuna (late 16th c.) mark the point in time in which Cilicia freed itself from the control of the Hittite kingdom, to constitute an independent kingdom. Beal (1986, 445), for example, indicated that "Kizzuwatna was a Hittite province until the time of Ammuna when it rebelled and gained its independence".

A different view on this passage was put forward, and proceeding from those considerations I will face here some other questions relevant to the subject of the origins of the kingdom.

The seal of Išpudaḫšu (in detail §5.3) mentions the name of his father, Pariyawatri, in the short inscription. The question arise whether Pariyawatri was king or not. The seal does not provide a title, but this does not necessarily exclude he could have been indeed a king of Kizzuwatna. If one considers the passage in the *Edict* as a hint of the formation of a new kingdom, the lifetime of Pariyawatri could fall in the time of Ammuna; he could be someone involved in the famous rebellion that brought to the

independence of Kizzuwatna. I have proposed, otherwise, that Cilicia was not controlled by the Hittites previously, but it is equally hard to propose that a regional-scale, independent and unified state existed before this time.

It is clear that things were changing quickly and significantly in the macro-area of Anatolia and northern Syria around the end of the 16th c. A new, powerful kingdom, emerged in northern Syria, Mittani. At the same time, the unprecedented diplomatic documents ratifying diplomatic relationships between the Hittite kingdom and Kizzuwatna may be also contextualized in light of these events and, broadly speaking, within dynamics of great scale at the beginning of the LBA.

In my view, the information in the *Edict* concerning Adaniya are watermarks of the raising level of conflict at this specific time, and perhaps also of the relative weakness of the Hittite kingdom. In Anatolia and northern Syria new actors entered the political stage, and both information from the Edict and the Hittite-Kizzuwatna diplomatic corpus itself witness developments in this new geo-political scenario. Like Kizzuwatna, Mittani – and presumably Arzawa/Arzawiya[557] – achieved a high status in the *international* scene only in the 15th c. Previously, neither Mittani nor Kizzuwatna appear to be structured as centralized polities (kingdoms) controlling extensive territories, but the roots of these developments must go back in the previous century, and the debate concerning the chronology and the origins of Mittani is exemplary in this sense.[558]

[557] Arzawa reappears after the Old Kingdom documents only at the time of the campaigns of Tudḫaliya I. At the beginning of 14th c. it had become a kingdom able to communicate directly with Egypt, likewise Mittani, but the 15th c. must have been crucial for these developments, as it was the case for Kizzuwatna and Mittani. For the two letters in Hittite from Amarna, certifying the direct exchange of correspondence between the pharaoh and Arzawa (CTH 151 = EA 31, Amenophi III to the king of Arzawa and CTH 152 = EA 32, a letter from Arzawa to Egypt) see recently Rainey 2015.

[558] The complex question of the origin of the kingdom of Mittani can't be treated here in detail. This is the topic of much study, of which I quote here the recent overviews of de Martino (2014) and Schwartz (2014). The main problem is whether 1) a unified Hurrian kingdom existed in northern Syria already around the time of the Old Hittite campaigns at the end of 17th-early 16th c. (MC), or 2) several small, fragmented polities in the area became a unified regional entity only at the turn of 16th c., when sources begin to refer to a kingdom named Mittani or Ḫanigalbat. The evidence is ambiguous. A later document (*Treaty of Muwatalli II with Talmi-Šarruma of Aleppo,* CTH 75) indicates, in its historical prologue, that an unnamed "king of Ḫanigalbat/Mittani" (A obv. 19-20; 23-24) existed at

As regards Kizzuwatna, Beal reminds us: "The name Kizzuwatna is not attested before Telipinu, but given the scarcity of information it is rather dangerous to conclude from this argument *ex silentio* that Kizzuwatna did not exist" (Beal 1986, 427 n. 15). While I agree with this point, one must admit that the absence of this name in previous sources is certainly noteworthy, and remains a compelling reason to think Kizzuwatna consolidated its status as an independent kingdom under a dynasty at about the time of Telipinu. The only vague reference to the "age" of the kingdom comes from the description of the borders between Kizzuwatna and the Hittite domains in the treaty with Sunaššura (full text in §2.4):

52. *la-bar-ma-an-na* ZAG *ša ki-il-la-li-šu-nu-um-ma* (...)
"Since long (time), the frontier between them is as follows: (...)"

One could consider that such formulation suggests the kingdom existed since longer than the documented less-then-a-century long history of Kizzuwatna (approximately counting between Telipinu and

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the time of Ḫattusili (I). This may be an anachronism, a projection of the contemporary political framework back in the early Old Kingdom. A similar discourse applies to the Akkadian version of the *Annals of Ḫattušili,* where Ḫanigalbat is mentioned, since this late copy may be also interpolated (de Martino 2014a, 63 n. 14 with ref.). Texts dating back to that time, instead, inform more generically about a "king of the Hurrian troops". Notably, this is still the case in the *Idrimi statue* (15th c. or 14th c.; see *infra*), which does not refer to Mittani either mentioning the alliances of Idrimi's ancestors, or Idrimi's own subordination to Paratarna. The Hittite unitarian view in the early texts of an "Hurrian" enemy – notably identified through the language-based ethnonym, – may derive from an etic perspective (but see *infra*). While two Old Babylonian tablets (dated to Ammi-ṣaduqa and Šamši-ditana; de Martino 2014a, 63 with ref.) referring to "Hanigalbatean troops" may prove to be crucial for this discussion, equally critical remains the suspect absence of a well-identified single polity in all the Old Kingdom Hittite sources. Here the situation is clearly that the Hittites faced a number of fragmented polities, rather than a unified front, in their northern Syrian campaigns (see ch. 4.3.1). Even if a proto-state existed previously, it is also evident that Mittani took advantage especially of the political vacuum created by the defeat of Yamhad in Syria, after the time of Mursili I, and that the emergence of this kingdom is deeply intertwined with the Hittite military activities in Syria (perhaps also in reaction to them). Ultimately, it may be that the peculiar geo-political framework in which a number of "Hurrian kings" (CTH 17.1) at the head of various city-based polities constituted a confederation, rather than a single state, was a fertile ground for a proper state unification. It has been also suggested that the employ of mercenary troops in this period of endemic warfare "facilitated the formation of powerful military groups" (de Martino 2014a, 68), and there may be an original link between these dynamics and the strong military character of the Mittanian elite ideology. It is perhaps indicative that linguistically Indo-Aryan names, distinctive of the Mittanian kings, also appear at a second stage, while none are attested in the Hittite Old Kingdom documents among the Hurrian chieftains (Forlanini 2009, 57 n. 40). This makes a case for a strong connection of the emergence of this dynasty – whatever the meaning of its Indo-Aryan "ascendance" (see von Dassow 2008, 77-90; Forlanini 2009, 57 n. 40; de Martino 2014a, 68-69; Schwartz 2014, 272) – with the very *constitution* of Mittani as a kingdom. The kingdom itself was named after an individual leader (or clan?), and not a territory or population (*Maitani*, i.e. "of M(a)itta"; Wilhelm 1997, 290).

Sunaššura). But trying to draw any reliable indication on the actual chronological reality from such a generic, perhaps formulary phrasing is obviously problematic.[559]

While Kizzuwatna does not appear in the *Edict*, this document mentions "the land of Adaniya", which was an important center in Cilicia and identified at least part of the territory of region. This is clear from the description of the borders of Kizzuwatna in the *Treaty with Sunaššura*, where Adaniya is employed as a major geographical reference point (IV 52-57).

Whether Adaniya and Kizzuwatna should be seen as equivalent is uncertain. Jasink (2001a, 49-50) suggested that "land of Adaniya" could be a definition alternative to Kizzuwatna, in a way in which the first has rather a geographical/territorial, the second a political connotation. Instead, Ünal (2017, 213-215) questioned the equivalence Adaniya=Kizzuwatna, principally for the lack of evidence in this regard.[560] For example, one point that can be made is that there is no interchange between these names, i.e. Adana is never equated explicitly with Kizzuwatna, and in fact the name of this city is rarely attested in the sources. Despite the lack of attestations, the employ of Adaniya in the *Sunaššura treaty* as a major geographical reference point indicates that the toponym identified at least a region (KUR ^{uru}*Adaniya*) presumably in the central part of Cilicia south of the Taurus, following the border description. This is compatible with the modern location of Adana and its environs. The *Edict* (at least in one version) also implies that Adaniya was a city controlling a certain broader territory, which suggests this was a political center of some importance. For this reason, even if it is unwarranted that Adaniya was the capital of Kizzuwatna (as suggest Novák-Rutishauser 2017, 137), it seems unlikely that Adaniya was an unimportant town (as thinks Ünal 2017, 214).

[559] See for example Liverani (2004, 72-73), in reference to other information provided in the treaty of Sunaššura regarding the past diplomatic contacts with the Hittite kingdom.
[560] On the possible equivalence between Egyptian *tnj* and Adan-a/-iya (Edel 1975, 63-64), recently rejected by Oreshko (2018) see the discussion in §2.2.1.

Given these pieces of evidence, the equation between modern Adana and Adaniya becomes particularly compelling *not only* for the presumable toponomastic continuity, but for the fact that a location south of the Taurus in the broader region is perfectly compatible. This is true even if ancient Adaniya does not equate *geographically* with modern Adana, a correspondence which also can't be proved. Archaeology can't provide much information, as excavations in Adana must be conducted in limited areas of Tepebağ, the mound in the old town of the modern city. Substantial LBA materials found in recent excavations, however, suggest that the site was an important center in the LBA, according to the excavators.[561]

The reason for the paucity of references to Adaniya in the New Kingdom sources may be the decline of its role as a political center, whereas the important places of cult of the region gained and maintained high popularity in the Hittite textual sources. Note that, after the fall of the Hittite empire, the toponym Adana re-appears again in the political landscape, in the first millennium inscriptions of Hiyawa/Que.[562] The rarity of the attestations, after all, may not surprise, since even a center like Tarsus, certainly one – if not the most – important settlement in the region in the Middle and Late Bronze Age, is mentioned only twice in the sources, following the repertoire of Del Monte and Tischler.[563]

To conclude this discussion, note that another passage of the Edict has been often connected to this paragraph mentioning Adaniya and to the question of the origins of Kizzuwatna. It is the section on the defection of Lawazantiya stirred up by Laḫḫa (Edict §25; item n. 3] in §4.3.3). In reference to the previous discussion, it is my view that this reference should be simply disconnected from the Adaniya passage and, more in general, from the geography of Kizzuwatna, as explained in ch. 2 (esp. §2.5). First of all, the

[561] According to D. Yaşın, director of excavations at Tepebağ; reported from A. Matessi (personal communication).
[562] Certainly mentioned in KARATEPE §37 *á-ta-na-wa/i-za*, i.e. /addanawanza/ adj. "Adanean" (I follow here Yakubovich 2015b, 57). The long held equivalence between *á-*429-wa/i* and a toponym Adanawa, related to Adana/Adaniya, is now matter of much controversy, after for this toponym a reading Hiyawa was proposed by Oreshko (2013a, 2018), followed by Yakubovich 2015a, 2015b, *contra* Hawkins 2015.
[563] RGTC 6, 408: KUB 20.52 I 21' (CTH 628, *ḫišuwa*-festival on the offerings for Teššob of Manuzziya in cities of Cilician setting, listing Ataniya, Ilipra, Kumani and Zunaḫara) and KUB 40.2 vs. 30' (CTH 641.1 a text about donations for the temple of Išḫara of Niriša by Talzu of Kizzuwatna, discussed *infra* §5.6.2).

two passages are not explicitly linked in the text, and in fact the only reason to do so is the assumption that both regard in some way Kizzuwatna. This Lawazantiya is, instead, a center in the Upper Land or close to it, located in a territory under the control of Hatti since the Old Kingdom, as in fact the formulation in the text itself reveals.

5.3 The seal of Išpudaḫšu, Great King

Perhaps the earliest information of the existence of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna is also the only piece of evidence certainly produced in the kingdom *and* found in Cilicia, a cretula stamped with the seal of king Išpudaḫšu. This object requires a detailed treatment, for the variety and complexity of the problems involved, and for the ramifications that a discussion generates for other related topics.

5.3.1 Archaeological context

The cretula stamped with the seal of Išpudaḫsu was found in 1935, during the first excavation season led by H. Goldman at Tarsus. The first report and the final publication of 1956 provide somewhat different information on the find location and the association to a stratigraphic level/architectural phase. The cretula was found during excavations of the LBA IIa Hittite temple in section A, in particular to the south of the small room T1, between the western temple wall and a drain (*fig. 31*).[564] Subsequently, the seal impression was attributed to accumulations *below* the Temple, thus between it and the lower architectural level, i.e. the LBA I "house" at 5 m depth.[565] The area would correspond to rooms B and C of this building (*fig. 32a*). Notable in this earlier construction were a collection of metal tools and weapons buried as foundation deposit, and a connected storage room; in consideration of these elements and the kind of

[564] Goldman 1935, 535-536: "(…) from between the west wall of the three-meter-level house and the drain which carried off the water from the 'bathroom'". The room was so defined for the small dimension, the lime cement flooring and the water installation (later confirmed in Goldman 1956, 50). The attribution of the massive architectures to a temple building is subsequent, as in that year only its SW corner was excavated.
[565] Goldman 1956, 46: "above this building and below the Hittite temple".

materials found in the upper accumulations, the excavator suggested it was possibly an official residence or an administrative building of the 15th c. Since much of these early structures were intruded and destroyed by the construction of the later New Kingdom period "Temple" (*fig. 32b*) the stratigraphy in the area was not entirely clear.

The find was clearly retrieved in secondary context, and without a clear correlation to other materials (e.g. a deposit of cretulae) or architectures. Chronologically, it was deposited before the construction of the New Kingdom temple, considering the revised data presented in the final publication. The poor archaeological context implies that the general review of the stratigraphy at Tarsus (summarized in Slane 2006) does not affect significantly any consideration on the object. Since the deposition of the seal happened later than the time in which it was created and employed, little can be said about the archaeological significance of this find, except for the fact that Tarsus was most likely in the kingdom of Kizzuwatna, thus it is not surprising to find this seal here.[566]

5.3.2 The seal

-TARS 1 (*fig. 33*)[567] Goldman 1935, 535-536, fig. 18; Gelb 1956, 246 n. 1; Mora 1987, 193, 206, n. VIII 1.1.
Briefly discussed also in: Mora 1991, 2; Yakubovich 2008a, 11-12; Weeden 2018a, 59.

ring (cuneiform):	^{m}*Iš-pu-*⌜*daḫ*⌝*-šu* LUGAL GAL DUMU *Pa-ri-ia-wa-at-ri*
	"Išpudaḫšu, Great King, son of Pariyawatri"
central field:	TONITRUS.REX | BONUS$_2$ | VITA
	"Storm-god", "king" (?) |("good") | ("life")

ca. 3.75 cm; circular, flat seal impression on conic cretula (said unperforated in Goldman 1935).
provenance: Tarsus
dating: late 16th c.

[566] Compare, however, with the situation of the Tabarna Land Grant, discussed in detail in previous chapter.
[567] The descriptive entries of seals in this section indicate: identifier according to SHS and SHS I-S (e.g. TARS 1) or catalogue numbers from later publications; selected bibliography (publications and/or catalogues, etc.); eventual inscription transliterations and translations; physical description; provenance; suggested dating.

After initial doubts on the early date of the seal that produced the print,[568] it was soon acknowledged that the identity of this Išpudaḫšu with the Kizzuwatnean king of the treaty with Telipinu is virtually certain.[569] The excavator, in the earliest treatment of the object, indicated that the seal could not be attached to a document, for the cretula was not pierced for the passage of a cord.[570] One wonders what the conic cretula could be used for, though; Gelb seems to have in fact later re-considered the issue, and the type remains compatible with cretulae that sealed both documents and goods.[571] It can be dated with some confidence to ca. the end of the 16th c., both typologically and for historical reasons, and must be roughly contemporary with the group of so called 'Tabarna-seals' attributed by Rüster and Wilhelm (2012) to the time of Telipinu.

The seal is interesting for various reasons.

1) It is one of the few historical documents on Kizzuwatna, and the only known seal of a king of this state. Presumably, the seal of a later king, Pilliya, is impressed on a tablet from Alalaḫ (AlT 3), but it is entirely unreadable (see *infra*).

2) It is roughly contemporary to the earliest known Hittite royal seals. However, it shows substantial differences from that sealing tradition.

3) As in the Anatolian tradition, the seal was a stamp seal and not a cylinder, the type most widespread in Mesopotamia and Syria. Note that stamp seals were in use in Cilicia already in the MBA (chapter 3, p. 91), thus this element is not necessarily motivated by the influence of Old Hittite kingdom practices.

[568] Goldman, 1935, 535 n.2.
[569] Although some of the seal's specifics suggested a later dating, for example the digraphic inscription, other characteristics of the inscription itself and the seal execution are archaic, like the signs' shape and disposition (cfr. group II in Mora 1987), or the flat and relieved central field of the seal, rare in later time.
[570] Goldman 1935, 536.
[571] Gelb 1956, 244: "Whenever the bullae are fully preserved, holes are visible (…)". No photograph is available of the other side, so there is no way to say whether the object was entirely preserved, and/or later underwent restoration, cleaning, etc.

4) It contains the earliest securely datable Anatolian Hieroglyphic inscription, but its reading is very problematic.

In order to discuss these topics and tackle the related problems, this section analyzes in detail single elements of the seal. First, its formal aspects: 1) cuneiform inscription, 2) Anatolian Hieroglyphic inscription, 3) digraphic character. In consideration of the historical implications of this object for the study of Anatolian Hieroglyphic script (henceforth abbreviated AH) and its importance for the history of Kizzuwatna, the problem of the origin and development of the script must be briefly introduced as well. Finally, some considerations will be presented on the seal's content and its broader historical significance at the light of this analysis.

5.3.2_a. Cuneiform inscription

The cuneiform inscription differs substantially from the contemporary parallels in the Hittite documentation, namely the ring inscriptions in the seals from "Tabarna" to Muwatalli I, attested notably in the Hittite cadastral tablets.[572] The signs carved in those seals are massive (*fig. 34*), while the cuneiform of the Išpudaḫšu seal is completely different. Signs are thinner, longer, the writing more densely packed. Sign forms are also different. Note, for example, the elaborate shape of LUGAL in comparison with the form on the roughly contemporary seal of "Tabarna" (*fig. 35 a-b*). As Goetze already noted, this palaeography is closer to that of the earlier Old Assyrian texts from Kaniš-Kültepe.[573]

The elongated nail shape of the signs also closely resembles the cuneiform of Old Babylonian period Syrian cylinder seals, whereas that of the Hittite seals, quite distinct, mirrors an unprecedented epigraphic tradition. For example, compare the cuneiform legend of the seal of Indi-limma, which is remarkable also for other reasons which will be addressed later (§5.3.2c; *fig. 36*). Similar Syrian seals stemming from the kingdom of Yamḫad were found at Alalaḫ-level VII: the shape of the sign DUMU in the Išpudaḫšu seal, in

[572] The seals are collected in Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 41-48.
[573] Goetze 1936, 211 ff.

particular, is identical to that on those seals, while in Hittite context the sign is conceived quite differently, as shown by the tablets' palaeography and in seals (*fig. 35b*). Three well preserved examples are shown at ns. *fig 37*.[574] In summary, the two palaeographies of Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna were independent.[575]

There are other remarkable differences in the inscription, beyond paleography: it is written in a single ring, unattested in the Hittite royal seals – with only few, later, exceptions. In comparison to the Hittite parallels, the formula is concise, lacks the standard introduction NA_4 KIŠIB ("seal (of)"), and the customary curse formula. The inscription itself is quite different, featuring the personal name of the king, which was not employed by Telipinu and only adopted by Alluwamma and his successors. Significantly, the inscription includes the king's paternal ascendance, a custom which in Hittite context did not appear until the time of Tudḫaliya I. This is another trait in common with the Syrian tradition (see e.g. the evidence from Alalaḫ; *fig. 37*) but in fact the onomastic formulation does not follow entirely the Syrian usage either; the ordering of the king's name, title, and patronymic in the Išpudaḫšu seal is in this respect closer to later Anatolian specimina.[576] Goetze noted the particularity that the determinative sign for personal name only introduces the name of Išpudaḫšu, while it is absent for the father's. This usage neither corresponds to the Hittite tradition, where the determinative is always employed,[577] nor to the Yamḫadite (or Old Assyrian Kanišite), where it is never employed.[578]Similarly to the Hittite early seals the ruler does not assert authority over his country explicitly – Ḫatti or Kizzuwatna – but he employs the universal title LUGAL GAL "Great King"; the possible historical meaning of this choice is discussed *infra* (§5.4).

[574] Collon 1975, 6 ff. e.g. n. 3, 5, 6, and others.
[575] Goetze 1936, 211 already stressed the differences with the Hittite forms of LUGAL, DUMU, and AT (ns. *fig. 35*). He could compare the cuneiform script of the bulla only to the much earlier tablets of Kaniš and a tablet from Khana in the Middle Euphrates, since, at that time, the sealings from Alalaḫ were yet to be discovered in the excavations carried out by Sir L. Woolley between 1936 and 1949.
[576] The typical structure of the Yamḫad and Alalaḫ royal seals is: PN*x* DUMU PN*y* LUGAL/*šār Yamḫadum*/*Alalaḫ narām* ^{d}IM. For example ns. *fig. 37a*: *Abba*-AN DUMU *Ḫammurabi* LUGAL *Iamḫadum naram* ^{d}IM.
[577] However, the Tabarna seals attested on the Hittite land grants of 15th c. do not employ it consistently.
[578] This kind of distribution, instead, would appear in Middle-Assyrian texts; Goetze 1936, 212.

5.3.2_b. Excursus: the origin of the Anatolian Hieroglyphic script

Since the problem of the origin and development of the AH script is a relevant topic for the interpretation of the seal and, conversely, the seal is considered a significant piece of evidence in the discussion, it is necessary to briefly introduce some of the specific issues at stake, although this complex topic obviously can't be exhausted in this study.[579] In particular, there are several uncertainties about chronology, geographical area of origin and modalities of development of the script. The main question is how and at what point in time a system of symbols employed throughout central Anatolia in sealing practice already at the end of the MBA (and perhaps earlier on: Waal 2012a) was turned into a full-fledged writing system, a script. Another question is what degree of continuity actually exists between the early use of symbols in sealing practice and the later script, which re-used at least some of those early signs. The problem is whether there was a gradual development from one system to the other, or, rather, the AH script was an "invention", corresponding to a radical re-semantization of the previous system. It will be shown that these questions have some implications in the interpretation of the hieroglyphic inscription of the seal of Išpudaḫšu, thus this section summarizes current views in order to contextualize a general interpretation.

Early symbols and dating of early seals. A quantity of signs of the AH logo-syllabary repertoire appear in seals traditionally attributed to the (early) Old Kingdom (ca. 1650-1500), and there is evidence of possible earlier use as well.[580] Of course, the dating of the Old Kingdom materials is crucial for the reconstruction of the history of the script. Boehmer and Güterbock (1987) created a typology and chronology of seals and seal impressions that suggests the earliest types bearing AH signs (the "Old

[579] A summary on the problem in Mora 1991 and recently Weeden 2018a. Other useful contributions are Klock-Fontanille 2008, Yakubovich 2008a, Waal 2012a, Valério 2018.

[580] Problematic evidence from 18th c. are seal impressions from Karahöyük-Konya (Alp 1968) – but some of this evidence might be re-dated to a slightly later time, after Weeden 2018a. The seal of Indi-limma dates to the early 17th c. (*fig. 36*; Boehmer 1987, Mora 1991, 2 n. 6; Archi 2015a, discussed *infra*), other seals of possible Syro-Cilician provenance have been tentatively dated to 17th and 16th c. Alleged AH signs are attested on a graffito inscribed on a vessel from Kaniš-Kültepe level Ib (*fig. 65*; discussed in Hawkins 2011a, 96; recently Archi 2016). The early evidence is collected and discussed in Waal 2012a, 298-301.

Hittite" group), could be dated in a time span between 1650 and 1400 ca.; a rough subdivision of early and late types divides this period between 17th-16th and 15th-early 14th c. This reconstruction was more recently re-assessed by Herbordt (2006), who suggested that some elements typical of the Old Hittite sealing types (e.g. small size, flat surface, small central field, ring decoration with guilloche) seem to be in use for much longer than previously thought, until the time of Suppiluliuma I (accession date ca. 1350 BCE). After this time a new type of biconvex seal was introduced, an innovation that represents a substantial watershed for dating the documentation.

The claim is made on the basis of detailed analysis of a group of seals dating to the time of Suppiluliuma I, isolated from the stratigraphy of the deposit of the Nişantepe archive of cretulae at Ḫattuša (ibid. 102 ff., fig. 9). In particular, from the evidence of these stratified finds, it appears that the same individual, a "great scribe" Matu (ibid. 105, fig. 13), employed a variety of seal types which notably include apparent Old Hittite types with outer guilloche band; his seals date, however, to the early 14th c. This evidence shows therefore that early "style" seal types were also employed throughout the 15th and early 14th c.

In summary, Herbordt suggested caution in attributing seals to an early age, since similar types were in use, potentially, for a long period of time between 16th and early 14th c. Following Herbordt, it is true that some features in seals might not be distinctive for dating purposes in *absolute* terms; however, some other aspects – in particular when found in combination – suggest that a chronological depth in the corpus of seals from Ḫattuša does exist and at least macro-trends are visible throughout time. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to determine what traits are unmistakably *recent*, rather than considering the early traits to be not distinctive per se for dating purposes.[581] In fact:

1- Seals having early appearance but datable to the 14th c. have *also* inscriptions with complex AH sign combinations that do not appear on the seals generally attributed to the earliest stage (i.e. 16th c.) in

[581] A similar principle applies, for example, to Hittite cuneiform paleography, where only the late signs may be considered diagnostic for dating. The earlier ones might be employed for long time for a variety of reasons.

reference publications. In particular, those earlier seals do not show signs such as determinatives and perhaps only in very few instances syllabograms; in brief, their sign combinations can't be read as AH script yet (see *infra*).[582] This remains an important criterion to distinguish stages in the use of these signs, and, consequently, for dating purpose, although of course this leads to the risk to fall into circular arguments (see also Weeden 2018a, 64 on this problem).

Mora (1991, 19-25) shown, also, that many signs attested on seals dated by Boehmer to the 17th and 16th c. were not employed in the constitution of the standard logo-syllabary later on; their function and eventual linguistic value are unclear. Thus, when a consistent writing system was conceived – possibly at some point in 15th c. and for several scholars even in the 14th –[583] many symbols were discarded. It means that, when it is possible to *read* an inscription, the seal is hardly very early. On the contrary, when signs can't be "read" clearly, this must happen in seals dating to the 16th c. or the early 15th c. broadly speaking. Indeed, many early symbols were dropped when the script came into use, and were never part of the standard AH logo-syllabary.

2- Other details, taken in combination, might be of some importance for dating. There seems to be a trend, for example, in the progressively rarer usage of ankh and triangle through time (signs VITA, $BONUS_2$).[584] Although this is not universally true, as early types exist that do not employ them, and conversely they appear on later seals as well, the trend is well visible, for example, in the royal seals. A revival of the use of these two symbols in the Empire period, apparently employed in decorative fashion, is not problematic for dating.

[582] Common determinative signs, like DEUS or MAGNUS, do not appear in most typologically early seals. On a note, this is one reason to think that the AH script is in fact modelled on the mechanics of the cuneiform script (Yakubovich 2008a; *pace* Waal 2012a).
[583] Probably, the time of Tudhaliya I was an important moment for the standardization and diffusion of the script; however, there are seals that might be earlier that already spell names, thus employ signs with phonetic values. The first (surviving?) long inscriptions, though, date only in the 13th c., two generations after Suppiluliuma I.
[584] These signs have augural value, as demonstrated by the correspondence between cuneiform SIG_5 = hieroglyphic $BONUS_2$ "good", and cuneiform TI = hieroglyphic VITA "life", explicit in some late 15th c. seals.

To make another example, the *guilloche* ornament bands that – Herbordt showed – were in use until a later date are not entirely identical to those of the earliest seals. Mora (1991, 4 n. 12) already noted distinctions in the typology of guilloche distinctive of the earliest documentation. Weeden (2018a) also pointed out the potential for a systematic study of these decorative motifs.

3- Acknowledging that a stylistical and typological dating remains difficult until more stratified materials from 15th c. contexts will be published,[585] the re-assessment of Herbordt does not imply that there are no early seals. It is hard to believe that there would be *no* seals for the late 17th and 16th c. in the finds from Old Hittite Ḫattuša, thus it remains meaningful to try defining a diachronical typology of sealing forms, and to draw a relative chronology. The seal of Išpudaḫšu provides, at the moment, one of the few chronological anchors for such a purpose, although its dating is inferred on historical ground, not on the basis of stratigraphy. Still, this object shows that at the end of 16th and early 15th c., simple combinations of signs (of unclear value/function) are employed with the frequent VITA and BONUS$_2$, and suggests that similar types from Ḫattuša may date roughly to the same period.

A recent discussion on some of these problems can be found in an article of M. Weeden (2018a), which can be regarded as the current reference for the *status questionis*. Weeden proposes a reassessment of the problem of the dating of Old Hittite seals and the presence of AH inscriptions in this early documentation on the basis of stratified materials only. An important result of this study is the compelling re-dating of an important group of early seals, named after the so called Tyskiewicz seal (BoHa 14/1) for their stylistic affinity. While seals of this type were previously dated to the early 17th c., it can be now shown that parallels exist from stratified contexts dating to the late 17th-early 16th c., thus firmly into the

[585] Herbort 2006 mentions, for example, the cretulae from Maşat Höyük, in large part still to be published. It would be most relevant, for the field of study, to know more about the materials from Ortaköy-Šapinuwa.

Old Hittite period from a chronological point of view.[586] Thus, these seals can be more confidently attributed to the period ca. 1630-1580, after the Hittite state was already established in central Anatolia.

The re-dating of this group, along with other considerations, reinforces the correlation of seals of the immediately later developmental stage *with* the 16th c., as in fact the typological dating of Boehmer and Güterbock (1987) already proposed. Confirmation comes from the seal impressions' assemblage at Kuşaklı-Sarissa, which does not feature – with perhaps one exception – these early materials (Weeden 2018a, 68). The construction date of the temple buildings where sealing evidence was retrieved is radiocarbon dated to the final third of 16th c. The picture well fits with previous suggestions to date archaic seals to this century and has important implications in the question of the origin of the script as it is in materials dating to this period that some developments appear to be at least incipient.

Seals of the late 16th c. show some new trends that remain distinctive throughout the 15th, so that, stylistically, there is no way to date materials with any confidence within this larger time frame. As previously noted, the developmental stage of the signs in reference to the Empire period script remains a relatively satisfactory criterion. Although later specimen exist which have archaic appearance, it is very clear that 16th c. and early 15th c. materials hardly show AH inscriptions *strictu sensu*, but eventually few cases of incipient phonetization of signs (see *infra*). More finds from stratified contexts dating to the late 16th and 15th c. will be crucial both for establishing dates of the materials and a more detailed chronology of the development of the script throughout the 15th c.

At any rate, materials dated to the Old Hittite period in 16th c. and around the time of Telipinu show some consistent traits, such as frequent employ of the symbols of the ankh and triangle (VITA, BONUS$_2$). Another distinction is that throughout the 15th c. it appears that most of the "clumsy" signs listed

[586] Crucial evidence is one seal impression from Büklükale, published in Weeden 2016.

in Mora 1991 were abandoned or became very rare. These rules of thumb emerge already from the traditional typology, but they can be broadly confirmed thanks to recent finds from stratified context.

Questions on the development of the script. Seals that can be assigned with some confidence to the 16th c. employ several signs that are also later employed in the AH script (see the list of Mora 1991, 5-7). Two questions come into play; the first is *when* AH is first recognizable as a writing system. For Yakubovich (2008a, 29) the signs in the Old Hittite seals are, without distinction, "auspicious symbols", while other scholars, like Archi (2015), consider that signs with linguistic value are attested already in the seal of Indi-limma of Ebla (early 17th c., briefly discussed *infra*). Waal (2012a) proposed, even, that AH script – or at least a rudimentary antecedent in form of notation system – has a much earlier origin, and was in use at least in the early MBA. A second question, in part related, is *where* the script was developed. Also in this respect, there is no consensus, and much depends on the interpretation and the dating of some of the earliest material evidence. Proposals for the area of origin of the script are:

1) western Anatolia-Arzawa; Aegean sphere (Hawkins 1986, differently Oreshko 2013b);[587]

2) central Anatolia (e.g. Yakubovich 2008a, 2010b);

3) Cilicia (Boehmer-Güterbock 1987, 40; Neumann 1992; Archi 2016).

In respect to this second question, it seems increasingly clear that a central Anatolian origin of the script is the most likely scenario, despite some scholars hold different views (e.g. Archi 2016). The relative chronology outline of the early seals proposed by Weeden (2018a), based on stratified materials, establishes a sequence more or less clear for the late 17th-16th c.: this indicate that the argument made by

[587] The proposal of a western origin is mostly based on typological similarities between the Aegean scripts and AH, their internal specifics, and the role of the Western Anatolian Luwian component. The hypothesis has been abandoned by most scholars. The main problem of this hypothesis is the lack of empirical data in support; the arguments are re-discussed in Yakubovich 2008a, 16-18, in particular with a different explanation of the structural similarities between AH and the Aegean scripts. On the basis of the western Anatolian inscriptions, Oreshko (2013b) has re-aired the possibility of a western origin, suggesting that the AH script is a vernacular tradition not depending necessarily from Ḫattuša, and that the script is a product of a Luwian linguistic background, differently from what proposed Yakubovich 2010b.

Archi (2016, 21), according to which the Hittite court "became acquainted with the hieroglyphic script when Telipinu drew up a treaty with Išpudaḫšu king of Kizzuwatna" can't be upheld (see also the considerations of Weeden 2018a, 58).[588] The two questions are deeply interconnected, and the following review aims at summarizing the main points of the various perspectives in order to provide a context for the analysis of the AH inscription of the seal of Išpudaḫšu.

Evidence for central Anatolian origin and chronology of the script's development. Yakubovich (2008a) suggested that the writing system was developed in central Anatolia – namely Ḫattuša – and not elsewhere, because a mixed linguistic Hittite-Luwian environment suits better some of its specifics, in particular the phonetic component in the creation of the syllabary.[589] A specific association with Luwian may be secondary, and derives, in the Late Empire Period, from the socio-linguistic dynamics pertinent to the diffusion of Luwian throughout Anatolia. Yakubovich adds that the script was developed:

> "(...) for writing Anatolian names and titles on durable objects, such as seals. This happened at the time when the cuneiform script of Mesopotamian origin had been already in use in the Hittite capital for more than two hundred years." (ibid. 28)

He maintains that the earliest true specimens of AH writing as a "semiotic system containing a phonetic component" (ibid. 18) are the seals of the Early New Kingdom, and that earlier seals do not include names and titles. Also, the invention of what is in fact a new script is conceived as a purposeful project of the Early New Kingdom, driven by "nationalistic" reasons.[590] With this, came also a reform of the sealing

[588] The opposite point was also made; e.g. Yakubovich 2008a, 12: "this object may well reflect Hittite cultural influence on Kizzuwatna, just as the name Išpudaḫšu appears to have a Hittite origin".
[589] Instead, Waal (2012a, 303-304) supports an independent origin of the script (not based on cuneiform model), thus an earlier date and a purely Luwian character; while providing some arguments in this regard, she does not discuss the linguistic details of the points previously made by Yakubovich on the topic. The latter's proposal is also refused by Hawkins 2013b, who, on a note, also disagrees with the taxonomy of Luwian dialects proposed in Yakubovich 2010a. A review of the problem can be found in Giusfredi 2017, 81, who concludes that a mixed Hittite-Luwian environment remains the most likely setting for the development of the syllabary.
[590] Yakubovich 2008a, 29. I consider this specific point quite problematic, with Archi (2016, 36) and Waal (2012a, 305-307); the arguments depend on his reconstruction of the socio-linguistic dynamics of the period, and are in part conjectural. For example, the Hurrianization of the Hittite kingdom during the 14th c. seems to contradict his explanation.

practices, with the adoption of digraphic seals. In the early stages of the development of the AH (phases I-II in Yakubovich 2008a), the use of signs does not mirror a real semantic *system,* and only in the 'third' phase one finds a rudimentary writing system which employs logograms and a basic application of phonetic principle (mid-15th c. on). The last stage, where the writing system is completely developed, begins only with the earliest empire period inscriptions (FRAKTIN and ALEPPO 1), thus well into the 13th c.[591]

Differently, I am inclined to consider the logo-syllabic system to be sufficiently developed in Yakubovich's stage III (mid-15th c.) to be considered a script. The argument can be made that this stage does not represent a completely developed writing system because it is not largely syllabographic is not compelling, since even the earliest monumental inscriptions in 13th c. are, in fact, largely logographic. The brevity and simplicity of the onomastic seal inscriptions also depends on the nature and typology of the message conveyed, and not on the inherent qualities of the writing system, whose mechanisms appear to be entirely consistent with the Empire period's script.[592]

It is unclear whether the model proposed by Yakubovich implies that the symbols/signs on seals of 17th-15th c.: 1) can't be *read* out, 2) not necessarily have univocal meaning, and consequently that 3) their combinations were not necessarily employed coherently.

If so, this would collide with at least part of the evidence. In fact some combinations of signs can be found in more than one seal, and some signs of the AH repertoire seem to be semantically compatible with their earlier counterparts. It is the case of divine symbols that identify gods' names, such as the thunderbolt and the stag – i.e. TONITRUS and the variants of the sign CERVUS[593] – and perhaps one can add the sign

[591] One problem with this reconstruction is the dating of the ANKARA bowl (published in Hawkins 1997, 2005), which Yakubovich discusses in pp. 14 ff. If this inscription dates to the early 14th c., to the time of Tudḫaliya I, one must acknowledge that the script was perfectly developed at this time already. However, a later date seems to be preferred by most scholars in recent time (e.g. Mora 2007 to the late 13th c.; Giusfredi 2013 to the 11th c.).
[592] Similar considerations in Waal 2012a, 301-303, in particular with reference to compatible characteristics visible in the early stages of development of other writing systems.
[593] As already noted Mouton 2002.

SOL. Other signs that in AH are titles or professions are also attested in seals of 16th and early 15th c., such as HASTARIUS, PINCERNA, URCEUS, and frequently SCRIBA.[594] Since these alleged title signs are employed with relative frequency, it is reasonable to think they refer to the role of the individuals who utilized the seal. Their frequency and distribution (i.e. their combination with other signs) suggests that, even if these combinations did not represent names, they retain a semantic value within a given sphere of reference, and are not only sequences of "auspicious" symbols. In other words, since some combinations of signs are attested in multiple instances, if those don't refer to the name of the seal holder, they must communicate a different, but distinct message.

For example, a number of seals shows the combination TONITRUS.BONUS$_2$, which rather than being read out as a name might be read as a formula dedicated to the Storm-god (this is discussed in better detail in §5.3.2_d).

Certainly, in 15th c. seals provide also names.[595] Instead, it remains problematic to verify whether sealing evidence exists, earlier or contemporary to the seal of Išpudaḫšu, in which names are spelled out in AH. This problem is of some importance, since name spellings require the use of codified logo-syllabic sign values. The answer depends on the dating of some materials that might be attributed typologically to the 16th c., and that clearly contain names which employ signs with syllabic values. The dating of two different seals of functionaries is critical. The seal in ns. *fig. 38* shows the well-known rebus spelling of the name Ḫattušili (*HATTI+li*).[596] Yakubovich (2008a, 12-13, n. 11) doubts the early dating of this seal, pending further discoveries. In his view, the conventions for the syllabic value of AH signs were not yet fully developed even in 14th c., thus the seal can't be so early. The same combination of signs is attested

[594] See Alparslan/Doğan-Alparslan 2017, 53-55, Herbordt 2005, 98 ff. The case of REX is different, since it is probably not attested for individuals, but as an attribute for gods; see *infra*.
[595] Waal 2012a proposed that early sign combinations, even the one attested on the Kaniš-Kültepe pot, provide the names of the owners. The problem with her reconstruction is that none of these names can be read; the same applies to most of the documentation from Ḫattuša attributed to the 17th and 16th c.
[596] Beran 1967, 63 fig. 53; Boehmer 1987, 36; 39 fig. 25c.

also on another typologically early seal, Bo 85/450 (*fig. 39*).[597] Stylistically, they can well date to 16th c., but the arguments of Herbordt (2006) can be adduced for a lower chronology. The second seal, however, belongs to a type with "figure of eight"-loop guilloche which Weeden recognizes as an early element, to be assigned with some confidence to the 16th c. (2018, 61-62; ns. fig. *36b-d, 38*). Boehmer and Güterbock (1987, 52) dated this type to the 17th c., according to the old chronologies, noting also that this motif appeared to be progressively replaced by different forms of guilloche.[598] The figure-of-eight motif is also attested on a group of seal-impressions which writes a name *Tarḫundawiya* in AH (Weeden 2018a, 61; also 2016, 95-98 fig. 15-16). A few of these also have ankh and triangle, and some other unreadable signs. Another name is probably attested on another early seal, this time found from the fill of a silo context which fell out of use in the 16th c., early rather than later in this century (*fig. 50*). Weeden suggests that the sign CERVUS3 here communicates a name, since a compelling parallel exists – better preserved – with the same combination of signs (*fig. 39b*). In summary, these cases would show at least incipient employ of syllabization during the Old Kingdom in the 16th c.

It may well be the case that both seals in *fig. 38* and *39* are archaizing seals of 15th c. or even later, but in my view it does not seem so problematic to imagine that some of the basic principles of the AH writing system began to develop already in the 16th rather than the 15th c. The stratified materials are significant evidence in this respect, and can't be ignored. At any rate seals show increasing employ of names *during* 15th, and it is certain that the principles of logo-syllabic rebus writing were perfectly controlled at least with Tudḫaliya I, as the Hittite royal seals at that point in time adopted the AH script alongside cuneiform (see *infra* §5.3.3). This does not contradicts Yakubovich's main points, but simply calls for a re-evaluation of what developmental stage of the use of signs can be considered a script or not.

[597] Dinçol 2008, 20 n. 8b, also dated to 16th c. Discussed also in Börkler-Klähn 1995.
[598] While guilloche motifs are attested early as well (ref. in Weeden 2018a, 61) "certainly the cases with the looping figure-of-eight decoration do all or mostly have an archaic appearence (...), but *whether this must be seventeenth rather than sixteenth century BC is doubtful*" (Weeden 2018a, 61-62).

Then, even if the few specimens discussed here are indeed ancient, this does not imply, anyway, that syllabization was commonly applied so early either – and in fact it is *not* the case. Instead, this fact demands that other combinations that do not employ signs with the same logic were contemporary in use.[599] Confirmation in one or the other sense must necessarily come from future evidence from stratified materials.

Returning to the evidence that can be assigned to 16th c., the continuity in use of a few signs for titles and professions, of auspicious symbols/formulae, and some identifying divine beings, suggest that the "proto-AH" sealing *system* was meant to convey codified meanings/messages,[600] thus that these symbols could be *read*. Since this was not a linguistic system, presumably it could be understood independently from the language of the receiver.[601] The existence of a semantic system is proven chiefly by the fact that at least a selected repertoire of signs was employed in recurrent combinations; the domain of reference was probably limited, well-established among the users. Whatever the original meaning of the single signs, and even if the specific combinations were not names, they presumably allowed to identify – indirectly – the individual user of the seal, thus the use served multiple purposes. The system might be defined a descriptive-representational, or an identifying-mnemonic device, using the terminology of Gelb in his landmark study on writing systems (1952).[602]

In order to understand the logic behind the system, one can observe that the most frequently attested early signs *that* survived in the AH sign inventory indeed seem to refer exclusively to 1) titles and 2)

[599] There are five other early seals whose inscriptions, if read phonetically, could contain names attested in later cuneiform sources: see Mora 1991, 117-118. While Waal (2012a, 304) sees this evidence in favor of continuity in use of AH sign values between MBA and LBA, Mora already shown how the readings remain quite uncertain in virtually all the instances, and sign shapes diverge sometimes consistently from those of the later syllabary.
[600] Also Mora 1991, 20.
[601] As noted Hawkins (2003, 140) and Yakubovich (2010a, 296-297) in reference to the linguistic background of the names and titles of the earliest AH texts.
[602] I believe that this system is compatible with the rudimentary script system that Waal (2012a, 305-307) proposes for the origin of the AH script proper, in particular within a view of continuity in the development of the script from the sealing practice antecedents, vs. the idea of "invention" of the script around 1400 (Yakubovic 2008a). More recent theoretical contributions on writing systems are Coulmas 1994; Trigger 2004.

augural and divine symbols. Considering the possible connection of this system with the later AH script, it can be reasonably argued that, even if the standard script was created only after 15th c. in central Anatolia, when reading values were attributed to these signs the process was not entirely arbitrary. On the contrary, one expects that the earlier signs' *semiotics* determined at least in part the choices for phonetization and syllabization. Thus, I expect that the use of those signs can be at least in part deciphered (see *infra*).

Since the groups of seals that Dinçol-Dinçol 2008 and Weeden 2018a attribute to 16th c. and/or to the late 16th-15th c. transition present traces of development of the sealing symbols into a script, and perhaps even few names, it is clear that this process must have started rather early during the Old Hittite kingdom period.[603]

Arguments for a southern Anatolian/Cilician origin. For the potential implications for this study, it is necessary to review this hypothesis. A southern origin of the script was proposed already by Boehmer:

> "die ersten als solche zu bezeichnende Hieroglyphen der Bildhethitische Schrift wenn nicht in das 2. Viertel, dann zumindest in die erste Hälfte des 17. Jhs. v. Chr. zu datieren sind und auch, dass die Hieroglyphenschrift, wie schon früher vermutet worden ist, tatsächlich ihre Ausgang von Kilikien genommen zu haben scheint, im syrisch/anatolischen Grenzgebiet" (Boehmer 1987, 40).

This reconstruction also implied an early date for the standardization of the AH script. This view lost traction in recent years in favor of a central Anatolian origin. Archi (2016) has yet a diverging view on the topic: he suggests that the Hittites adopted the script when they came in contact with Kizzuwatna (ibid. 21, 29). The hypothesis of a Cilician origin would not per se contradict either a late date for the constitution of the AH writing system, or a central Anatolian setting for these developments. It could have been the early system of "symbols" in sealing practice that the Hittites adopted from the south.

[603] Of this opinion also Alparslan/Doğan-Alparslan 2017, 53: "Die gut entwickelten Hieroglyphenzeichen dieser frühen Siegel beweisen, dass diese Schrift keinesfalls eine Erfindung des späten 16. Jahrhunderts sein kann". In this respect they also quote the graffito on the Kaniš pot (*fig. 65*).

However, if this was the case, since those signs were employed at Ḫattuša at least during the 16th c., this adoption must have necessarily happened *earlier* than the time of Išpudaḫšu and Telipinu, which rules out the specific explanation of Archi in this respect.

Archi suggested, indeed, that signs can be read as a script quite early. This consideration has to do with the employ of proto-hieroglyphic signs in a Syrian seal of early 17th c., the famous seal of Indi-limma, (see next section), and the chronological primacy of the use of AH signs and the frequency of symbols like VITA, BONUS$_2$ in other glyptic of possible Syro-Cilician provenance, traditionally dated to the 17th and 16th c. For example:

-ASHM 3 (*fig. 40*) Hogarth 1920, 38, n. 196; Boehmer 1987 Mora 1987, Ib 1.3 (p.23, 37 ff.)

a (base). TONITRUS, ? | SCRIBA (?)
b. *winged disc* | BONUS$_2$.VITA | TONITRUS, ?, and *crux ansata* | BONUS$_2$.VITA
c. hieroglyphic signs: BONUS$_2$, VITA
d. VITA
e. TONITRUS

*other figures can't be interpreted as signs unambiguously

Original seal: stamp, polyhedral, hematite, incised on five faces (base and sides). base: 2.3x2.5 cm
provenance: Tarsus surroundings (?)
dating: Boehmer: 1975 late 17th-16th; Mora: 16th c. (evtl. 15th), contra suggestions of late date (13th).[604]

This seal shows the consistent correlation of the pair VITA and BONUS$_2$, but, interestingly, also the use of the winged sun-disc, early employed also in the seals from Alalaḫ (lev. VII). In brief, according to Archi the early date of these materials – and critically that of the seal of Išpudaḫšu – would suggest the Kizzuwatna sealing tradition was a *model* for central Anatolia, contrary to the hypothesis of Yakubovich (2008a, 12 n. 9).

[604] Mora 1987, 37 ff., with discussion and previous bibliography.

Boehmer and Güterbock considered that some characteristics of the Tyskiewicz group, for example the fact that these seals combine elements of Anatolian stamp seals and the cylinder type (Alexander 1973-76), suggested that an interface territory like Cilicia was an ideal environment for their production. It was proposed that these early seals could be imported from the south, and this was one of the reasons to also suppose a southern origin of the AH script. The re-consideration of the dating of these materials and the increasing evidence of the presence of these types in Old Hittite centers in central Anatolia now suggests a southern origin should be excluded.

Note that the dating of some of these allegedly Cilician seals was already lowered by Mora (e.g. ns. *fig. 40*), a picture now additionally confirmed by comparison with stratigraphically secure finds. A chronological primacy of evidence of AH signs in Cilicia is thus probably only virtual. For Weeden (2018a, 58) a lower dating of these seal types also requires that the seal of Indi-limma is brought out of the picture as a comparandum, as this turns out to be a century earlier than the seals with which it was previously confronted.

The problem, ultimately, remains open, since either view on the origin of the AH script as devised at present can't be either proved or disproved (e.g. Giusfredi 2017, 81). It is relevant, however, that most of the evidence stems from Ḫattuša, while is very sporadic elsewhere, notably in Cilicia. This probably indicates that this class of materials can be regarded as a distinctive material correlate of the Hittite Old Kingdom. This goes, I believe, in support of the view proposed in ch. 4, as another reason to exclude Hittite administration in Cilicia during the Old Kingdom. Sealings of the early phase, associated with 16th c., seem to be in fact attested in other centers of the Hittite domains, at Kaman-kalehöyük (to be yet published; see Weeden 2018a, 68 n. 25) and perhaps at Alacahöyük, with a golden signet ring and a clay lump attributed to Old Hittite and Middle Hittite levels.

In conclusion, it appears that by the late 16th c., both in central Anatolia and Cilicia the same proto-hieroglyphic signs were used in sealing practice as a semiotic system, indicated by their consistent,

meaningful combination (e.g. the pair BONUS$_2$ and VITA, and other consistent combinations). It means that the seal of Išpudaḫšu, dating to the turn of 16th-15th c., certainly mirrors connection with central Anatolian sealing practices, but also, significantly, testifies the original elaboration of a local type of digraphic royal seals, not attested elsewhere at this time. The employ of a different cuneiform script tradition also indicates the local originality of the sealing tradition.

5.3.2_c. The seal of "Indi-limma, servant of Išḫara"

In consideration of the previous section, a brief summary on this seal is presented, for the important implications this object has in the discussion.

-ASHM 8 (*fig. 36*) Ward 1910, n. 797; Hogart 1920, 36, n. 181, Buchanan 1966, n.872, Boehmer 1985, p. 40, fig. 26a, Mora 1987, 227, IX 4.3, Archi 2015a.

In-di-lim-ma / DUMU *Še*$^{?}$*-ir-da-mu* / ÌR ^{d}*Iš-ḫa-ra*
"Indi-limma*, son of Šer-damu**, servant of Išḫara"
*vel Indi-šima
**vel Išir-damu

ASINUS(*100)$^{?}$ *398 VITA BONUS$_2$

ca 2.6 x 1.3 cm.; cylinder seal, hematite.
provenance: Cilicia? (Hogart 1920, probably purchased Adana or Antakya); originally Ebla (Archi 2015a)
dating: ca. 1675-1650 BCE.

With compelling arguments, A. Archi has shown that this famous seal of uncertain provenance is a royal seal of king Indi-limma of Ebla (Archi 2015a). The paper deals with the identity of the last three kings of Ebla, before its destruction in mid-17th c.: the father of this king, Šer-damu, is known from this seal's cuneiform legend, and the son, Memal-x-x-ar$^{?}$ri, is mentioned on sealing impressions on some fragments of jar from Ebla. The fact that Indi-limma and his son did not bear the title king in their seals would indicate that Ebla was under the hegemony of Yamḫad; the self-presentation of Indi-limma as servant of

Išḫara, instead, indicates that Išḫara was still regarded as the tutelary goddess of Ebla, – more precisely, of the Eblaite kingship – a role indicated already in the 3rd Millennium documents.[605]

Despite its provenance and early dating, the seal features signs that belong to the much later AH sign repertoire. Buchanan (1967, 18) compared this seal to the seal of Išpudaḫšu for the early employ of AH signs and in particular the parallel digraphic character – both having cuneiform and "hieroglyphic" inscription. To solve this problem, it was suggested that the signs were engraved later than the rest of the seal (e.g. Buchanan 1966). Boehmer already refused this argument, and the photo of the seal recently published does not show elements for which the engraving should be considered posterior. In any case, if the seal was re-incised, this happened nonetheless early, indicatively before the early 15th c., for the nature of the inscription itself. The principal question is whether the vertical sequence of signs, with (apparently) an animal head, a rectangular sign, *ankh* and triangle can be read as an AH inscription. If so, why a seal of a ruler of Ebla would be inscribed in a script presumably bearing Luwian or Hittite?

Archi reads the first two signs as AH ASINUS (L.100) with protruding tongue, the second as horizontal rectangle (L.398),[606] before the well-known VITA and BONUS$_2$. The form of the first two signs is not clear in the various published impressions and illustrations of this seal, but is quite evident in the picture of the original seal and its modern impression provided in Archi's article (ns. *fig. 36*).[607]

> "Considering that the last two signs of Indi-Limma's seal are very common symbols, the first two signs have to constitute a function name, e.g. "ruler", with HH 398 denoting the preceding sign as a logogram". (Archi 2015a, 23).

[605] Archi 2002a, 27-28; 2015, 21.
[606] This sign is attested, following Archi (2016, 23), in YALBURT and EMIRGAZI in combination with a sign of unknown reading, L.463.
[607] An early publication of this seal (Ward 1910, n. 797) also has a better copy, in comparison with e.g. Hogart 1920, 36, n. 181; Boehmer 1987, p. 40, fig. 26a.

The reading of the first two signs as a title seems compatible with the content of the seal, and with the later use of the donkey's head (ASINUS) as a title for rulers.[608] Other readings were suggested,[609] but the sign identification, whatever their meaning/reading, is presently the most plausible.

Archi additionally proposed that the ankh was a symbol available in the western Syrian milieu, while the triangle may have Anatolian origin.[610] There is no doubt that the ankh is an original Levantine element, in the sense that it was there adopted directly from Egypt in the MBA. It is possible that the Hittites adopted the use of the ankh in Syria, presumably with the early contacts with the region during the Old Kingdom campaigns of Ḫattusili and Mursili (late 17th- early 16th c.). However, the ankh is already attested at Konya-Karahöyük in cretulae of probable Syrian origin (Alp 1968, 119 n. 8, tav. 35/89), thus the symbol may have been already known in Anatolia previously. The combination of the two signs VITA and $BONUS_2$ are attested at the earliest in the seal of Indi-limma, and this presence may be explained through early contacts between northern Levante and central Anatolia, perhaps through the commercial routes discussed in ch. 3.2. The use of "central Anatolian" symbols in this Eblaite seal, in fact, speaks of close contacts and influence from the other direction as well – if the interpretation of those as originating from the MBA central Anatolian sealing tradition is correct.

In this complex framework, it appears at least clear that the sign *combination* ankh-triangle comes as a "package" in several early seals, which speaks of an established tradition; the direction and specifics of contacts are difficult to establish, but show mutual interference between central Anatolia and Syria.

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[608] On this sign see Hawkins-Morpurgo Davies 1998.
[609] e.g. Mora 1987, 227: za_4-x(= *tà*/(*ni*?)?) VITA, $BONUS_2$ (with previous bibliography).
[610] The ankh is ubiquitous in the sealings of Alalaḫ VII, and clearly shows Egyptian inspiration. Its shape varies greatly, like in the peculiar form on this seal. Note that this form is very close to the one attested in the seal represented in ns. *fig. 49*, discussed *infra*.

5.3.2_d. Hieroglyphic "inscription" in the seal of Išpudaḫšu

In the seal of Išpudaḫšu, the form of the sign TONITRUS is close to early specimens (see ns. figs. 41 to 48). The combination of the propitiatory signs VITA and BONUS$_2$ is well attested also in Old Kingdom seals of the 16th and 15th c. In particular, they are employed in the earliest "Tabarna-seals"; their relatively small central field includes only these augural signs and a rosette, vs. the more complex AH inscription of the Išpudaḫšu seal, which, visually, recalls later types of Hittite digraphic seals documented after Tudhaliya I. The sign REX can't be read URBS, being very clearly formed.[611]

While the signs employed are well known in the AH repertoire, the meaning of the inscription is obscure. In first place, it is not self-evident that the two signs TONITRUS, "Storm-god" (i.e. *Tarḫunta,* eventually *Teššob*) and REX, "king", should be read as an AH text or not, as already introduced in the previous discussion. Most researchers suggest that at this stage these signs should be interpreted as "symbols", rather than a script. While the meaning of these symbols might be related to the later readings in AH, this remains unwarranted, as the codification of their use in this early time is unknown.

In later digraphic sealings, the cuneiform and AH inscriptions usually refer to the name of the individual owner of the seal, spelled in the two different writing systems. It was said that few seals of early date do exist that might communicate names, be it employing syllabograms or, eventually, in full logographic form. In the seal of Išpudaḫšu, instead – on the basis of the known reading values of the two signs – the combination does not seem to correspond to the name. A set of questions arises: whether this is a "text" at all; whether the combination corresponds in some way to the name Išpudaḫšu, or yet the signs have a different meaning.

[611] Additionally, a geographical indications of this kind is attested only once, in a late seal (BoḪa. 19, n. 651–659; see Trameri 2019, 266 n. 56). Here comes in also the suggestion of P. Houwink Ten Cate (1992, 250-251), that the inscription should be read "king of Tarḫuntašša", but this can be dismissed principally for the consequent chronological and geographical problems.

Goetze read the sign REX as title ("king"), suggesting that only the first sign indicates the name.[612] Bossert attempted to explain the spelling suggesting that a divine name *Išpuda-*, unattested but related to Hitt. *išpant-* "night", constituted the first part of a theophoric name, and corresponded to the first sign. He held as no coincidence that the name, likewise other similar composite names, is constituted of two parts, and the second one, *-ḫ(a)šu* would conveniently equate with Hitt. *ḫaššu* "king", which would be the reading of the sign REX.[613] Goetze likewise provided a theophoric interpretation (1956, 355-356), although rejecting the connection proposed by Bossert between *-ḫšu* and "king". On the basis of the Kaniš evidence, he suggested a different value connected to the concept of birth, i.e. *-ḫšu* "son, born", which excluded the onomastic reading of the inscription. A few years later, in the publication of the glyptic inscriptions from Tarsus, I. Gelb thought that, instead, he was dealing with symbols rather than the spelling of a name.[614] In fact he compared the combination of signs to the central motifs of the Hittite "Tabarna-seals". Yakubovich provides a more specific interpretation of the value of the signs as "symbols", i.e. that TONITRUS and REX mean that the king "viewed himself as ruling by the authority of the Storm-god".[615] In this case, the two signs are read respectively as a divine symbol and as a title, referred to the deity.

The discussion on the origins of the AH showed it remains unclear whether contemporary and/or earlier sealing evidence exists in which names are spelled out in AH, since the answer to this question very much depends on the dating of some materials that might or not be attributed to the 16th c. At any rate, an early date of those specimens would not necessarily imply that the inscription in the

[612] Goetze 1936, 213.
[613] Bossert 1946, 162. That the name is composed of two parts is clear from the comparison with names such as: *ḫi-iš-ta-aḫ-šu, ḫa-áš-ta-aḫ-šu*, so /hstahsu/, *ša-da-aḫ-šu*: /sanda-hsu/, and so on (Kloekhorst 2014, 2019). On these names, and on the name Išpudaḫšu itself, see in detail §6.3.
[614] Gelb 1956, 245-246.
[615] Yakubovich 2008a, 11.

Išpudaḫšu seal is also a name, in particular because many more examples of early seals exist in which the signs can't be positively read as names.

Comparison with other presumably early seals helps highlighting two points: first that if the signs are symbols, the *symbols* (or at least some of them) also appear to have a codified meaning, given their frequency. The second is that the symbol's *combinations* are not random, since their recurrence indicates standardization. Both facts indicate that the meaning of the inscriptions is linguistically – or, less specifically, conceptually – translatable, i.e. it could be read possessing the correct code of reference. This is suggested by a parallel usage like:

-Bo70/6 (n. 30) (*fig. 41a*) Güterbock 1975 (p. 66, n. 30); Boehmer 1987 (p. 45, n. 111).

BONUS$_2$ VITA | TONITRUS.REX | SCRIBA
first sign is TONITRUS rather than L.155 ("pomegranade").

circular, flat seal impression.
provenance: Ḫattuša- Lower Town, house 7.
dating: Old Hittite period, 16th c. (?)

The combination is the same as that on the Išpudaḫšu seal. In fact, Güterbock pointed out the potential implications for the reading of the Išpudaḫšu seal and, in particular, that the presence of the sign SCRIBA, a common title in AH, would suggest that the combination TONITRUS.REX *could* be indeed a personal name.[616] To my knowledge, the combination is not attested elsewhere but in the following seal.

-Bo 84/429 (*fig. 41b*) Dinçol-Dinçol 2008, 20, seal n. 9
BONUS$_2$ VITA | TONITRUS.REX$^?$

circular, flat seal impression on conic cretula (perforated)
provenance: Ḫattuša, Temple 8, room 11
dating: Old Hittite period, 16th c. (?)

[616] Güterbock 1975, 66, n. 115.

Considering its layout, the inscription in this seal is the closest to that of the Išpudaḫšu seal. The only difference is that the reading of the sign REX is not entirely certain here, since the typical inner partitions of the sign are absent. Note that Dinçol-Dinçol (2008, 20) read this as a name, and indeed take this combination for the name *Išpudaḫšu*.

Other combinations which include the sign TONITRUS might be of interest, because correlation with other signs can provide some indications on the logic behind the combinations themselves. The combination TONITRUS.BONUS$_2$ is quite well attested in several clearly early seals (*fig. 42-44*). One (*fig. 44*),[617] includes the two ubiquitous VITA and BONUS$_2$. In the cretula Bo83/885 one of two different seal prints, (*fig. 45*)[618] includes two signs, one of which unreadable, and the second being TONITRUS. In a later seal (Bo84/497, *fig. 46*)[619] TONITRUS.BONUS$_2$ is tentatively read as a name by the editors, possibly *Tarḫuntaššu* or *Tarḫuwaššu*, and is accompanied by a title, PASTOR.[620]

These combinations of signs are all read as names by Dinçol-Dinçol (2008), in particular on the basis of their occurrence with titles and the comparison with some later, more complex combinations that communicate names. This interpretation is questionable, though. Only in 15th c. names were frequently written in AH, if the dating of those materials is not to be lowered to the early 14th (which, however, doesn't seem likely).[621] For example Bo83/15 (*fig. 47*) is one of several seals with a complex combination

[617] Beran 1967, n. 113.
[618] Dinçol-Dinçol 2008, n. 32.
[619] Dinçol-Dinçol 2008, n. 71.
[620] The sign TONITRUS is otherwise quite well attested in seals, either as theophoric or not. Names with TONITRUS component listed in Herbordt 2005 are: n. 649 (TONITRUS-tá(-x?)), 650 (TONITRUS-tà(-x?)), 660 (TONITRUS-x), 661 (TONITRUS-[…]), 662 (TONITRUS-…?). Several attestations exist of the name TONITRUS.URBS-*li* (Tarḫuntassili/Nerikkaili). Also Dinçol-Dinçol 2008, 21, n. 18a (TONITRUS-*tà*-URBS-*li*) attested on several seals.
[621] Some archaeological contexts are quite important in this respect. Weeden (2018a, 65-66, with additional references) quotes the sealing collections of Temple 8 and Temple 12. In Temple 8 a good number of typologically "Old Hittite" seal impressions correlates with numerous tablet finds, paleographically dated to the "Middle Hittite" period – ns. late Old Kingdom (i.e. 15th c.-early 14th c.); three old seals attributed to 16th c. by Dinçol-Dinçol 2008 were found instead in Temple 12, and they are probably old, even if possibly rather early 15th c. than 16th c. Again, more than half of the tablets from this building are certainly MS, and almost all the rest of them are simply too fragmentary for a paleographic analysis (only 2 tablets are NS and LNS). In summary, there is good ground to date these seals to approximately the same time as the texts, i.e. throughout the 15th c.

of signs TONITRUS.BRACHIUM.URBS+*li,* a name read by Hawkins *Tarḫuntaššili* or *Nerikkaili*;[622] BRACHIUM is probably to be read phonetically /ta/, employed as mater lectionis for TONITRUS (TONITRUS-*tà*-URBS-*li*, i.e. "Tarḫunta[ta]"). A similar combination is found in Bo84/400 (*fig. 48*)[623]: TONITRUS MANUS $BONUS_2$ SCRIBA. In this combination, according to the editors, MANUS also has value /ta/, and should be connected with the Hittite verb *da-* "to take", likewise BRACHIUM of the previous example.[624]

The later onomastic evidence might be misleading, though, when employed for reading seals that are probably earlier. One notes that the sign combinations in the seals ns. *fig. 42-45* are simple, mostly of *two* signs, and accompanied eventually by one "title" sign – which might well refer to the role/status of the seal owner – and the auspicious $BONUS_2$ and/or VITA. The brevity of these combinations is hardly compatible with spelling names, especially considering that later on these were spelled employing principally syllabic signs, typically covering most of the underlying phonetics. Additionally, it seems that too many seals have the same combinations, like for example TONITRUS.$BONUS_2$, which would imply that so many functionaries had *the same name,* out of a quite limited set of attestations.

The *typology* of combinations is crucial for an interpretation: TONITRUS is associated to the well-known $BONUS_2$, independently from the eventual augural formula $BONUS_2$-VITA, i.e. the sign $BONUS_2$ should be read "good", and ought to refer to the "Storm-god". The combination can be well read as a formula, or motto, like "well (being for/from the) Storm-god", "good (is) the Storm-god", or alternatives of the sort. Notably, this would not be particularly dissimilar from how the motto $BONUS_2$-VITA is conceived. This evidence would show that the early combinations of signs should be read as votive or augural formulae, and it is not incidental that they appear to involve deities in several instances.[625] As concerns the titles, I

[622] ref. in Dinçol-Dinçol 2008, 21, seal n. 18.
[623] Dinçol-Dinçol 2008, 23 seal n. 29
[624] The name would be also found in the spelling TONITRUS.PUGNUS, attested in Tarsus and Nişantepe (ref. Dinçol-Dinçol 2008, 23, n. 177). On the value /ta/ of a variety of related signs (BRACHIUM, PUGNUS, L.32, L.39, L.40, L.41) ibid. p. 67.
[625] It would be interesting to verify, systematically, how many of the early combinations involve symbols that can be interpreted as divine: the votive interpretation potentially clarifies the meaning of many combinations, for

suspect that the continuity in use of many of these signs suggests consistency in their reading through time, i.e. they were plausibly titles already in the early documentation. If this reconstruction is correct, many seals, including that of Išpudaḫšu, might be read at face value, with their augural formulae *and,* frequently, the title of the individual owner.

Yakubovich suggested something similar, and understood REX to refer to Išpudaḫšu himself, thus reading the sign as a true title of the owner. The problem with this reading, however, is that it can't apply to the parallel from Ḫattuša ns. *fig. 41a*, where REX can't be the title of the seal *owner*, as this is certainly not a royal seal. Note that REX, otherwise, is not very frequently employed in early seals; while it probably already meant "king", Hittite Old Kingdom royal seals did not use it as they only employed cuneiform, apart from the two augural signs VITA and $BONUS_2$. Following Mora (1991), there is only a third attestation of the sign REX, in the following seal:

LOUV 8 A1029 (*fig. 49*) Delaporte 1923, 201; tav. 101 4e; cit. Hogart 1920, 75; Mora 1987, 25 n. Ib 1.5

bottom face: $BONUS_2$ | "REX[?]" (evtl. *+li??:* Mora 1987) | DOMINA

stamp seal, hematite, hammer handle

provenance: unknown

dating: 16th?-15th (Mora 1987)

Not much can be said about this seal, but the presence of the single sign REX in the center might indicate this is, potentially, a royal seal.[626] In the case of the seal of Išpudaḫšu, instead, the sign belongs to a combination <Storm-god – king> that can be read as a formula, such as "the Storm-god (is) king".

example in seals like Dinçol-Dinçol 2008 ibid. n. 25: $SOL.BONUS_2$ (HASTARIUS), or combinations like ibid. n. 19: $SOL.CERVUS_3$. While other early seals with more complex combinations might indeed indicate names – such as ibid n. 33, with a double "trident", perhaps L.158 and to be read logographically *Kulitta,* and the antler $CERVUS_3$, i.e. "Kulitta-Kurunta (?)"– the existence of more complex auspicious formulae can't be excluded either.

[626] A very strange use of the sign MAGNUS.REX is attested on a seal preserved in Baltimore (BALT 1; Mora 1987, 68, n. IIIb 2.1; reproduced in Hogart 1920, 75 fig. 79), ns. *fig. 67*, dating probably to late 15th-early 14th c. Several AH signs and other symbols are arranged in the seal's edge, but can't be read as an inscription or even as AH signs. They seem to be employed decoratively; see the discussion in Mora 1987, 78.

If one has to explore the possibility that the AH inscription in the seal of Išpudaḫšu contains, instead, a name, the most notable parallels for such sign combination can be found only in later seals of Great King Muwatalli II. Similarly to the case of other Great Kings of the New Kingdom and Empire period, his seals feature both his 'Anatolian' name *Muwatalli* and his 'Hurrian' name, *Šarri-Teššob*. Interestingly, the latter is rendered with two different AH spellings:

-seals of Muwatalli II/ Šarri-Teššob (*fig. 51-52*)

Bo 91/1215 (*fig. 51*)	Herbordt et al. 2011, 133, n. 41.2	
	MAGNUS.REX BOS_2-*tà-li*	"Great King Muwatalli"
	MAGNUS.REX SUPER.*TEŠUB*-*pa* (*318-*pa*)	"Great King Šarri-Teššob"
Bo 90/359 (*fig. 52*)	Herbordt et al. 2011, 126, n. 39.11.	
	MAGNUS.REX BOS_2-*tà-li*	"Great King Muwatalli"
	SOL_2 MAGNUS.REX* **TONITRUS.MAGNUS.REX**	"The Sun, Great King Teššob:Šarri > Šarri-Teššob" (*in "aedicula" layout)

The reading of the two spellings as Šarri-Teššob (and consequently their equivalence),[627] is confirmed by the cuneiform inscriptions of some of the king's seals (e.g. Herbordt et al. 2011, 125, n. 39; the question is discussed in detail in ibid. 94-96). The writing TONITRUS.MAGNUS.REX indicates clearly that TONITRUS was employed here for the name *Teššob*, and not for *Tarḫunta.* The sign L.318, read *TEŠUB,* was in fact introduced only in the Empire period, always complemented with *–pa*, but still alternating with TONITRUS.[628] This spelling is quite close to the problematic Tarsus seal; it shows the inventiveness of some of these rebus writings and the semantic flexibility in sign usage (phonetic, pseudo-phonetic, logographic, ideographic, etc.). In this case, for example, note the reverse *ordo membrorum* of the components but also

[627] The equivalence and the identification of the two rebus writings goes back to Nowicki 1983. I reference here only the names of the king, not the rest of the seal impression.
[628] Herbordt 2005, 435.

the use, phonetically irrelevant, of MAGNUS together with REX, perhaps hinting to the status of the name holder, or for its visual component.[629]

Going back to the seal of Išpudaḫšu, while one can't absolutely exclude that the signs spell out the king's name (or *one* of them, eventually), the previous considerations suggest otherwise. The idea that TONITRUS.REX is a name, but might indicates a person *different* than Išpudaḫšu can be dismissed, instead, as also contradicts the content of any other attested digraphic seal.

If the inscription bears a name, I see two possible solutions: TONITRUS.REX stands for a name of the type Teššob-Šarri/Šarri-Teššob, like in the case of Muwatalli II, and this would be a *second* name, possibly Hurrian, of Išpudaḫšu. Carruba sought a similar solution, proposing that king Išpudaḫšu was the same person as a certain Taruḫšu, mentioned in the edict of Telipinu as one of the plotters of the murder of the sons of Ammuna, later exiled together with the other guilty parties.[630] The name Taruḫšu is Anatolian, and the reading implies the equation of TONITRUS with a form *Taru,* the Hattian name of the Storm-god, and that <*–hšu*> stands for *ḫ(a)ššu* / REX; this is very tentative, as Carruba already acknowledged.

The other solution for an onomastic interpretation is that the combination should be read as a complex pseudo-phonetic or non-phonetic rebus writing for the name Išpudaḫšu *itself*, but any solution seems excessively complex.[631] It appears, in fact, that in all rebus writings of names, a *phonetic* indication of the beginning of the name is present, and there are reasons to think that even the still obscure rebus writing for *Mursili* is based on phonetic principle, likewise all other AH spellings of Hittite dynastic names.[632] Any of this seems hard to apply to the function of TONITRUS here.

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[629] See *fig. 52* with the row of MAGNUS.REX signs resulting from the visual combination of the name and the surrounding *aedicula* with the royal titles. Note that the other spelling is equally imaginative, with the sign SUPRA, whose phonetic underlying value *šari/a* is employed pseudo-phonetically to write *šarri* "king".
[630] Carruba 1974, 89 ff., re-discussed in Desideri-Jasink 1990, 61.
[631] The first element may be chosen for close consonantal resemblance (tšp > špt). This pseudo-phonetic connection could – in this particular case – deliberately exploit the symbolic significance of the Storm-god sign.
[632] I recently discussed this matter in Trameri 2019, 265-266.

The onomastic interpretation remains quite unconvincing also for the date of the seal. In the late 16th c. there was no consistent tradition of writing names with AH signs, and even if few early examples perhaps exist, the majority of seals employs combinations of few signs that seem to convey auspicious formulary. This does not mean that the signs themselves had no meaning, and in fact it appears that in this time the process of progressive standardization of values and readings was already taking place. At the end of the OH period (late 15th c.) the application of phonetic principle and a complete codification of the repertoire of signs – also with the introduction of new ones – was basically completed; at this stage the earlier system of symbols was entirely replaced by a full-fledged script, which was at least in some respect a complex development of it.

Therefore, it seems quite likely that the inscription of the Išpudaḫšu seal should be read as a dedicatory or auspicious formula for the Storm-god. A formula like "the Storm-god is king" might be read 'theologically', in reference to the Hurrian myth of divine succession, most likely relevant in Kizzuwatna before the importation of the Hurrian mythological tradition in Hittite context. Alternatively, the inscription refers to the divine patronage over the authority of the king, if the title refers to Išpudaḫšu (as proposes Yakubovich). This would be a formula alike lat. "Dei gratia rex", although in my view this would conflict with attestations of the same formula in other seals of non-royal status from Boğazköy.

As it would provide an important term of comparison, it is unfortunate that the seal of another king of Kizzuwatna, Pilliya, is badly preserved on the famous Alalaḫ tablet which contains an agreement between him and Idrimi (AlT 3; *fig. 55*).[633] It is virtually certain that this Pilliya is the king of Kizzuwatna of the *purification ritual* CTH 475 and the *Treaty with Zidanta II* (both discussed later in this chapter). It is most certainly a tablet issued in Kizzuwatna and so far the only known sealed document that was there

[633] Ed. Wiseman 1953, 31-32 (n. 3); The text is discussed in detail later in this chapter (§5.7).

produced.[634] The visible traces show that the seal had clearly a perimeter ring of cuneiform inscription, as in the case of Išpudaḫšu's.[635] I obtained enhanced photographs of the object from the British Museum, to verify whether more traces are visible on the surface. It was quite surprising, in fact, to learn that part of a sign is indeed clearly visible in the upper part of the central field. The visible traces of this sign – a tall, acute-pointed sign tilted some 45° clockwise – are perhaps compatible with the shape of TONITRUS as impressed on the Išpudaḫšu seal (*fig. 55b*) and the size of the seals matches, at least on the basis of the available measurements.[636] If this conjecture were to be confirmed, there would be evidence that Pilliya employed on his own seal the same combination of AH signs of the seal of Išpudaḫšu some two generations later. The implications are not trivial, since not only the reading as formula would become virtually certain, solving a long-standing issue, but it could be argued that the inscription was in fact employed as a dynastic "motto", or heraldic visual design – like a coat of arms – of the royal house of Kizzuwatna.

5.3.3 Digraphic seals in Anatolia

From a formal point of view, the seal of Išpudaḫšu is the earliest known example of digraphic seal with cuneiform ring inscription and complex combination of AH signs in the center,[637] a type whose visual layout will find substantial application in Hittite context. Digraphic inscriptions were adopted in the Hittite royal sealing tradition only in the New Kingdom. While proto-AH inscriptions on seals were in use in central Anatolia since the Old Kingdom, the contemporary royal seals did not use them, and belong

[634] The deities overseeing the agreement match with the Syrian-Kizzuwatnean milieu of the contractors: Storm-god and Sun-god are probably the Hurrian Teššob and Šimige, and Išḫara was a very important deity both in Kizzuwatna and western Syria. In Hurro-Hittite context the goddess was especially connected to oath swearing.
[635] Wiseman also indicated these traces in his hand copy of the tablet (1953, pl. IV).
[636] The seal impression from Tarsus measures ca. 2-2.2 cm in diameter. On the basis of the measurements of the Alalaḫ tablet provided in Wiseman 1953, 31 and on the photographs, the seal measures here ca. 2.3 cm.
[637] I mean "digraphic" independently from the content and reading of the AH inscription.

to a distinct tradition which employed exclusively cuneiform writing. The conservatism of this tradition is shown by the small variation in the typology of royal seals from the late 16th to the late 15th c.

The introduction of digraphic seals in central Anatolia represents, broadly speaking, the last of a three-stages' process of graphic development of Hittite royal seals:

1- The earliest seals feature double ring with cuneiform inscription and central field with rosette, ankh and triangle (VITA and $BONUS_2$). The inscription does not mention the personal name of the king, but only the title Tabarna. These seals can be rather safely attributed to Telipinu (*fig. 34*; seals n. 1[?] and 2-5 in Rüster-Wilhelm 2012).[638] The inscription reads as follows:

(outer ring) –	^{na4}KIŠIB *ta-ba-ar-na* LUGAL.GA[L]	Seal of Tabarna, Great King
(inner ring) –	*ša* ˹*uš*˺*-pa-aḫ-ḫu* BA.Ú[Š]	whoever alters (i.e. the words) shall die.

2- The successor of Telipinu, Alluwamma, added his own name to the cuneiform inscription, an innovation adopted by all following rulers; seals of Hantili II, Zidanta II, Taḫurwaili, Ḫuzziya II, Muwatalli I exist (Rüster-Wilhelm 2012 n. 7-12; e.g. *fig. 53*). After Hantili II, the curse formula became more explicit: <*ša a-wa-sú uš-pa-aḫ-ḫu* BA.ÚŠ> "whoever alters its words shall die". The central field dropped ankh and triangle, and the rosette took up the whole space. One anonymous seal (perhaps of Telipinu) already showed this new layout (n. 6 in Rüster-Wilhelm 2012): the ankh, still featured in this seal and located within the cuneiform inscription, was abandoned altogether later on. Seals also became progressively larger, from an average of ca. 3-3.5 cm to ca. 4.5 cm of diameter. Otherwise, with these rulers, the typology

[638] Only the land grant from İnandık could be (slightly) earlier; see Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 49; 58. There are two other peculiar seals: SBo I 91 and SBo I 90 (=Beran 1967 n. 148 and 149). They are small seals (diam. ca. 2.2 and 2.6 cm), with the Tabarna ring inscription, one with the SCRIBA sign in the central field, the other (heavily broken), with sign L.438 (PASTOR) visible (*fig. 66a-b*). It is possible that these seals were used by important functionaries on behalf of the king (Beran 1967, 67, after Bossert and Riemschneider; see notes n. 11-12; Mora 1987, 84-85). Typologically, for their very small dimension and the absence of the king's names, they might be contemporary with the earliest Tabarna seals; however, variants of the "anonymous" Tabarna type are also attested later on (see *infra*, and ns. *fig. 59*).

remains substantially unaltered throughout time, with only minor variations in the shape and decoration of the central rosette.[639]

3- On the basis of the available documentation, it appears that the conservative tradition of royal seals underwent substantial innovations with Tudḫaliya I. The digraphic seal Bo 99/69 (*fig. 54*) is currently the earliest known Hittite royal seal of this type.[640] The attribution to this ruler, rather than to the later Tudḫaliya II(/III), is confirmed by the genealogy of the king found in the seal inscription, where he is said to be "son of Kantuzili". This Kantuzili is hardly the "Priest of Kizzuwatna", son of Arnuwanda, and must be the plotter, together with Ḫimuili, of the murder of Muwatalli I – although a minority opinion of the contrary also exists.[641] In the land grants this new type of seal is first attested with the seal of the royal couple Arnuwanda and Ažmo-Nikkal (*fig. 56*).

There are few other remarkable documents from the period of Tudḫaliya I: a group of royal seals of particular typology (Beran's group XIV) includes also seals of queens.[642] These are characterized by "full" cuneiform inscription, in the outer ring *and* in the central field. Most of these inscriptions drop the curse formula[643] (n. 152-155, Herbordt n. 2), completely abandoned afterwards, and employ either the sign SIG$_5$ or TI in the central field (in few cases both), as cuneiform equivalents of the AH signs VITA and BONUS$_2$ of

[639] On the differentiation of the rosette as additional individual identifier see Börker-Klähn 1993. It seems that each king's seal had a different rosette, which might have helped disambiguating the attribution of a royal seal for those unable to read the inscription. Another goal could be to prevent attempts of falsification.
[640] Otten 2000; discussed also in Herbordt et al. 2011, 46, 67.
[641] See a discussion by Bawanypeck apud Herbordt et al. 2011, 67, *contra* Soysal 2003, who collects arguments for a later dating, to Tudhaliya II/III; see also the convincing remarks of Miller (2004, 5-6 n. 4) for an attribution to Tudḫaliya I.
[642] Beran 1967, 68 ff, group XIV: n. 151-159; Herbordt et al. 2011, n. 1-7, discussed also by Hakwins 2011 in ibid., 85-86. Similar seals were also found at Kayalıpınar-Šamuḫa (Müller-Karpe et al. 2009, 188, figs. 2-3). On the Early Empire queens seals: Hawkins 2011c (VI.1, p. 85-86). Note that seals of queens must have existed earlier than the time of Tudḫaliya: a queen's seal from the Nişantepe corpus recalls the early seals of the Tabarna type, being anonymous (featuring only the title Tawananna) and for its curse formula (*fig. 58*; Herbordt et al. 2011, 108, n. 1). A date in the 15th c. seems reasonable: that anonymous royal-rank seals were still in use in 15th c. would be demonstrated also by one peculiar Tabarna-seal found at Maşat Höyük (*fig. 59*).
[643] Similarly to n. 154 (SBo I 78) and 155 (SBo I 79) and Ku 97/61 "Tawananna Great Queen". Discussed in Bawanypeck apud Herbordt et al. 2011 p. 65-66)

the earlier tradition.[644] For example, one seal of queen shows central field inscribed with the sign SIG$_5$, and not the traditional central rosette (*fig. 57*).[645] This kind of seals with only cuneiform inscription was abandoned at least by mid-14th c.

To Tudḫaliya I probably belongs Bo 90/1013 (*fig. 60*).[646] This poorly preserved seal features a single cuneiform sign TI ("life") in the central field, corresponding to VITA. The whole inscription is preserved, instead, in a similar seal of Arnuwanda: <^{na4}KIŠIB ^{m}*Ar-*[*nu-w*]*a-an-ta* LUGAL.GAL DUMU / ^{m}*Tù-ut-ḫa-li-ia* LUGAL.GAL> (*fig. 61*).[647] Together with the digraphic seal of Tudḫaliya (*fig. 54*), this seal also shows another significant characteristic introduced in seals at this time, which is the genealogical element.

In this respect, the parallel of the personal seal of queen Ažmo-Nikkal is quite remarkable (*fig. 62*).[648] In this case the usage of the *maternal* lineage is unique, as will be discussed later (ch. 7). This seal is also interesting in that its concise formula is entirely parallel – first case in the evidence – to that of the Išpudaḫšu seal, including the particularity of the absence of the person-gender determinative on the name of the parent.[649] In both cases this could be due to reasons of space, but the masculine determinative sign would not take up as much space as the sign MUNUS. One could speculate on the Kizzuwatnean origin of the queen mother (discussed in §7.4.1), thus the possibility of the transfer of a local formulary, assuming the use remained consistent since the time of the ancestor Išpudaḫšu.

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[644] Beran n. 156 (SBo I 81), 157 (SBo I 82). This shows, first of all, the equivalence between cuneiform SIG$_5$- Anat. Hier. BONUS$_2$ and cun. TI – Anat. Hier. VITA, but, in my view, also that in earlier time the two AH signs *had* linguistic realization, and could be read as auspicious formula. This is also shown by the fact that TI stands as abbreviation of the blessing formula TI LUGAL "life (for the) king", found in other seals of the period (e.g. in SBo I n. 58, Beran 1967 n. 203 (see *fig. 68*).

[645] Beran n. 151 (SBo I, n. 80): seal of Tawananna Great Queen.

[646] Herbordt et al. 2011, 67, n. 7.

[647] Alparslan/Doğan-Alparslan 2017, 53, 5b. Note that the source of the image and the reference to the object are not quoted in this article. The drawing shows this is a much better preserved print of the same seal n. 153 in Beran 1967 (=SBo I n. 76), but the seal is mistakenly captioned as an anonymous "Tabarna" seal along with the seal impression found on the Inandık tablet.

[648] Herbordt et al. 2011, n. 3 (Bo 90/239), better preserved in the impression SBo I 77 (Beran 1967 n. 152).

[649] Unless one should read the inscription: ^{f}*Aš-mu-ni-kal* MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL **DUMU** ^{f}*Ni-kal-ma-ti,* and not **DUMU.MUNUS** *Ni-kal-ma-ti.* This seems less likely.

While seals of queens existed also before the time of Tudḫaliya, the creation of combined seals of king and queen as royal couple is another relevant novelty of the early New Kingdom. Until recently, the first attested case of such double seals was the one of Arnuwanda and Ažmo-Nikkal (*fig. 56*), but a remarkable find turned up at Kayalıpınar-Šamuḫa, a digraphic seal of the predecessors Tudḫaliya I and Nikkal-madi (Kp 09/12; *fig. 63*).[650] This shows that also this typology was presumably introduced by Tudḫaliya, adding up to the amount of innovations originating during his reign. The "political" relevance of some of these aspects in seals will be discussed in chapter 7, in consideration of the familial and dynastic history of the royal family in the late 15th and 14th c.

The discussion of some of these later materials has been anticipated in this section as it is of interest that some characteristics of the Išpudaḫšu seal, notably the digraphic nature and the content and form of the cuneiform inscription, have close similarities with some of the documents from the time of Tudḫaliya, whose reign marks a substantial watershed in the Hittite royal sealing tradition. Note also that some unprecedented, perhaps "experimental" types, were also devised around the same time, such as those with central cuneiform formulae, which were in use only for some time in the early 14th c. Since the introduction of AH inscriptions in the central field is an absolute novelty in royal seals, one wonders whether these less frequent full cuneiform types can be seen as a conservative variant of the new digraphic types since, while privileging cuneiform writing, they are also clearly modelled on the digraphic layouts. They appear roughly at the same time as the latter type, and were dropped when the digraphic form consolidated as the new standard. Since the employ of proto-AH signs (and in the 15th c. AH script proper) was already well attested in central Anatolia for seals of officials of lower ranks, but for some reasons the previous Hittite royal sealing tradition made no use of them, it seems that cuneiform was

[650] First presented in Müller-Karpe et al. 2009; discussed also in Soysal 2011, 66.

perceived as royal prerogative, and in fact it remained employed – in the new digraphic form – almost exclusively for royal seals.[651]

The question, which remains open, is whether the Kizzuwatnean tradition had a role in this development, and why this innovation in the Hittite royal sealing's tradition happened (ch. 7).

5.3.4. Form and content: the seal in historical perspective

The analysis of the seal of Išpudaḫšu brought up several points of interest for this chapter's discussion. Some generations before Tudḫaliya I, during whose reign the digraphic form in Hittite royal seals was presumably introduced, the type was already attested in Kizzuwatna. The evidence seems to indicate that (proto-)AH inscriptions in seals, typical already of 16th c., were still employed roughly at the same time both in central Anatolia and Cilicia; the kind of semiotic system these inscriptions convey hence belong to a shared horizon at least at the end of the 16th century. Thus, even if the influx of central Anatolia for the employ of this system in Cilicia is likely, the local dynasty of Kizzuwatna shows a different attitude towards the (proto-)AH signs' system, in comparison with the situation in the Hittite kingdom.

The Kizzuwatnean "tradition" of royal seals – as far as one can talk about tradition, since only one example exists – clearly shows independent traits, for the usage of digraphic form, and of a different cuneiform script, close to the northern Mesopotamian and Levantine milieu. When the Hittite kings of the Early New Kingdom dynasty adopted new sealing types, with innovations in both form and content, not necessarily they took inspiration from the tradition of Kizzuwatna, but one notes that some specific similarities between the two traditions exist. This is particularly interesting since the Early New Kingdom is a moment of substantial changes in the Hittite state in many respects, and the reign of

[651] Few exceptions are listed in Archi 2016, 22 n. 37. See also the seal of a scribe Ziti (Beran n. 117; ns. *fig. 64*) and the seal of Kantuzili in ns. *fig. 69*.

Tudḫaliya, in particular, marks the beginning of a stronger connection with Kizzuwatna, glaringly evidenced by his presumable matrimonial union with Nikkal-madi (§7.4.1). Afterwards, various forms of Kizzuwatnean cultural correlates emerge in Hittite context at various levels. In the next chapters the role of Tudḫaliya and the Ḫattuša-Kizzuwatna connection, which corresponds with the birth of the Hittite New Kingdom, will be discussed in better detail. This section showed that a quantity of innovations in sealing practice clearly clusters chronologically around the reign of this king, and that similarities in form and content between the new seals and the earlier one of Išpudaḫšu have potential historical-cultural implications.

Throughout the Old Kingdom, Hittite royal seals remained inspired to the early Tabarna seals, and the tradition did not undergo substantial modifications. The use of *cuneiform* was perceived as a royal prerogative, vs. the use of AH script, largely employed in the 'lower' echelons of the administration. It is tempting to see the Kizzuwatnean precedent as a possible model for the new digraphic form, to be connected with the increasing political convergence of the two kingdoms and their contemporary contacts (discussed in ch. 7).[652]

It remains to evaluate the historical-political significance of the seal of Išpudaḫšu and the kind of information provided by its content. Remarkable in the seal is the usage of the title "Great King", which is not a trivial political statement. It is unclear whether Išpudaḫšu could flaunt the title only before his subjects or could also claim it in face of the Hittite peer; the latter seems unlikely, provided that the title Great King is exclusive and para-territorial. Indeed, there is no reference to Kizzuwatna in the seal, but in the *treaty with Telipinu* Išpudaḫšu is only conceded the title "king". The problem is discussed in the following section.

[652] In this sense, an example such as the individual seal of Ažmo-Nikkal is particularly notable, because it involves individuals of the royal family that had ostensible ties to Kizzuwatna for their ascendance, Nikkal-madi being very likely a native of the land.

5.4 Kizzuwatna, a "Great Kingdom"?

While the seal of Išpudaḫšu employs the title Great King, it will be shown that neither the treaty with Telipinu nor any other treaty with Kizzuwatna grant the title to its kings (next §5.5). It seems clear that both parts agreed in recognizing only the Hittite ruler as "Great King". The reason may be that the seal found at Tarsus indicates internal usage of the title, limited to a local political discourse. However, questions of rank were not taken lightly at international level.

As Liverani (2001, 39) pointed out, the Late Bronze Age regional states had to develop new systems of representation of prestige at international level, for the forceful abandonment of the older centralist ideologies. One visible element in this background is the attention to matters of title and rank. Strongly formalized behavior in international correspondence and diplomatic relationships did not allow margins for misunderstandings, thus the contradiction between the employ of the title Great King by Išpudaḫšu in his seal and its absence in other documents is not unproblematic. However, it appears that the question has been largely disregarded in literature.[653]

In the Late Bronze Age, misrepresentations of status within the international system of diplomacy raised controversies and went against conventions and the strength of tradition. Famously, several documents reveal the Hittite (and Babylonian) irritation over the manners of the Middle-Assyrian kings in the 13th c. The Hittites were reluctant to acknowledge the new status of Assyria as "Great kingdom", and the protagonists of the diplomatic correspondence at times do not conceive a certain irony.[654] Protests arose even just from inadequate formulations in greetings and addressing conventions.[655]

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[653] Brief comments in Desideri-Jasink 1990, 61 n. 18.

[654] E.g. KBo 18.24 vs. I 10: *nu=za* LUGAL.GAL *kuit UL-za 2-an taparanza* "(...) since you are a Great King, and not ruling as a second-rank" (i.e. you should, then, behave as such), and KUB 23.102 vs. I 14-19: (...) *zik=za=kan ammukk=a* ˹1-*e*˺ *dani* AMA-*ni ḫaššanteš* (...) *zikk=a=mu* [ŠEŠ-*UT-TA*] *Ù?* [LUGAL].GAL-*UT-TA-ia lē ḫatrešḫši* "(...) were you and I born from one mother? (...) you shall not keep writing me [about broderhood] and Great Kingship" (ed. Hagenbuchner 1989 n. 188, n. 192; also Beckman 1999 n. 24A).

[655] Several examples in Liverani 2001, 41 ff.

These information come chiefly from 14-13th c. sources, but the employ of the title Great king in Anatolia appears to be already well-established in the Old Hittite kingdom since the time of Ḫattusili I.[656] By 15th c., this appanage appears to be well-regulated internationally; for example, the Idrimi statue inscription does not assign the title to the king of Mittani, and this is hardly a coincidence (see §5.7). It means that in the early/mid-15th c. his status was not yet recognized at international level and even his subordinate (Idrimi) employed a different terminology to acknowledge his eminent status.[657] Only in the Amarna age the kings of Mittani began to be addressed as Great Kings.

For the history of the concept and the meaning of the title throughout time one can refer to the concise treatment of Weeden (2018b, 218-220) and previously the article of Artzi and Malamat (1993). It is well-known that in the M-LBA the title indicates a king to whom other minor rulers were subordinated, and its employ suggests an imperial territorial layout. But this depends as well on the context in which the term is used. While "its older meaning (...) is that of the elder of a group of kings usually used contrastively to indicate the greater of two in local vs. regional contexts" (Weeden 2018b, 219), the political meaning varied according to the historical circumstances in which it was used, and reasons of diplomacy and propaganda.[658] In the Amarna age there is the contradiction of a *group* of Great Kings that recognize each other's "greatness" over their respective area. They are peers at the highest diplomatic level internationally; equal rank is additionally stressed by the employ of the appellation "brother" to address

[656] Weeden 2018b; Artzi-Malamat 1993, 31. For previous titles, attested in the Kanišite texts and still employed by Anitta (e.g. *rubā´um rabi´um*) see ibid. (30, §3.4.2).
[657] Idrimi statue ll. 43-44: (...) ^{m}*Ba-ra-at-tar-na* LUGAL *dan-nu* / LUGAL ERIN$_2^{meš}$ *ḪUR-RI*^{ki} "Barattarna, mighty king, king of the Hurrian troops/the Hurrians"; ed. Lauinger 2017. On the inscription see more in §5.7.2.
[658] An interesting case is that of Aḫḫiyawa. Occasionally, the king of Aḫḫiyawa in Hittite documents was also called Great king. However, one document reveals mixed feelings about the concession of the title: in the treaty between Šaušga-muwa of Amurru and Tudḫaliya IV the designation of the king of Aḫḫiyawa, listed as an equal to the kings of Ḫatti, Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria, was initially written but then erased (Beckman et al. 2011, 67-68). The locus is much debated, and has been seen as the indication of the loss of status of Aḫḫiyawa at this late time (e.g. Bryce 2005, 308), or even that the rank was previously attributed on occasion just as a rhetorical and diplomatic expedient (Beckman 2003, 758; also Weeden 2018b, 220).

each other in official correspondence. On the contrary, from an internal perspective, within the circumscribed domain of an individual ruler, there can only be one Great King at a time.

Thus, how to interpret the claim of Išpudaḫšu to be Great King in his seal, and the absence of this title in the treaties? Ultimately, the issue is whether the title implies that there could be – from a "domestic" perspective – only *one* Great King in Anatolia. If so, Išpudaḫšu was with this statement challenging (at least at an ideological level) the Hittite kingdom's hegemonic role in Anatolia, since the kings of Ḫattuša since a long time claimed Great Kingship. That the title was exclusive can be perhaps inferred from the fact that the seal does not refer to a specific territory (i.e. Kizzuwatna). The alternative is that the Hittite king and the king of Kizzuwatna could be peer-Great Kings, within an "international" perspective.

The question is difficult, since the sources are evidently contradictory. At the Hittite eyes, Kizzuwatna certainly enjoyed a high status in 15th c., which is particularly well-shown when its role was reduced with the stipulation of the treaty with Sunaššura (§7.3). As Liverani (1973a; 2001, 43) pointed out, a great deal of attention was dedicated to preserve the formalities of a long-lasting tradition of diplomacy:

> "As in the case of Mitanni, so with Kizzuwatna the contours of practical submission to Hatti are clearly visible, (...). Yet at the formal level it is basically a question of rank, a concern for symmetry, a refusal to countenance the complete annihilation of a once 'great kingdom'." (Liverani 2001, 43).

The prerogatives still conceded to Kizzuwatna within this new status of subordination suggest, with Liverani, that this had been seen as a peer "Great Kingdom" previously. The content of the series of parity treaties also suggests equal rank, with the exception of the different titulary.

Išpudaḫšu, employing the title in his seal, could hardly make a claim on his own which went unnoticed. An "abuse" of the title would have certainly enraged the Hittite rulers as an unacceptable challenge. Whether the claim was justified or not, – i.e. had some basis in the political importance that Kizzuwatna had reached at this time – *if* it was only proposed from one party, this would have been at least contested, or hesitantly recognized by the Hittite authorities. When, much later, Kuruntiya of Tarḫuntašša (late 13th

c.) styled himself as Great King, this was unprecedented, and it was possible only as the outcome – whether peaceful or not – of the Hittite inner political crisis of the late decades of the Empire.[659]

It is possible that a Hittite reaction to the growing authority of Kizzuwatna – of which the seal is a clear index – may have led to direct confrontation, and to diplomatic negotiations testified by the treaty of Telipinu and Išpudaḫšu. There is no evidence to suggest this stipulation was preceded by military encounter, but a challenge to the Hittite leadership in Anatolia may provide a background to these developments and ultimately the stipulation of a parity (peace?) treaty. Otherwise, it is possible that the difficult internal situation during the kingdom of Telipinu (*infra* §5.5.1) also or chiefly explains the need to seek new allies internationally. This alternative – or additional – reason also fits well with the context, but gives more emphasis to the Hittite kingdom's internal political dynamics than to the specific relations with Kizzuwatna.

If Išpudaḫšu, on the contrary, could call himself Great King because in a specific historical moment he was able to claim this status at both internal and international level, this rank may have been acknowledged by the Hittite kingdom as well. In this case Išpudaḫšu could consider himself a peer of the Hittite Great King in southern Anatolia.

Either way, it is inescapable that the kings of Kizzuwatna later surrendered the title during the stipulation of various treaties with the Hittite kingdom, otherwise presenting perfect parity provisions. The apparent renounce to the title is meaningful and betrays, already from the outset, an imperfect parity of relationships. This means that formally the status of parity was not recognized by the Hittites on all levels. Through the exclusive use of the title Great King, the Hittite kings claim, ultimately, a higher

[659] A summary in de Martino 2016, 96-98 and recently Bryce 2019, 54-56; for the view that two Great Kings co-existed at the same time in the late Empire see Singer 1996c. For seals of Kuruntiya as Great King see Hawkins 2011c, 100; for the relief of Hatip see Ehringhaus 2005, 101-107.

position, although duties and prerogatives in the stipulations are the same for both parts.[660] The situation reveals political weakness on the Hittite side but, ideologically, the interest in maintaining the title prerogative on the basis of the hegemonic role that Ḫattuša held in central Anatolia since generations. By reiterating the long tradition in the exclusive use of the title, the documents also show that the kings of Kizzuwatna must have accepted – or at least tolerated – this state of things. This is because, evidently, equality of rank does not necessarily mean equality of status in practical terms, i.e. that two kingdoms saw each other as peers in every respect in the situation in which one was not subordinated to another.

A possible parallel of this situation can be drawn in reference to the peculiar position of Egypt within the international diplomatic system in the later Amarna age. Even when the title Great King was no longer universal, among the members of the "Great Power's club"[661] the king of Egypt never gave up the centralist ideology as a god-king of Egypt and, ultimately, the world. This is not only a self-centered perspective deriving from the Egyptian internal sources: it has been shown, in fact, that within the paritary system at international level, despite the obsession for questions of rank, the ultimate superiority of the pharaohs of Egypt was acknowledged or tolerated by the other rulers.[662]

One may venture suggesting something similar applied to the prestige of the Hittite king *within* an Anatolian perspective. The usage of other exclusive titles which did not apply to other kings (*Tabarna*, ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* "the Sun"), evidently isolated the Hittite conception of kingship, indicating its alterity.[663] These

[660] Similarly Wilhelm (2005c, 96): "ein strikt paritätischer Staatsvertrag ist nur der 1259 v. Chr. zwischen Ḫattusili III. und Ramses II. abgeschlossene Friedens- und Freundschaftsvertrag".
[661] Using the definition coined by Liverani 2000.
[662] See Avruch (2000, 162-164). Exemplary in this sense is the attitude of Tušratta in the correspondence with the pharaoh. Additionally, Avruch noted that various complaints about questions of rank were not addressed by Great Kings *to* the pharaoh in merit to their relationship, but in respect to the attitude of *other* Great Kings vis-à-vis the pharaoh. Exceptionally, Suppiluliuma seems to dare questioning the inherent asymmetry of the system. This emerges, for example, from one letter with his protests over the respective position of his own name and the pharaoh's as those were written down in a previous document (EA 42, 15-18).
[663] This is another element which parallels Hittite kingship with the kingship in Egypt, where many exclusive titles existed as well, i.e. *pr-ʿ₃* "pharaoh", *ḥm* (/ħɛm/) "majesty"/ "king" as embodiment of kingship, and *nswt* (/nɛsu:t/) "king of Egypt".

aspects may explain the ambiguity of the evidence and the reason for the surrender of the title by the Kizzuwatnean kings, after that Išpudaḫšu early attempted to employ the title for himself.

At a deeper level, Liverani (2001, 7) explains how the 'realities' of diplomacy allow similar inherent asymmetries:

> "The reciprocity pattern brings about, in its optimal form, the existence of two or more peer-ranking partners. Now, parity in rank does not exist 'in reality': it does not exist at an objective level because two persons will always be different according to their place in society (...). It does not even exist at a subjective level, each of the two partners viewing differently their respective ranks". (Liverani 2001, 7).[664]

Ultimately, under the "ideology of reciprocity, quite unequal relations can be seen to exist" (ibid. 8).

In summary, the corpus of treaties signals in first place the existence of latent conflictuality, perhaps after a military clash, but both sides found eventually convenient to set terms. Although these documents indicate perfect equality and highlight the geo-political significance achieved by Kizzuwatna, titulary consistently differentiate the rank of the two rulers, an unbalance that in my view is not necessarily in contradiction with the broader content of the diplomatic corpus.

While this collection of documents is usually taken as indicative of the emancipation of Kizzuwatna from a previous situation of subordination, these texts – at a deeper level – may conceive a more complex reality, suggesting precisely the contrary. While I proposed that during the Old Kingdom the Hittite political presence in Cilicia was scanty, and hardly consistent, there is now more concrete evidence of a mutated interest towards this region, made an ally in a situation of political crisis. In the background, there is a sense of the latent Hittite political pressure, visible at the ideological level in asymmetries of status from the outset of the diplomatic contacts. On practical level, the Hittite aim to ultimately control the region was unrealistic at this time, as evidently Kizzuwatna was able to oppose the Hittites as a major

[664] Here Liverani draws specifically from sociological theory, in particular M. Sahlins' (1966) analysis of schemes of reciprocities in social relations of exchange.

power in Anatolia, embodying a role and rank that could not be disputed; however, in the turn of some generations, the momentum in favor of the Hittite side will emerge in the documents quite clearly.

In this framework, one may see the later political shifts in the diplomatic history of Kizzuwatna, with the presumable affiliation to Mittani (see §5.6), also as a reaction against the growing interference from central Anatolia.

5.5 Kizzuwatna and the Hittite kingdom, the diplomatic corpus

5.5.1 Historical context

The period between the reigns of Telipinu and the accession of Suppiluliuma, often called "Hittite Middle kingdom" in literature, is historically problematic not only for the scarcity of sources, but also the difficulties in dating and attributing those available. As a consequence, historical reconstructions of this period remain tentative.[665] One of the main problems is that most of the rulers of this period were namesakes of kings of either the Old or the New Kingdom, thus their identification and the attribution of documents to these rulers is not entirely straightforward.[666] Paleography is an important aid, although it only works in so far as *early* tablets, dating to the period in question, are discussed; late texts may be copies of paleographically MS originals.[667] Apart from the diplomatic texts under discussion here, other important sources for the period are the Land grants of Hittite kings (all published in Rüster-Wilhelm

[665] See Klengel 1999, 85 for an introduction on this problem.
[666] In fact scholars debated whether individual rulers of this time actually *existed* in first place, or these should rather be equated with homonymous kings of the earlier Old Kingdom. Wilhelm (and others, see Beal 1986, n. 49), for example, doubted the existence of Ḫantili (II), Zidanta (II) and Ḫuzziya ("III") in 15th c., opting for a unitarian view, according to which these were the homonymous predecessors of Telipinu. The new dating of the Hittite Land grants, and increasing evidence for the late Old Kingdom period, later provided ground for the historicity of these rulers, which seems now certain.
[667] There are several uncertainties connected with the paleographic dating of Hittite texts and its employ as a tool for establishing an absolute chronology (see e.g. Miller 2004, 463 n. 773; Weeden 2011, 43-56; van den Hout 2009a, 2009b, 2012). However, it is clear that a paleographic evolution of the script does exist, and that at least tablets written in the Old Kingdom and Early New Kingdom can be distinguished from documents produced after the time of Suppiluliuma I.

2012) and the *Offering lists* for the deceased kings and related texts (CTH 610-611). The latter even inform on the names of rulers of the Old Kingdom that, otherwise, would remain unknown.

15th c. diplomatic documents indicate constant contacts between the Hittite kingdom and Kizzuwatna, in the background of the clash between the Hittites and Mittani, their main enemy in Syria. A political role of Cilicia/Kizzuwatna emerges precisely within this larger geo-political scenario of conflicts, for the contested hegemony over northern Syria and the Syrian Upper Euphrates region. The reasons for which these areas were already the principal target for the Hittites since the beginning of the Old Kingdom were evidenced in chapter 4. Kizzuwatna now embodies a new role, representing a potential ally territory within the clash of the two super-powers while, previously, the hegemonic role of the Hittite kingdom in Anatolia and northern Syria was never seriously challenged by other well-organized regional scale polities since the defeat of Yamḫad. At this time, also, the Hittite kingdom seems to be weaker than before: the real preoccupation of Ḫattuša in securing alliance with the southern Anatolian kingdom of Kizzuwatna lies also in this crisis. A stable alliance meant mutual protection against Mittani and aimed at preventing that the potential ally could pass to the enemy side.

At the same time, another reason that may have compelled the Hittite kingdom to set up a formal system of international diplomacy was perhaps the increasing difficulty in controlling areas of interest in northern Anatolia. There are no contemporary texts to inform on the situation in the north, but documents of later date show the perennially fragile equilibrium of the Hittite hold on these territories. The Pontic frontier lands were close to the core of the kingdom, but their control was contested throughout the centuries by loosely institutionalized local populations, referred to in the texts as the Kaška.[668] Some of these territories, albeit strongly connected culturally with the Hittite kingdom since its

[668] Essential bibliography on the Kaška and the relationships with the Hittite kingdom: von Schuler 1965, Klinger 2002b, 2005, Glatz-Matthews 2005, Singer 2007a, Gerçek 2020 (non vidi).

origins, were beyond the geographical borders of the core region, for example the revered holy city of Nerik, probably located at modern Oymaağaç (map *fig. 2b*).

The first documents referring to the Kaška date to the Early New Kingdom (late 15th c.) but a Hittite historiographical tradition exists which dated the loss of the north already at the time of Ḫantili I in the Old Kingdom.[669] The Empire period sources were certainly inaccurate, since the "four hundred years" (KUB 25.21 III 2-5; the sign may be even "five"; Singer 2007, 167) for which the city lay empty after its loss at the time of Ḫantili are too many to match with a plausible chronology. Thus, the historicity of this information is controversial. While Klinger refuted it completely (2002b), Singer (2007a) presents a more nuanced picture. While the specific information remains uncertain, these documents provide at least knowledge that the roots of the situation in the north went back to the Old Kingdom, and this does not seem implausible, especially since there is reason to think that the Kaška tribes were local to north-central Anatolia even before the Hittite conquests.[670] Being pressured both to the north and the south, the Hittite kingdom needed as much support as possible, considering also the precarious political situation depending from the crisis of the kingdom; a factor was probably the inner instability, with the series of usurpations preceding the reign of Telipinu (and including his own).

Within this picture, Kizzuwatna found itself involved in high level diplomatic connections with the Hittite kingdom. From a broader perspective, this experience belongs to a wider system of interactions at supra-regional level, especially characterizing the Near Eastern's Late Bronze Age. Liverani (2001, 38-45) well summarized this new layout, where the forced coexistence of different states implied the abandonment

[669] The Kaška related texts of the Early New Kingdom are the Annals of Tudḫaliya I (CTH 142), a Prayer of Arnuwanda and Ažmo-Nikkal (CTH 375), a group of treaties (CTH 138-140), letters and other documents from Maşat Höyük, and few other less remarkable documents. See also the schematic overview of the evidence in Glatz-Matthews 2005, 53, tab. 1. The Empire period documents referring to the loss of Nerik at the time of Ḫantili are KUB 21.29 (CTH 89.A), which is a decree of Ḫattusili III concerning the people of Tiliura, the Apology of Ḫattusili (CTH 81) and an inventory text concerning the cult of Nerik (KUB 25.21); see Singer 2007a, 167 for references.

[670] Correlation of Kaškean and Hattian linguistic material suggests overlap between the two cultural spheres (see especially the works of G. Giorgadze, referenced in Singer 2007a). It was the Hittites that presumably pushed the habitat of these populations to the northern fringes of the peninsula.

of the earlier ideology of universal control for a multicentered perspective. International diplomacy is in fact one of the highlight phenomena of the centuries 15th-13th.[671]

5.5.2 The diplomatic corpus

The diplomatic corpus of treaties stipulated between Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna was treated in various works.[672] It was not possible for reasons of time to provide a complete re-edition of these texts in the present study; the goal of this chapter is to highlight the historical significance of this corpus, to examine the existent literature on the topic and discuss some philological and interpretative problems.

The treaties with Kizzuwatna are among the earliest texts of diplomatic content found in the Hittite archives.[673] These treaties were conceived as documents whose broader goal was to consolidate diplomatic ties and to promote good relationship between rulers by establishing agreements on various matters of political and economic interest. The two parts acknowledged duties and prerogatives on perfectly equal terms with significant insistence, highlighted by the repetition of formulae and/or symmetric textual structures.

Subsequently, in the Hittite New Kingdom period, the type evolved towards a document defined in literature "vassalage" treaty (but "subordination" is to be preferred).[674] Growing as a supra-regional, imperialistic power, the Hittite kingdom found itself to rule over other countries, but formal relationships

[671] On international law and treaties in the Middle and Late Bronze Age see Zaccagnini 1990, Eidem 2003, Beckman 2003; on broader Ancient Near East see Lafont 2001, the volume ed. by Liverani and Mora (2008). Historical treatments on the international system: Liverani 1990, 2001; Podany 2010. There are very few surviving documents from the MBA, when, traditionally, the procedures were largely oral (Eidem 2003, 747). An early tradition of diplomatic documents, still, existed (a recent overview in Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 74-79), although the status of these texts is essentially different from those of the Amarna age, in terms of treaty-making and value of the contracts; a summary on the characters of the treaties of the Amorite period in Charpin 2010a, 111-114. In the Late Bronze Age more documents are available, preponderantly from the Hittite archives.

[672] Text editions of the individual documents are quoted throughout for each text. A collection of some texts in transliteration and translation in Kitchen-Lawrence 2012, 293-303. Translations of all the treaties in Devecchi 2015a, 63-91. See also Yoshida-Kammenhüber 1995. Some treaties have been published in the online corpus of HPM by G. Wilhelm and F. Fuscagni.

[673] For the basic terminology, see Altman 2004, 45 n. 7. Treaties are, ultimately, contracts – i.e. agreements between two parties, – but in the domain of international law.

[674] This anachronistic usage is particularly misleading, considering the specificity of the medieval vassalage system.

were still modelled on the previous diplomatic customs. It seems possible to suggest in fact that one type derives from the other, and with few exceptions the old type of the parity treaty did not find any use during the New Kingdom.[675]

[1] Treaty between Telipinu and Išpudaḫšu (CTH 21)

I	Akk.	KUB 31.82 (+) KUB 4.76	MS	o/14, building D, put potentially connected with the collection of building A.
II	Hitt.	KUB 31.81	OS	unknown
		KBo 19.36	NS	Temple 1, L/19 old soil
		KBo 19.37	NS	Temple 1, mag. 41

Ed. Del Monte 1981, 210 (partial). Transl. Devecchi 2015a.
Other literature: Otten 1951, 131 n. 10, Popko 2007, 579 n. 17.

[2] Treaty between a Hittite king and Paddatiššu (CTH 26)

I	Akk.	KUB 34.1+ +KBo 28.105a +KBo 28.105b	"SYRIAN" DUCTUS	Building A, room 5.

Ed. Meyer 1953, 112-119; Kitchen-Lawrence 2012, 299-302; Wilhelm 2014e*.
Transl.: Beckman 1999, 11-13; Kitchen-Lawrence 2012, 293-298; Devecchi 2015a, 68-70.
Other literature: Kestemont 1974, 402 ff; Miller 2017 (on king Zidanta II), Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 64-65 for paleography).

[3] Treaty between Taḫurwaili and Eḫeya (CTH 29)

A	Akk.	KBo 28.108 + KBo 28.109 + KUB 3.13 + Bo 9490	MS	Temple 1, L/19 schutt
		(+) Bo 69/200 (seal)		Temple 1, mag. 11-12
B	Akk.	KBo 28.107	"SYRIAN"[676] DUCTUS	Temple 1, L/19 schutt

Ed. Del Monte 1981, 210-213 (partial); transl. Otten 1971, 65-68 (partial); Torri 2005, 392 (partial), Devecchi 2015a, 65-68.
Other literature: Alaura 2004, 143 (on find spot); Balza 2012, 91-92; Archi (x ductus), Wilhelm 2012b.

[4] Treaty between Zidanza and Pilliya (CTH 25)

I	Hitt.	KUB 36.108	MS	Building A, room 5.

Ed. Otten 1951, 129-130; Wilhelm 2014d*; Kitchen-Lawrence 2012, 299-302. Transl.: Devecchi 2015a, 68-70.
Other literature: Miller 2017 (on king Zidanta II), Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 64-65 (for paleography). A 3D model of this tablet is available on HPM.

[675] Notably the treaty with Egypt (CTH 91) and perhaps that with Alašiya (CTH 141). Particular types are the treaties subscribed between the Great King and other members of the royal family at the head of the local dynasties of Karkemiš, Aleppo and Tarḫuntašša, who were acknowledged a higher status than other subordinates on behalf of their lineage (CTH 75 with Aleppo, CTH 50, 122.1 with Karkemiš, CTH 106 with Tarḫuntašša).
[676] But HPM considers it jh. (i.e. NS).

5.5.3 Tablets' characteristics and archaeological context

Several tablets of the treaties appear to be paleographically early, thus presumably contemporary with their context of origin. Other formal aspects are also significant for dating. Most manuscripts assigned to a MS/mh. ductus and that are sufficiently well preserved can be identified in fact as one-column tablets, including one of the Akkadian versions of the Sunaššura treaty (KBo 28.110+).[677] Waal (2015, 88) published a chart with the chronological distribution of single- and two-columned MS/mh. treaty documents, showing large majority of the first.[678] Since many tablets are fragmentary, this is relevant for hypothetical reconstruction and their philological study.[679]

Another element of interest of the Hittite-Kizzuwatna diplomatic corpus is that a good number of these texts were, apparently, collected and preserved in a single location. Studying the find location of tablets of the Ḫattuša collections from an archival perspective, S. Alaura (2004) noted that Building A on the Büyükkale citadel – and in particular room 5 – hosted the complete collection of the treaties with Kizzuwatna, with the exception of the treaty of Taḫurwaili and Eheya (ns. n [2]).[680] While the copies of the treaty between Telipinu and Išpudaḫšu were also found elsewhere, Building A hosted several catalogue tablets, among which KUB 31.8+ (CTH 276 I.a; Dardano 2006, 21-37), whose entries prove a copy of this treaty was hosted here as well.[681] Instead, the main manuscript of the treaty of Taḫurwaili

[677] But a version of the treaty exists – which is also early, – that is written on typical two-column archival copy format (KBo 1.5; see an overview of the manuscripts in Schwemer 2012).
[678] She lists 3 out of 13 tablets which are two-columned, and these certainly include KBo 1.5, the best preserved Akkadian version of the treaty of Sunaššura (see an overview of the manuscripts in Schwemer 2012). I am uncertain of the other two; one may be considered the fragment of the treaty of Taḫurwaili and Eḫeya, but see the discussion of n. [3] *infra*.
[679] In another contribution Waal (2012b, 218 tab. 1) reports average sizes for one-column tablets as 11.8 cm x 20.5 cm. but notes: "in the MH period we can distinguish between *two types* of single-column tablets: some are more or less the same size as those written in NS, but others are much smaller, like those written in the OS".
[680] I recall that most treaties were found by Winkler in the campaigns of 1906, 1907, 1911 and 1912 (especially 1907). Thus, find locations are not always available, but for at least part of the tablets they could be reconstructed at some extent through studies of archival documents from the excavations.
[681] KBo 31.8+KUB 30.42, IV 21-24.

21. DUB 1^{kam} *iš-ḫi-ú-la-<aš>* ^{m}*Iš-pu-da-aḫ-šu-uš-za*
22. LUGAL KUR ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na*
23. ^{m}*Te-li-pí-nu-uš-ša* LUGAL KUR $^{<uru>}$*ḪA-AT-TI*

and Eḫeya was found in the area of Temple 1, along with many other tablets of treaties. It has been suggested that treaties were originally hosted in the Temple archives, before some copies of these documents were collected, consistently, in a *library*, which is the most appropriate definition for Building A.[682] In fact, apart from these tablets, the building also hosted coherent groups of other pre-imperial texts – i.e. dating to the late Old Kingdom and to the Early New Kingdom, – for example the corpus of treaties with the Kaška tribes.[683] The presence of late texts suggests the building dates to the end of the Empire period, and that these tablets could be brought here at this time.[684]

Van den Hout (2008, 91) published a chart showing the high percentage of early texts (Old and "Middle" Hittite) found in Building A, 42.5% of the assemblage, strikingly higher in comparison with the figures of texts from *Haus am Hang* and Temple 1 storage rooms (5.9 and 9.2% respectively). This shows active selection of the tablets collected in this building. It appears also that some of those early tablets cluster in certain typologies or groups of texts – for example the treaties with Kizzuwatna and with the Kaška, – and some are even original documents. From room 4 comes a rare sealed document, an agreement with the people of Paḫḫuwa, probably dating to Arnuwanda or Tudḫaliya III (CTH 212.1; *fig. 72*). Note again that, otherwise, treaties are rare in Building A, and most of them were found in the area of Temple 1 (some from the *Haus am Hang*; Alaura 2004, 143 and n. 17). Still, consulting the list of fragments collected in the HPM concordance under CTH 212 (treaty or instruction texts), one can't avoid but note how many fragments of paleographically MS/mh. treaties were found in this building.

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24. GIM-*an iš-ḫi-ú-ul i-e-er QA-TI*
The Akkadian tablet of the treaty was found in Building D, and the Hittite versions in Temple 1 area. Alaura suggests that despite the distance, the one from Büyükkale could originally derive from the collection of Building A as well (145).

682 See Alaura 2015, 109 ff. Additional bibliography on Building A in van den Hout 2008, 91 n. 7.

683 These all date to the ENK; one text can be attributed to Arnuwanda I (CTH 137), and presumably do the others as well (Klinger 2005). Note that, while exceptional, there were also late copies of these texts (Devecchi 2015a, 110).

684 According to Alaura (2004, 146 n. 32 with references) the presence of other early texts in the vicinities of the building suggest these had to belong to an *earlier* building already, but other explanations can't be excluded.

The catalog-tablet KUB 31.8+ lists other notable ancient texts as well, for example one regarding Tudḫaliya and Nikkal-madi, unfortunately in a fragmentary passage (vs. I 22-24).[685] The largest existing fragment of the *purulli*-festival of Nerik (KUB 30.32) is the copy from Building A, and also one of the few paleographically MS/mh.; since as many as "32 tablets" of the *purulli* are listed in the aforementioned catalog (vs. I 5-6), it is not unlikely that among those were ancient copies of the festival, at least one being extant.

Therefore, it appears that the tablets of Building A were either considered important for their content and grouped thematically (i.e. coherent groups of treaties), or regarded as relevant cultural lore, and were made a permanent collection. A larger dossier of texts thematically related to Kizzuwatna may have existed since, apart from the treaties, many rituals were also collected. For example, the entry in the tablet catalog mentioning the treaty Telipinu-Išpudaḫšu is followed, at the end of the tablet, by the title of the ritual of "Ammiḫatna, Tulpiya and Mati, *purapši*-priests of Kizzuwatna", which is presumably the tablet surviving from Building A (KBo 23.1+; CTH 472). Although mostly late, several fragments of more than one version of the *Ritual of Pilliya, king of Kizzuwatna* (§7.5.2), also come from here. A thematic criterion also emerges evidently in the catalog KBo 31.6.[686] Miller (2004, 30-31) observed that the tablets indexed in this catalog are chiefly rituals of specialists from Kizzuwatna and Arzawa. Also in this case one finds consistent correlation between catalog entries and MS manuscripts found in the building.[687]

The ancient date of many tablets is hardly coincidental, and might have been a factor for their conservation in this location. This does not exclude a more concrete necessity to consult rare, old tablets, maybe collected there also for preservation issues. For whatever reason, the active effort in preserving

[685] This was perhaps a healing ritual (see Dardano 2006, 23 for details).
[686] Ed. Dardano 2006, 181-187; Miller 2004, 32-33.
[687] The reference to Maštigga's ritual against a family quarrel (CTH 404) in this catalog might indicate, according to Miller (2004, 31 n. 49) the late MS/early NS (IIc/IIIa) tablet KBo 44.17 (CTH 404.1.I.B), found in the proximities of Building A. It is not otherwise impossible that the tablet listed is in fact the MS (IIb) copy 1.I.A, found in room 5 (few fragments in room 4, possibly in secondary context).

these documents, some of them bundled as *corpora* (the Kizzuwatna and Kaška treaties), in any case, is evident.[688] This is a remarkable fact, and significant for historical reasons, as it suggests that even at a late time the corpus of treaties with Kizzuwatna was still regarded as significant documentation for the Hittite state, and that there was interest in preserving these old texts.

The picture becomes even more salient if one considers formal aspects of writing in some of the tablets of the treaties with Kizzuwatna. J. Klinger (2001b, 201 n. 18; 2003, 238-239) – followed by other scholars, including for example Miller (2004, 526-530) and Yakubovich (2010a, 274) – discussed the anomalous ductus of some of the Akkadian versions of the treaties with Kizzuwatna found here.[689] Klinger observed that these tablets were, in fact, written with a late Old Babylonian or early Middle Babylonian peripheral ductus, different from both the Hittite one, and the (later) Assyro-Mittanian ductus of the Šattiwaza treaty.[690] This led to the proposal that these few (presumably early) Akkadian tablets were those actually *written down* in the chancellery of Kizzuwatna (e.g. Yakubovich 2010a, 274). Protocol established that copies of the documents were exchanged between the chancelleries, as we know from the famous case of the treaty with Egypt (CTH 91),[691] and from few explicit provisions concerning the conservation and dispatch of tablets of treaties.[692] Presumably this practice had (also) the aim to prevent alterations of the versions in the hand of each part.

[688] Another building which hosts an interesting assemblage of texts is Building E, which Alaura defined the "palace historical archive" (2004, 144-145 and n. 25).
[689] Klinger 2003, 238 refers in particular to the treaty with Paddatiššu (KUB 34.1+) and one of the copies of the treaty of Taḫurwaili and Eḫeya (KBo 28.107).
[690] "(...) eine für die damalige Zeit in Syrien durchaus gängige Spätform der altbabylonische Kursive bzw. einen frühen, für das Randakkadische der folgenden Zeit gängige mittelbabylonischen Duktus." (Klinger 2001b, 201 n. 18).
[691] Literature in Devecchi 2015a, 267; for the Egyptian version see the ed. of Edel 1997.
[692] Discussion in Devecchi 2015a, 56 ff. Notably the treaty beween Tudḫaliya IV and Kuruntiya of Tarḫuntašša (CTH 106.A.I IV 46-51): "One tablet is placed before the Sun-goddess of Arinna, one before (...*a sequence of deities*), while Kuruntiya, king of Tarḫuntašša, owns a tablet in his abode" (ed. Otten 1988, 28-29). As for the treaty with Egypt, we know that the Egyptian version at Karnak and in the Ramesseum is a translation of the Akkadian text written on a silver tablet and shipped to Egypt, while the Akkadian version from Ḫattuša is a copy of the Akkadian tablet produced in Egypt and sent to Ḫattuša (see Zaccagnini 1990, 47 n. 30 with additional references).

This distinct ductus is not attested in other Akkadian texts from the archives, which additionally points to a single, external origin. While these tablets were written in Akkadian, early copies of these treaties in Hittite exist as well. Presumably, the latter were copies of the Hittite versions (namely of the tablets shipped *to* Kizzuwatna), or translations made in Ḫattuša. Akkadian was the standard international language and was more likely the chancellery language of Kizzuwatna.[693]

While the corpus is small, most copies of the treaties are either written in this peculiar script or are Hittite MS, thus tablets contemporary to the time in which the stipulations were drawn. This fact, along with the presence of many other old documents in the Building A and, in particular, at least one *original* MS text, makes one wonder whether the rare copies with this isolated script are indeed the original documents delivered from Kizzuwatna. If this was the case, perhaps for this precise reason they were selected and permanently stored in the library of Building A of the citadel. This is not trivial, since it would show the interest of the Hittite archivists in the conservation, in a specific location, of selected texts of cultural importance and/or of ancient date, and eventually awareness that they were original documents.

One viable way to prove this point would be to test the tablets with instrumental methods.[694] These types of analysis were already positively employed on tablets from the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin.[695] They allow to group tablet clays according to their distinctive elemental concentrations. If output of such analysis were to show isolated provenance of these tablets' clays, the group may be compared with tablets most likely produced at Ḫattuša (and elsewhere), and potential Cilician provenance established through geological context of clay-temper minerals and elemental concentration in clay.

[693] Also Yakubovich 2010a, 302. Even in Hittite context, it is possible that only around the time of Telipinu Hittite began to be employed with some consistency in writing (van den Hout 2009a, 2009b, 2012).
[694] Such as optical mineralogy (OM), instrumental neutron activation analysis (INAA), or portable X-ray fluorescence (pXRF); the last method has the advantage, over the other two, to be non-destructive.
[695] Goren et al. 2011 for pXRF analysis, and with references to previous studies for OM and INAA.

5.5.4. Content and forms

The topics with which these treaties are concerned are quite repetitive, both structurally and in content. This is true at least until the time of Tudḫaliya I, since his treaty with Sunaššura shows several innovations and reveals a mutated political climate (§7.3). Previously, the treaties show many parallel passages and were renewed or reestablished after the same terms for some generations. This allows to reconstruct portions of less preserved tablets on the basis of previous or later documents of the sequence.

Typical of these texts is the insistence on perfect parity, expressed also formally by the mirror-like clauses. One example is here drawn from a well preserved portion of the treaty with Paddatiššu (n. [2]):

> [*šumma* LUG]AL.GAL *lū* DUMU-*šu lū* ARAD-*šu ana maḫar* ^{m}*Paddatiššu išappar*
> ^{m}*Paddatiššu* [*lem*]*uttam lā ippuš*
> *u šumma* ^{m}*Paddatiššu lū* DUMU-*šu lū* ARAD-*šu* [*ana maḫ*]*ar*[696] LUGAL.GAL *išappar*
> LUGAL.GAL *lemuttam lā ippuš-šu* (KUB 34.1 8´-10´; adapted from Wilhelm 2014d*)
>
> "[If] the Great [Ki]ng sends his son or his servant before Paddatiššu, Paddatiššu will not do (him) any [h]arm. If Paddatiššu sends his son or his servant [befor]e the Great King, the Great King will not do him any harm."
>
> [*šumma* AR]AD *ša* LUGAL.GAL *ana* SAG.DU *bēlī-šu ippallas ina* KUR ^{uru}*Ḫatti*^{ki}*-ma šūt*
> [^{m}*Padd*]*atiššu išemme-ma ana* LUGAL.GAL *iqabbi-šu*
> *u šumma* ARAD *ša* ^{m}*Paddatiššu* [*ana* SAG.D]U *bēlī-šu ippallas ina* KUR ^{uru}*Kizzuwatna*^{ki} *šū*
> LUGAL.GAL *išemme-ma ana* ⟨^{m}⟩*Paddatiššu iqabbi* (KUB 34.1, 11´-13´; adapted from Wilhelm 2014d*)
>
> "[If a serv]ant of the Great King attempts on the life of his lord in the land of Ḫattuša, and [Padda]tiššu comes to know (it), he will tell the Great King. If a servant of Paddatiššu attempts on the life of his lord in Kizzuwatna, and the Great King comes to know (it), he will tell Paddatiššu."

There is only one element breaking the symmetry, which is the employ of the title Great King to indicate the Hittite king (discussed *supra* §5.4).

[696] Wilhelm 2014d*: [_ _ KUR]-*ti* "in the land", but see Devecchi 2015a, 71 n. 3 for an integration [*a-na ma*]-*ḫar*.

In some instances parallel formulations are briefly summarized, as for example in the treaty between Telipinu and Išpudaḫšu (n. [1]). Here the second half of the clause is recapped as "*ù ša* LUGAL.GAL/ LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti qatamma*" (e.g. KUB 31.82, 11´, 8´) "and for the Great King/ the king of Ḫattuša likewise".

In all the documents the provisions air the same concerns. Recurrent topics are military support, which either of the parts can grant according to their own will. In case of reciprocal military collaboration, equal split of the booty must be granted (n. [1] [2], in [3] this part of the text is not preserved). More importantly, there are provisions on the mutual obligation to maintain peaceful relationships, i.e. to not begin hostilities [3]:

> ^{m}*Taḫurwaili* LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR ^{uru}*Ḫatti* [*itti* ^{m}*Eheya ūl inakkir...*$^{?}$]
> *itti* LUGAL.GAL *ūl inakkir šumma* [...]
>
> "Taḫurwaili, Great King, king of the land of Ḫattuša [*will not become hostile towards Eḫeya and Eḫeya, king of Kizzuwatna*][697] will not become hostile towards the Great King. If [...]"

The first passage here quoted from the treaty with Paddatiššu also exemplifies the obligation of both parts to share intel about dangers for the partner, deliver plotters against the rulers and restitute rebels that eventually cross the borders. ([1], [2], [3]). Such provisions may vary in length and details. For example, they are more articulated according to various situations in n. [2] and [3]: regulation of delivery of plotters between the two countries includes further specifications about interrogations of the suspects. Sworn oaths are to be obtained before restitution if they deny responsibility.

Questions of borders are very frequent, and involve trespassing of people or "fugitives", who must be sent back to the land of origin. Motivations for the frequent insistence on this topic are, presumably, the shortage of manpower that emerges as a typical concern in much Late Bronze Age documentation, as well as the preoccupation for tax and corvée evasion.[698] A political reason, instead, is the need to avoid

[697] KBo 28.109 (7´-8´)+ KUB 3.13 (6´-7´).
[698] On the problem of refugees see Liverani 2001, 66-70.

that influential individuals – including nobleman involved in political opposition, or more severe schemes against the legitimate authority – could find hospitality by a foreign power, and floor for political machinations.[699]

Another recurrent problem is that of the restitution of "towns" (i.e. their people) who have fled the country, in fact a similar problem to that of fugitives ([1], [2], [3]). The formulation implies that a settlement passes under the control of the other kingdom, and must be returned (*uttanār,* ll. 6′, 7′).[700] See this well preserved passage in n. [2]:

> [*šumma* URU^{k}]^{i} *ša* LUGAL GAL *qadu* MUNUS.NITA$^{me.eš}$-*šu dumqī-šu* GUD$^{ḫi.a}$-*šu* USDUḪA$^{ḫi.a}$-*šu itebbi u ana* KUR ^{uru}*Kizzuwat(a)ni irrub* [^{m}*Paddati*]*ššu iṣabbat-ma ana* LUGAL GAL *utâr*
> (KUB 34.1+ (A) vs. 14′, repeated in 15′-17′; following Wilhelm2014d*).
>
> "When (the people of) a town of the Great King gather their men and women,[701] their goods, their sheep and cattle and enters in Kizzuwatna, Paddatiššu (will) capture and return (them) to the Great King".

These issues presumably concern border settlements. On the border territories special stipulations exist in document n. [4], specifically dealing with the forbid to build fortifications if those were destroyed (according to a possible reading) and/or were left unfortified in the past.

Some provisions aim at guaranteeing reciprocal hospitality among the two royal families and the protection in foreign land of subjects of the ally party (n. [2] [3] [4]; see the above example). N. [2] at the end of the fragment preserves two entries about homicide, presumably by hand of a foreigner; in that case one must deliver one man in exchange for one man (LÚ *kīma* LÚ *inandin;* Wilhelm 2014d*, l. 95).

There are also more mundane questions of property, for example the prohibition to cross borders with livestock, and stipulations concerning rustle of animals ([2]).

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[699] Beckman 2003, 762.
[700] Note that this provision appears to be attested in both texts [1] and [3] but requires integration in both instances; see Del Monte 1981, 211.
[701] Liverani 2001, 66: "community". Wilhelm 2014d*, n.1 suggests "Personal", i.e. "(...) es handelt sich vielmehr um einen Kollektivbegriff für Frauen und Männer mit Sklavenstatus".

Apart from this type of content, the treaties hardly provides particular details on the political history of the period or on specific events. Quite different from the rest of the corpus, instead, is the case of the treaty with Sunaššura, which contains a section of provisions that deal with more concrete diplomatic circumstances. While one can't entirely exclude that the other treaties also had more than the generic provisions of the type previously highlighted, because they are indeed very fragmentary, it seems unlikely that – if that was the case – by chance hardly anything beyond those recurrent clauses and formulations is preserved. The only exception may be found in one fragment of the treaty with Telipinu and Išpudaḫsu (n. [1]), as discussed later. Otherwise, there is good reason to think the new content in the treaty of Sunaššura is largely unprecedented, and is connected with the inherently different diplomatic nature of this document, highlighting a loss of status of Kizzuwatna and configuring a new situation of factual subordination.

In the following paragraphs I will briefly discuss elements of interest of the individual treaties for a history of Kizzuwatna. Partial translations and transcriptions are provided when necessary; for additional details I refer the reader to previous text editions, translations and studies, quoted throughout.

5.5.5 Overview of the treaties between Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna

Telipinu	Išpudaḫšu	[1]	known from the Tarsus seal (§5.3)
Alluwamma			
Ḫantili (II)	-		
unknown	Paddatiššu	[2]	otherwise unknown
Taḫurwaili	Eḫeya	[3]	otherwise unknown
Zidanza (II)	Pilliya	[4]	presumably known from CTH 475 (§7.5.2) and AlT 3 (§5.7)
Ḫuzziya (II)	-		
Muwatalli	-		
Tudḫaliya I	Sunaššura	(ch. 7.3)	presumably known from AlT 14 (§7.1)

Table 7. Treaties with Kizzuwatna: kings of Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna and external evidence on individual kings of Kizzuwatna.

We know that almost each king after Telipinu renewed the stipulations with Kizzuwatna after his predecessor (see *tab. 7*). Indeed, the identity of some individual rulers is known exclusively from these documents.

[1] Treaty between Telipinu and Išpudaḫšu (CTH 21)

Editions. Del Monte 1981, 210 (partial); transl. Devecchi 2015a, 63-65.

Other literature: Otten 1951, 131 n. 10, Popko 2007, 579 n. 17.

I	Akk.	KUB 31.82 (+) KUB 4.76	MS	o/14, building D, put potentially connected with the collection of building A.
II	Hitt.	KUB 31.81	OS	unknown
		KBo 19.36	NS	Temple 1, L/19 old soil
		KBo 19.37	NS	Temple 1, mag. 41

The political action of Telipinu (end of 16th c.) was twofold. In inner politics, his "reforms" aimed at stabilizing a complex situation, caused by the sequence of usurpations including, presumably, his own.[702] In this context, he also sought external support, gaining the alliance of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna. His successors continued this diplomatic effort in maintaining and renewing positive diplomatic relationships, in a moment in which Mittani was raising in power in northern Syria.

The existence of early copies of the treaties written in Hittite (like KUB 31.81) indicates that by the time of Telipinu Hittite was employed for official documents.[703] This is a novel choice, and stands out because a tradition of writing administrative texts in Akkadian – e.g. the land grants, – continued until the Early New Kingdom (the latest dates to Arnuwanda; Rüster-Wilhelm 2012). Several copies of these early treaties (15th c.) are indeed written in Akkadian as well: certainly it remained in use, also later, for its status of

[702] I follow on this Liverani 2014, 298-299.

[703] Popko (2007, 579 n. 17) however, is of other opinion: "KUB 31.81 (...) nicht unbedingt ein zeitgenössischer Text sein muss" thus doubts the early date of the tablet. Ultimately, Popko doubted more in general the validity of paleographic dating. In various works, T. van den Hout (2009a, 2009b, 2012) proposed that previously the Hittites wrote only in Akkadian, and only with Telipinu a substantial tradition of writing Hittite begun. It is not yet clear, however, whether Hittite was not employed *at all* for writing in previous time, as some Hittite documents of disputed dating may have been written in the Old Kingdom (see e.g. Archi 2010, 2015b; Yakubovich 2010a, 301; Beckman 2019, 67).

international diplomatic language. It is uncertain whether Hittite was known in Kizzuwatna; while this is of course possible, the local chancellery presumably employed Akkadian as a written language, at least for diplomacy.[704] Thus, the Hittite copies may be seen as an innovation of the period, and perhaps for internal use.

The Akkadian and Hittite versions of the treaties – when portions of text can be followed in parallel – do not correspond verbatim and in fact employ at times quite different formulations. It means they are not direct translation one of the other, but drafted somewhat independently.[705] Although the Hittite fragments are very poorly preserved, this is clear also from the existing versions of the treaty with Išpudaḫšu.

For example, the Akkadian version of this document includes detailed provisions dedicated to the duties of Išpudaḫšu, while for the counterpart only a summary is provided: "for the Great King (it is) the same" (*ù ša* LUGAL.GAL *qātamma*). It may be that the Hittite version had the opposite formulation "for the king of Kizzuwatna (it is) the same" (KUB 31.81 vs. 6′; as suggests Devecchi 2015a, 63-64) but the clause requires heavy restoration. The Hittite fragment is interesting because – unique case in the corpus – it contains references to other historical characters, apart from the typical paritary clauses of generic content. One passage mentions a certain Piriyašauma, king of the land of Kanitḫi.[706] This text was not completely edited, to my knowledge, thus a partial transliteration of the reverse (better preserved) is presented here.

[704] See *infra* the contract found at Alalaḫ (§5.7); on the languages in Kizzuwatna see in better detail §6.2.
[705] A particular, more complex case, is that of the treaty with Sunaššura (see §7.3.1).
[706] Goetze (1940, 7 n. 23) observed that names from Nuzi feature the first component *Piriya-*, thus Hurrian background is possible. However, other explanations are also possible (see in §6.3 the comments on the name Pariyawatri). On the basis of this attestation, Wilhelm (2005b, 572) indicates this Kanitḫi can be reasonably sought in the environs of Kizzuwatna.

KUB 31. 81 rev.[707]

x+1	]x x x x [ ]x x *ša* [	
2′	]-*ták/dag-aš-ša-an-zi nu-*ʳ*uš*ˀ*-ša-an* ^{m}*Iš-pu-daḫ-*ʳ*šu*ˀ*-uš*	they [ ] and Išpudaḫšu [ ] him
3′	]x ʳxˀ *pa-i*$^{?}$*-zi* ^{m}*Iš-pu-daḫ-šu-uš* ŠA LUGAL GAL*-pát*	] goes.$^{?}$ Išpudaḫšu [ ] of the Great King
4′	]x-*ti-iš-si* //	]
5′	^{m}*Pí*]-ʳ*ri*ˀ*-ia-ša-ú-ma-ia* LUGAL KUR ^{uru}*Ka-ni-it-ḫi*	] and [Pi]riyašauma, king of the land of Kanitḫi
6′	]ʳx x xˀ*-me*$^{?}$ ^{m}*Pí-ri-ia-ša-ú-ma-aš-ša li-in-ki-ia*	] and Piriyašauma an oath [
7′	...]*-ka* //	]
8′	]x-x-*uš li-ik-ta na-at ap-pa-ši-wa-at-ta-aš*	] he swore and in the future[708] it [
9′	]-ʳ*an*ˀ*-tu* //	] may he [
10′	]x ʳŠA LUGALˀ GAL ʳ*da*ˀ*-aš nu-za* ^{m}*Iš-pu-*ʳ*daḫ-šu-uš*ˀ LUGAL ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na*	] he took [ ] of the Great King and for himself Išpudaḫšu, king of Kizzuwatna
11′	]x(-)ʳ*ni-in*ˀ*-ku-wa-an ti-i-e-ez-zi*	] he will begin x[ ][709]
12′	]-ʳ*a*ˀ*-i*	
13′	]	

This fragment shows that in neither the Hitt. nor the Akk. version (a fact which can't be verified in the other treaties) the king of Kizzuwatna bears the title Great King (l. 10′), thus that the status of the two rulers does not appear to be entirely equivalent, although the content of this and the other treaties express otherwise perfect diplomatic reciprocity.

[2] Treaty between a Hittite king and Paddatiššu (CTH 26)

Ed. Meyer 1953, 112-119; Kitchen-Lawrence 2012, 299-302; Wilhelm 2014e*.

Translations: Beckman 1999, 11-13; Kitchen-Lawrence 2012, 293-298; Devecchi 2015a, 68-70.

Other literature: Kestemont 1974, 402 ff; Miller 2017 (on king Zidanta II), Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 64-65 (for paleography).

I	Akk.	KUB 34.1+ +KBo 28.105a +KBo 28.105b	"SYRIAN" DUCTUS	Building A, room 5.

[707] Based on photographs (HPM BoFN10389) and Otten's copies from KUB 31.
[708] HEG III 254: *appa=šiwattaš.*
[709] For this line see Kammenhuber 1955, 40-41, who suggested however "sich satt trinken, betrinken", unless the word is not complete. Or is it *ni-ninkuwan* ? i.e. *ninink-* "heben, aufheben" rather than *nink-* "sich satt trinken, betrinken".

This tablet is rather small and written on one column, showing a peculiar ductus (discussed in §5.5.3). The tablet preserves the central portion of the composition, written on the bottom of the first column and the top of the second on the other side (*fig. 80*).

This text is a paradigmatic example for the sequence of parity treaties Ḫattuša-Kizzuwatna. Quite verbose, it is characterized by the integral repetition of each provision for both parts of the treaty, whereas other documents provide summaries (see. n. [1]). When their texts overlap, documents n. [2] and [3] appear to be virtually identical, which allows to safely reconstruct portions of one or the other text.

The name of the Hittite ruler with which Paddatiššu stipulated this contract is not preserved. As a parity treaty with substantial analogies with n. [1] and [3], it should be located chronologically close to those, in any case predating the age of Tudḫaliya I. Various proposals have been put forward for the identity of this king, in particular Alluwamma, Ḫantili II or Ḫuzziya II.[710] No treaties with Kizzuwatna are extant for these kings, thus they are preferred according to the idea that stipulations between the two countries were renewed by each new king – which seems roughly to be the case from the available documents, – and the assumption that a ruler did not need to renew a treaty again during his reign.

While some proposed a lower dating to Ḫuzziya (Klengel 1999, 98 n. 58), in my view it is more likely that the treaty predates Zidanza, "author" of the text n. [4] *infra*. First, nothing prevents to attribute it to either of the two other kings, and in fact the formal similarities of [2] with texts n. [1] and [3] favors this sequence, whereas document [4] may show some innovations. I thus agree with Beal (1986, 431; also Desideri-Jasink 1990, 66) who favored a dating to Ḫantili.

The missing treaty? An attribution to this ruler over Alluwamma (e.g. Freu 2001, 17) also potentially matches with a piece of circumstantial evidence from a later document. Several catalog tablets found at Ḫattuša list entries with "titles" of texts that were stored in the archives (also §5.5.3). While it is possible,

[710] Alluwamma: Freu 2001, 17; Ḫantili II: Beal 1986, 431 and Bryce 2005, 113; Ḫuzziya II: Klengel 1999, 98. Devecchi (2015a, 68) does not have a preference.

sometimes, to identify texts retrieved in the archives, others remain unknown, as those tablets are lost.[711] One such lost text is mentioned in a late tablet catalog (KBo 19.35; LNS), retrieved in the area of Temple 1. It lists a *išḫiul* between a king Ḫantili and – unfortunately – an unknown partner, since the tablet is broken at the end of the line: x+1′. [DUB.x^{k}]^{am} *QA-TI* [*Š*]*A* ^{m}*Ḫa-an-ti-l*[*i*(-) ...] 2′. [*iš-ḫ*]*i-ú-la-aš*.[712] Since the earliest treaties known so far date after Telipinu, and are all contracted with Kizzuwatna, it is very likely that this treaty should be added to the list of diplomatic documents concerning Kizzuwatna.[713] A dating to Ḫantili I can be excluded, thus the entry in this catalog possibly refers to the treaty with Paddatiššu of Kizzuwatna, although this attribution must remain conjectural pending future evidence.[714]

[3] Treaty between Taḫurwaili and Eḫeya (CTH 29)

Editions. Del Monte 1981, 210-213 (partial); transl. Otten 1971, 65-68 (partial); Torri 2005, 392 (partial), Devecchi 2015a, 65-68.

Other literature: Alaura 2004, 143 (on find spot); Balza 2012, 91-92; Archi (x ductus), Wilhelm 2012b.

A	Akk.	KBo 28.108 + KBo 28.109 + KUB 3.13 + CHDS 3.151[715]	MS	Temple 1, L/19 schutt
		(+) Bo 69/200 (seal)		Temple 1, mag. 11-12
B	Akk.	KBo 28.107	"SYRIAN"[716] DUCTUS	Temple 1, L/19 schutt

[711] On missing tablets of treaties see Devecchi 2015b.
[712] On this text Carruba 1988, 206; Klengel 1999, 92; Dardano 2006, 86-87; Devecchi 2015b, 177. Alaura 2004, 143 on the find spot of this fragment.
[713] It seems unlikely that this Ḫantili, instead, is an individual other than a Hittite king. In this catalog, the next fragmentary entries list two other treaties, one involving Manapa-Tarḫunta and the other Ḫukkana. These two are well-known subordinates of kings Mursili II and Suppiluliuma I, and these treaties are extant (CTH 69 and CTH 42). It means that the names of the Hittite rulers were listed afterwards, in the missing part of the entry, and that the partner of Ḫantili was also listed after his name. Despite the order in this entry is the opposite, it remains more likely this is a Hittite king, rather than an unknown subordinate ruler bearing a Hittite dynastic name.
[714] Devecchi 2015b, 177. One must say that a reference to Ḫantili I, along – eventually – with a retro-dating of CTH 26 to his reign, is not strictly impossible, but at current state of knowledge this seems much less plausible for a variety of reasons. The historical implications would be significant, as such treaty would pre-date that of Telipinu and Išpudaḫšu.
[715] This join (Bo 9490+) was suggested by F. Fuscagni (2.11.2010); not quoted in the recent publication of the fragment (2019) in CHDS 3.151.
[716] But HPM considers it jh. (i.e. NS).

For the chronology of the reign of Taḫurwaili, which probably falls either before or after that of Zidanta II, I refer the reader to the section on chronology (§1.5). This treaty is somewhat better preserved than that of Telipinu and Išpudaḫšu, with two larger fragments of a one column tablet (tablet A) and a small fragment of another copy of the text (tablet B). H. Otten (1971) proposed that a seal impression of Taḫurwaili may also belong to tablet A, which would make this tablet one of the few original Hittite documents (*fig. 74*).

The seal print was found in 1969 (see Neve 1970, 7), right east of the storerooms where all the fragments of the treaty (of tablets A and B) were previously found (storerooms 11 and 12).[717] Otten (1971, 66), who saw the seal in person, wrote:

> "Diese Tafelfragmente (i.e. of the treaty of Tahurwaili) zeigen einen auf der Oberfläche bräunlish-sepiafarbigen, im Inneren rötlichen Ton, genauso wie das Siegel Bo 69/200. *Kein Zweifel,* daß sie zusammengehören und wir den für Boğazköy erstmaligen Fall eines gesiegelten Original-Staatsvertrages vor uns haben!" (Otten 1971, 66)

In summary, the vicinity in find spot and the characteristics of the clay and the seal suggest it belongs to the treaty.

Gernot Wilhelm, however, recently questioned the appurtenance of the seal to the tablet of the treaty (2012b, 414-415; 2013, 348-349). A second print of a seal of Taḫurwaili was found in 2008 from a land grant from layers of the "House of the chief of the Guards" (*fig. 75*). According to Wilhelm both impressions were made with the same seal, and this appears to be very likely. He additionally considered that the print attributed to the treaty may also belong to a land grant. One argument in favor of this view is that other sealed diplomatic documents were produced as strongly convex cushion-shaped tablets, a form typical also of the land grants (e.g. *fig. 21*).[718] Since the obverse of the treaty tablet A is perfectly flat,

[717] The find comes from the soil discarded in front of the rooms after their excavation; see also Balza 2012, 91.
[718] On this tablet shape see Waal 2012b, 223.

Wilhelm considers this to be a library tablet, thus a copy and not an original document. Although this copy is early, it was not written as the more common one-column type, like most tablets of the corpus here considered.

I consider that the proposal of Otten can't be excluded either, though. Some treaties were long texts, and they could be written more conveniently on flat, larger tablets similar or identical with the much employed two-columned Hittite archival tablets. This is how the best preserved version of the *Treaty with Sunaššura of Kizzuwatna* looks like (KBo 1.5; *fig. 76*). Such text could be hardly written on a thick cushion-shaped tablet, similar to the much smaller land grants, and eventually proportionate to the required size. In fact, the small evidence available shows that tablets of various shape and content could be sealed:[719] the sworn declaration of Kuruntiya (544/f; CTH 96) is a very short text, and the tablet is quite small (the fragment allows to reconstruct a width of ca. 10 cm; *fig. 77*). The instruction text regarding the people of Paḫḫuwa (KUB 31.103, CTH 212)[720], instead, is a very particular object, of unique trapezoid shape – in fact closer to a (pseudo-)prism than a cushion-shaped tablet (*fig. 72*).[721] Ultimately, there is also the bronze tablet of the *original* treaty between Tudḫaliya IV and Kuruntiya of Tarḫuntašša. Although crafted in bronze – and necessarily sealed externally – the tablet is clearly based on the model and dimensions of the tablets of the "library" type.[722]

Eventually, it can be also noted that the state of the two seals does not actually suggest that both were printed on the same type of tablet (*fig. 74-75*). The print differs from the deep edged-print that is

[719] On sealed documents see Balza 2012, 87-89, and Devecchi 2015a, 54-56.
[720] A recent edition in Devecchi 2017, 290-293
[721] It is much thicker than any land grant, and in fact written not on two, but on *four* sides. The lateral text runs perpendicular to the other two faces, and the seal itself was applied on one of these sides, and not in the top face, unlike any of the land grant documents. Devecchi (2015a, 54-55; 2017, 290) catalogues it as a treaty, and this is possible, but the text has nonetheless normative sections typical also of instruction texts and oath impositions; this text is also shorter than the typical Hittite treaties.
[722] In fact there is at least one sealed tablet of this type. It is an exceptional document, KUB 25.32 (CTH 681.1; *fig. 78*) a tablet of a festival text for the tutelary god of Karaḫna. Although such text did not require sealing, as it was not a legal document, it bears nonetheless the seal of an important official of the time of Tudḫaliya IV, Taprammi (discussed in Balza 2012, 89-90). This may be one example of how the treaty of Taḫurwaili may have looked like.

frequently found on the land grants, caused by the deeper impression in the clay of the thick tablet's body. It remains possible, thus, that tablet A may be an original document, sealed by the Great King.[723]

[4] Treaty[?] between Zidanza and Pilliya (CTH 25)

Editions. Otten 1951, 129-130; Wilhelm 2014d*; Kitchen-Lawrence 2012, 299-302. Transl.: Devecchi 2015a, 68-70.

Other literature: Miller 2017 (on king Zidanta II), Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 64-65 (for paleography). A 3D model of this tablet is available on HPM.

I	Hitt.	KUB 36.108	MS	Building A, room 5.

This tablet is not particularly well preserved (*fig. 81*), but the document is very important because it provides one of the rare synchronisms in the early Hittite history. The synchronism between Zidanza (or Zidanta)[724] of Ḫatti and Pilliya of Kizzuwatna is crucial also for the existence of two other documents referring to the latter: the first is a ritual text written in the Early New Kingdom but whose authorship is attributed to Pa/illiya king of Kizzuwatna (CTH 475; see §7.5.2); the second is an agreement between a Pilliya and a king of Alalaḫ, Idrimi, who was a subject of the king of Mittani Paratarna (AlT 3, discussed in §5.7). This Pilliya is hardly another individual for his (royal) seal was impressed on that tablet. Thus, a broad synchronism can be establish among these rulers in the central part of 15th c.[725]

Some scholars proposed that this document may date to Zidanta I, not to Zidanta II, which would make it the first diplomatic text of the series.[726] This reconstruction, however, compelled also to assume the existence of two Pilliya, one contemporary with Zidanta I in the late 16th c., and another with Idrimi of

[723] While this question can't be probably solved just through autoptic observation, non-invasive clay analysis may certainly give a final answer; see *supra* for potential application of these methods to determine the provenance of the tablets themselves (§5.5.3).
[724] Spelling convention shows that the second Zidant/za is more often spelled Zidanza, but the choice is not consistent (Miller 2017, 261).
[725] The accession date of Idrimi is critical, since for Zidanza and Paratarna there is no reliable chronological anchor. Von Dassow 2008, 42 (and n. 98) proposed a date around 1475 BCE, or slightly later.
[726] One reason for this view was the archaic appearance of the tablet and its paleography (e.g. Otten 1951, 129 ff; 1971, 67 n. 13). Detailed bibliography in Beal 1986, 428 n. 24; also Wilhelm 2014c*.

Alalaḫ and Paratarna (in mid-15th c.), and, of course, has ramifications for the interpretation of other pieces of evidence.

The existence of two Pilliya can be excluded after the recent publication of the Hittite land grants of Rüster and Wilhelm (2012, 64-65). Wilhelm shows that the paleography of this tablet is compatible with that of the land grant sealed by Zidanta II. That this can't be Zidanta I is proved by the manufacture and style of the seal, which in the sequence of known Old Kingdom seals can't predate Telipinu. Prosopographic content of the land grants allows, more precisely, to place this king after Ḫantili.[727]

The text was written on a one-columned tablet like most other early treaties. However, since the tablet was probably rather narrow, and in the reverse a good portion of the tablet is not covered in writing, this text must have been shorter than, for example, that of the one-columned tablet of n. [2] (see figs. x and x in comparison, presented in the same scale). Indeed, this text shows some other differences from the documents previously discussed. This is the best preserved portion of the obverse and the most relevant for a discussion:

(KUB 36.108) obv. 1. ⌜^{d}UTU⌝-*ŠI* LUGAL.GAL ^{m}*Zi-da-an-za* LUGAL KUR ^{uru}*ḪA-A*[*T-TI Ù* ^{m}*Píl-li-ya*][728]

2. LUGAL KUR ^{uru}*KI-IZ-ZU-WA-AT-*⌜*NA*!⌝ *tak-šu-ul i-e-e*[*r*] [^{d}UTU-*ŠI* ^{m}*Píl-li-ya-aš-ša*][729]

3. *ki-iš-ša-an ták-še-er* URU$^{ḫi.a}$-*uš ku-i-*⌜*uš*⌝ [^{d}UTU-*ŠI e-ep-pu-un*][730]

4. *ne ŠA* ^{d}UTU!-*ŠI-pát a-ša-an-tu* ^{m}*Pí*[*l-li-ya-aš-ma ku-i-*⌜*uš*⌝][731]

5. *e-ep-pu-un ne* ^{m}*Píl-li-ya-aš-pát a-*[*ša-an-tu*] //

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[727] A summary in Miller 2017, 261. A Zidanta is mentioned in a land grant of Ḫantili II, and this may be the prince Zidanta, to be future king (Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, n. 34, 170-172). More important is the reference in a land grant of Ḫuzziya II to [Zida]nza as the previous ruler. The sequence Ḫantili-Zidanza would be also supported by the offering lists for the dead kings (Klengel 1999, 95). Note that the same view was proposed, on different ground, already in Beal 1986.

[728] Line 1 shows that we likely miss some 7 signs to the end of the tablet; this restoration is the most likely.

[729] Restoration of Wilhelm 2014c*; Del Monte (1981, 205-206) proposed instead: *i-e-i*[*r nu-kán iš-ḫi-ú-ul iš-tar-ni-šum-mi*]. See therein for details.

[730] This restoration is also proposed in the translation of Devecchi 2015a, 69; cfr. Wilhelm 2014c*: [*an-da e-ep-pu-un*] (6 signs).

[731] Wilhelm 2014c* (followed by Devecchi 2015a, 69) restores *Pi*[*lliyaš=ma* URU$^{ḫi.a}$-*uš kuiuš*]; however, the two also suggest different translations (see *infra*). Considering the available space, it seems possible that here the text indeed omits URU$^{ḫi.a}$-*uš*, and a relative clause refers implicitly to the accusative in l. 3.

1. My Sun, the Great King Zidanza, king of the land of Ḫattu[ša and Pilliya],
2. king of the land of Kizzuwatna made a pact. [*My Sun and Pilliya*]
3. agreed as follows: the cities which [*I, My Sun, took*]
4. they shall belong only to My Sun. [*However, those which I*], *Pi*[*lliya*],
5. took, they [shall belo]ng only to Pilliya.

6. ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* *x* *ú-i-ta-an-tu-uš* URU$^{didli.ḫi.a}$-*uš ku-*⌜*i*⌝-[*uš ḫar-ku-un/ḫar-ra-nu-un*$^{?}$ *nu* x][732]
7. *ku-e ar-ḫa tar-na-an-ta nu* ^{d}UTU$^{!}$-*ŠI le-*[*e*$^{?}$ *ú-e-te-*x ^{m}*Píl-li-ya-aš-ma/ša*]
8. *ú-i-ta-an-tu-uš* URU$^{didli.ḫi.a}$-*uš ku*$^{!}$*-i-uš ḫar-*[*ku-un/ḫar-ra-nu-un*$^{?}$ …]
9. *nu* ^{m}*Píl-li-ya-aš na-at-ta ú-e-*⌜*te*⌝-[x *ma-an we-te-*x]
10. [*n*]*a-aš-ta li-in-ga-en šar-ra-at-*[*ti/ta*][733] //

6. The fortified cities th[at] I, My Sun [*hold/destroyed,*$^{?}$ *and the …*]
7. that are abandoned, My Sun shall no[*t rebuild*$^{?}$].
8. The fortified cities that [I, Pilliya], [*hold/destroyed*$^{?}$]
9. Pilliya, [*you/he*] will not re[*build. If you/he rebuild-*],
10. then [*you/he*] will break the oath.

The first notable difference from the previous texts is the use of the title ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* "the Sun"/"my Sun" to indicate the Hittite king.[734] More significant is the possibility that this text shows signs of political unbalance, as some scholars noted.[735] Strictly speaking, it would not be a treaty of perfect parity, like the previous documents in the corpus. This would be suggested, in particular, by the formula found in l. 10, typical of the later subordination treaties (Devecchi 2015a, 68). Independently from the possible restoration (previous editors prefer 2 sg., "you"), the sentence is not repeated twice, and since it follows a section concerning Pilliya, it would appear that the oath provision only applies to him.

[732] For the suggestion of a form *ḫarra-* see Wilhelm 2013c*, with ref. to Klinger. While the meaning of the verb could match with the reference to reconstruction activities, the verb is not attested in 1 sg. and in such context. A form *ḫarran ešta* (HW2 III/1, 264), attested in reference to objects (tablets), does not fit the syntax here.
[733] For *šarratti* (2 sg. pres.) or *šarratta* (m-p. 2/3 sg. pres.), CHD Š/2, 236 §1.d. Other attestations show 3 sg. m.-p. (but maintaining active meaning) can't be entirely excluded, although it is probably less likely.
[734] De Martino 2016, 35; for the possible kanišite antecedents of this title see Weeden 2018b, 219.
[735] Recently Devecchi 2015a, 68.

The formulations of ll. 3-9 may also be imperfectly parallel, but this depends on the possible restorations. For example, Wilhelm (2014d*) and Devecchi (2015a, 68-70) made different choices:

(Wilhelm 2014d*)	(Devecchi 2015a, 69)
(..)[Dabei] vereinbarten [Meine Majestät und Pilliya] folgendes	[*1*] (..)[...] si accordarono in questi termini:
Die Städte, die [ich nahm]	le città di cui **io** [**Sua Maestà**, mi sono impadronito],
sollen nur meiner Majestät gehören.	appartengono esclusivamente a (me), Sua Maestà. (*Zidanza speaks)*
[Die Städte ***von*] *Pi*[*lliya aber, die*] *ich nahm***,	[*2*] [le città **di cui] io, Pi[lliya], mi sono impadronito**
[sollen] nur Pilliya geh[ören].	ap[partengono] esclusivamente (***a me***), Pilliya. (*Pilliya speaks)*
Die befestigten Städte, d[ie ich,] Meine Majestät [… habe],	[*3*] Le città fortificate c[he] (io,?) Sua Maestà, [...]
[und die … ,] die verlassen sind,	[...] che sono abbandonate,
(sie) soll Meine Majestät nicht […].	Sua Maestà n[on?...].
Die befestigten Städte, die [ich (aber)] hab[e],	Le città fortificate, che (io?) h[o? ...]
(die) [wird] Pillija nicht befestig[en].	Pilliya non fortifich[erà.]
[Wenn du (sie aber dennoch) befestigst,]	[Se le fortificherai?]
dann brichst du damit den Eid.	avrai trasgredito il giuramento.
i.e. *Zidanza speaks throughout*	[*1*] *Zidanza speaks* [*2*] *Pilliya speaks* [*3*] *Zidanza speaks (?) until the end*

Differently from Wilhelm's, the translation of Devecchi suggests that *both* Zidanza and Pilliya appear to speak in first person (see 2015, 69 n. 4) in different sections, suggesting at least in part parallel clauses. My reconstruction shows that it is indeed possible that in the two sections both speak at turn, including the more fragmentary part at the end of the second paragraph. However, if one follows Wilhelm's reading, the text has a quite different appearance, for its strongly unilateral character (*only* Zidanza speaks in first person), that adds to the provision concerning the oath infringement.

One must stress that this is the only treaty of the sequence whose beginning is preserved, the only parallel being the later treaty with Sunaššura. For this reason it remains uncertain whether elements such as the formula regarding the oath, or the use of 1st sg. person, are actually unique to this treaty or were employed also in previous documents. Similarly, already Beal (1986, 432 n. 41) warned caution,

pointing out it may be an accident that *any* provision of unbalanced character are not preserved in the earlier treaties. While Beal referred to the treaty with Sunaššura, the remark seems particularly appropriate for this document as well, given its fragmentary state.[736]

In my view, one should even consider the possibility that this is not a treaty strictu sensu, but a shorter documents similar to the roughly contemporary Alalaḫ contract AlT 3 (between Idrimi and Pilliya; discussed *infra* §5.7), a stipulation among rulers regarding specific, current issues, in particular quarrels about border towns and perhaps military encounters (as indeed the content would suggest). The different nature of the document may eventually account for some of the distinctive features here highlighted.[737]

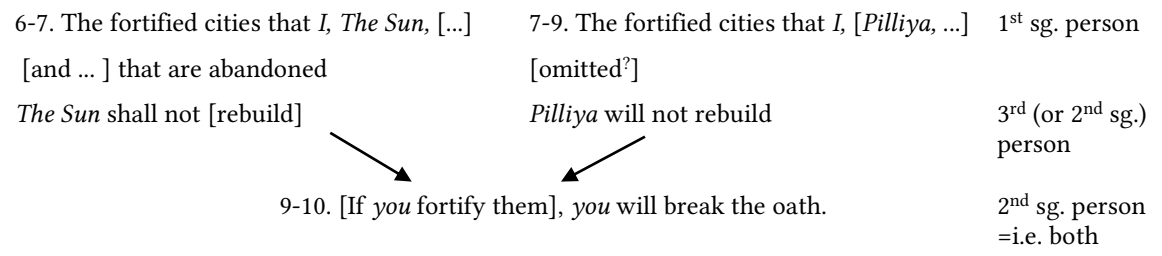
As for the content, the text does not *unmistakably* prove an unbalanced relationship. Independently from the restoration choices, the provisions show a largely parallel structure, although some clauses are repeated only partially (in particular cfr. ll. 3 and 4, if my restoration is correct, and ll. 6 and 8); this may simply aim at synthesis. Usage of the negations *lē* vs. *natta* (ll. 7, 9), seems just alternative here, and if one should seek any distinction, the imperatival/categorical *lē* configures a stronger "command" for Zidanza.

Secondarily, I am uncertain that the oath provision only refers to Pilliya. Although at first glance this seems evident, if one considers the symmetrical arrangement of the previous clauses – i.e. all of them were repeated – and the possibility that both rulers "speak" in first person, the single provision in 2nd (or less likely 3rd person) "you will break the oath" may apply to both parts. Tentatively, two symmetrical

[736] Note that a passage in the treaty with Taḫurwaili (n. [3]), which specifies that the kings were exempted from swearing an oath (*ina niš* DINGIR-*LIM lu paṭṭer,* KBo 28.108+, 13′), may be specific to this text, as it is also not attested in other documents: at any rate, not necessarily this provision contradicts the presence of an oath clause in CTH 25.

[737] One notes that in the last line of the reverse, as a self-standing paragraph, the document preserves at least part of the name of a god (^{d}*Ta-ta-*[*šu-na*$^{?}$ ...; Van Gessel 1998, 461); the formula appears to be similar to that concluding also AlT 3, whose last lines contain a brief formula with three gods' names and curse (transcription p. 298). However, this argument can't be employed to suggest this differs from other treaties, since comparison of colophons is possible only with later documents. Additionally, the tablet KBo 1.5 of treaty with Sunaššura may have also included a similar short formula (§7.3).

passages could be concluded by a single provision dedicated to *both rulers,* perhaps marked by the shift to 2nd person. In summary:


6-7. The fortified cities that *I, The Sun,* [...]
[and ...] that are abandoned
The Sun shall not [rebuild]
7-9. The fortified cities that *I,* [*Pilliya, ...*]
[omitted?]
Pilliya will not rebuild
9-10. [If *you* fortify them], *you* will break the oath.
1st sg. person
3rd (or 2nd sg.) person
2nd sg. person =i.e. both

Note that none of the endings of the verbal forms of ll. 6-9 is extant, and I integrated with first sg. following the parallel of the previous lines, but the forms *weten-* (ll. 7-9) may well be second sg., rather than third, similarly to the second clause of l. 9., thus: "*you*, My Sun, will not build (...)" and "*you*, Pilliya, will not build (...)"/ "if *you* build...". With either solution, the text would not necessarily imply that the provision puts Pilliya in a lower position.

Especially considering its fragmentary state, it would be prudent to avoid far reaching conclusions based on interpretations of this document; in my view neither a view that the treaty (or contract) is paritary nor that it is partially unbalanced can be excluded.

[5] Other treaties?

KUB 3.20[738]

x+1	*ù* ⌜*ag*?-*ga*?⌝[739]-[	8′	*ù ma-mi-tú ša-a-ši* [
2′	*la-a i-de*$_4$*-šu-n*[*u-*	9′	*a-na* ^{m}*Mu-ut-ta-al-l*[*i* //
3′	*ti-de*$_4$*-šu-nu-ti-m*[*a* //	10′	*ù an-na-nu-u*[*m*
4′	*ù ma-mi-ta* ⌜*ša-a*⌝[*n*	11′	*it-ti* ^{m}*Mu-*[*ut-ta-al-li* //
5′	*e-li* ^{m}*Zi-ta-an-za* [	12′	^{m}*Ḫu-um-m*[*i-li*
6′	*ša i-pu-šu ša i-p*[*u-*[740] //	13′	*ki-ia-*[
7′	*ù šum-ma i-ba-aš-ši* [	14′	*i-*[*na*?

[738] Editions in: Weidner 1923, 148-149; Giorgieri 1995, 324-326; Miller 2013, 126.
[739] These are the signs copied in KUB 3.20, but photographs are not so clear.
[740] Traces of a sign compatible with previous <pu> are visible; Miller (2013, 126), however: (...) *i*-x-[...]

1′ And [
he does not know th[em
but you (pl.) know them [... . //
4′ And the oath that [ ]
upon Zidanza [
that he mad[e (i.e. swore) ... . //
7′ And if it “came into existence” [
8′ and this oath [
to Muttal[li ... . //
10′ And her[e
with Mu[ttalli ... . //
12′ Ḫummi[li
thus? [
14′ in

This fragment of an Akkadian text mentions Zitanza, Mutall[i] and Ḫummi[li] (KUB 3.20). These names led to obvious identifications with various individuals named Zidant/za, Muwatalli and, eventually, Ḫimuili. For example, Carruba (1990, 548; already 1988, 209; 211) suggested Zitanza and Muttalli must be equated with the “Middle Kingdom” rulers Zidanta II and Muwatalli I (also Klengel 1999, 95).

The text, very fragmentary, includes references to an oath (ll. 4′, 8′), and since the text is in Akkadian it appears more likely this is a fragment of treaty, rather than an instruction text (Klengel 1999, 95; Miller 2013, 126-127). Therefore, on the basis of the identification of Carruba, Klengel (ibid.) tentatively attributes the document to the Kizzuwatna-Ḫatti corpus.

Giorgieri, however (1995, 324-326) preferred a later dating of the tablet, for its particular paleography and the fact that these individuals would be identical with those listed in the *Offering lists* (KUB 11.8+9, CTH 661.5), where they appear to post-date the sons of Suppiluliuma, Telipinu and Šarri-Kužoġ. These Zitanza and Mutalli would be two homonymous high-rank individuals of this time, attested also in other documents, and presumably featured in the lists and in this fragment likewise.[741]

It has been shown that the sacrificial lists for the royal family unlikely follow a coherent chronological order (see Marizza 2007, 48 and more extensively Gilan 2014b). The sequence of individual offerings in the third column of KUB 11.8+9 is:

[741] He also points out that, if one dated the fragment to the Middle Kingdom, it may be also possible to identify Muwatalli as the homonymous king, therefore Zidanza can’t be his predecessor but eventually should be identified with an important administrator, featured also in a land grant document (KBo 32.185).

[T]el[ipinu]	certainly "the Priest of Kizzuwatna" and son of Suppiluliuma I; (late 14th c.)
Ša[rri-kužoġ]	king of [Karg]amiš, the other son of Suppiluliuma I; (late 14th c.)
Wallanni	who must be the wife of Kantuzili, father of Tudḫaliya I; (late 15th c.)[742]
Zidanza	?
Muwattalli	?
Ammuna	either the king of the Old Kingdom (mid-16th c.) or, perhaps more likely, Ammuna "the younger", son of king Telipinu (late 16th c.), died untimely according to *Edict* §27 (Hoffmann 1984, 30-31) and featured in *Offering List C*; see Gilan 2014b, 96 for additional details.

It appears much more likely that Zidanta and Muwatalli in the list should be identified with the two kings predecessors of Tudḫaliya I, on behalf of their important status, rather than with high-rank individuals of the time of Suppiluliuma I or later. Note also that people of non-royal rank are rarely attested in the offering lists (Marizza 2007, 49 n. 27).

The simultaneous mention of these two persons in the offering lists and in the fragment KUB 3.20 suggests these two individuals may be identified indeed with king Zidanta II and with prince Muwatalli, future king. The possible mention of Ḫimuili, another important character featured in the sources of the period and who – together with Kantuzzili, the father of Tudḫaliya I – took part in the assassination of Muwatalli I, also supports this reconstruction.

The tablet itself may be a slightly later copy of a paleographically MS/mh. document, following Giorgieri (1995, 325); this tablet is written in fact in the so-called "Syro-Mittanian" ductus.[743] These documents were already dated roughly in the 14th c., and recently Weeden (2012) reiterated this view, providing additional

[742] This seems proved by the fragmentary col. 5 of the same document; see Gilan 2014b, 86: there the sequence is Kantuz]zili and [Wall]anni; Taki-Šarumma; Ažmo-Šarruma; Telipinu the Priest; and Ša[rri-kužoġ] of Kargamiš. See also Wilhelm 2016.

[743] On this topic Wilhelm 1992; Schwemer 1998, 8-17; Devecchi 2012, Weeden 2012. It is worth noting that several tablets written in this ductus were found in rooms of the library-Building A (see Weeden 2012, 230), discussed *supra* (§5.5.3). The provenance of KUB 3.20 is unknown but the 1) early date, the 2) ductus and 3) the possibility that this is a treaty with Kizzuwatna, are possible arguments to suggest this fragment also came from this interesting archaeological context.

arguments for proposing that this script may be in fact identified as Middle-Assyrian.[744]

Moving from these considerations, one may speculate whether this fragment, – if indeed part of a treaty – rather than a document stipulated with Kizzuwatna, may belong to a treaty between Ḫattuša and the kingdom of Mittani to be dated in 15th c., at the time of Zidanza. This, if its ductus may be re-considered as compatible with Mittanian, and external provenance is plausible.

KBo 12.31

HPM lists this fragment under the number CTH 132 as a "Treaty with Kizzuwatna" (discussed briefly in Devecchi 2015a, 91-92). The paleography points to a late date of the document, at the end of the Empire period (LNS). The fragment features part of a long list of gods of various regions, presumably the divine witness of the treaty, and curse formulae.[745] The attribution to the corpus of Kizzuwatna is based on the mention of "all the male and female gods of Kummani", following directly "all the male and female gods of Ḫattuša". If this was a treaty with Kizzuwatna, the date of the original composition must be pushed back at least in the Early Empire period; Archi (1990, 123), for example, suggests a dating to Suppiluliuma I. Actually, the formulation of the divine list and, in particular, of the curse section, also points to a late date (Devecchi 2015a, 92 and n. 2). It is unlikely that treaties with Kizzuwatna could be still stipulated during the Empire period, eventually with local governors. At that time, Kizzuwatna was in fact not a second-tier kingdom (such as Karkemiš or Tarḫuntašša), but a province of the Empire. Perhaps more likely, the fragment is a late copy of an earlier treaty.

[744] Weeden (2012, 232) observed that "both Assyro-Mittanian and Mittanian script show strong similarities with Middle Assyrian writing from 14th c. BCE". The minor differences between Mittanian, Assyrian and Assyro-Mittanian – all scripts variants originating from the same type of script, popular in upper Mesopotamian chancelleries – were discussed already by Schwemer (1998, 16-17). The article of Weeden reinforced the view that these script-groups are related quite neatly, and comparison can be used as a default mean of dating the 'Assyro-Mittannian' tablets found ad Boğazköy to either the 14th or the early 13th c. While the ductus may be simply defined Middle Assyrian, "the term Assyro-Mittanian should be retained to refer to the more general similarities in sign-forms shared by these larger groups: Mittanian and Middle Assyrian" (Weeden 2012, 245).

[745] The fragment is the end of the rev. fourth column; few signs of some lines of the obv. first column do not allow a reconstruction.

5.6 Other documents informing on Kizzuwatna history

5.6.1 Fragment of letter KBo 18.61 (CTH 209)

There is a fragment (of a letter?) which got some attention for it contains part of two names, *Palli-* and *Pariyawa-*. The names Palliya and Pariyawatri can be positively restored.

x+1 *ti-it-*[
2′ *nu-wa* ^{m}***Pal-li-***[*ia*
3′ *nu-wa-mu-kán* [
4′ ^{m}***Pa-ri-ia-wa-a***[***t****-ri*
5′]x-x[

Other signs are written on the edge of the tablet, but reading is difficult.[746] Since Palliya/Pilliya is the well-known king of Kizzuwatna, and Pariyawatri is known as the father of Išpudaḫšu, it is possible that this text refers to members of the old royal house of Kizzuwatna, although the fragment is paleographically late (NS/jh.).

Also – but not exclusively – on the basis of this fragment, some scholars once posited the existence of two Pilliya, and that a sequence of kings before Išpudaḫšu could be reconstructed: Pilliya – Pariyawatri – Išpudaḫšu. According to this view, Pilliya I would be a contemporary with Idrimi of Alalaḫ and, approximately, the Hittite king Ammuna or Zidanta I in the Old Kingdom, and the second contemporary to Zidanta II, the Pilliya of the treaty (see details in Beal 1986, 426 with n. 11; 429-430 with n. 29). This view was already questioned by Beal (1986) and lost plausibility with improved understanding of the chronology of the Old and "Middle" Hittite kingdom and related documents. In particular, Idrimi also lived in 15th c. and was a contemporary of Zidanta II (see §5.7), and most scholars now consider unlikely that two different Pilliya existed.

[746] One may be another name: ^{m}*i*?-[; one sign – and perhaps one more – of a second line is badly preserved. Güterbock copied a sign close to MÁŠ or NAM (HZL n. 38, 39).

As Beal correctly noted, there is no context to this fragment, and even if it these people were members of the dynasty of Kizzuwatna, such dynastic sequence seems unlikely. Additionally, more individuals named Pariyawatri existed, and one was a son of Arnuwanda I, thus a member of the Hittite royal family in the Early New Kingdom.

It seems plausible that this text speaks of the royal family of Kizzuwatna. Hagenbuchner (1989, 473), for example, suggested that the fragment belongs to a text with historical content, possibly part of the introduction of a treaty. If this was the case, not necessarily the two must be mentioned in chronological order; note that the text does not only lists names, as connective chains alternate the text content. In particular, that the particle *wa-* indicates sentences with direct quotes, and *–mu* use of 1 sg. person.

5.6.2 Donation document for a temple in Kizzuwatna (KUB 40.2, CTH 641).

A large one-columned tablet fragment (Bo 4889, KUB 40.2)[747] informs on the properties belonging to a temple institution located on "mount Išḫara", and its content suggests this was located in Kizzuwatna.[748] While the beginning and the end of the text are missing, the goal of the document is clear. The issuer, who must be a Hittite king, renews and extends prerogatives and donations made in the past to this institution by two individuals specifically referred in the text, Talzu and Sunaššura. While paleography points to a late date of the tablet (NS), context implies that these two high ranking persons can be identified with members of the earlier dynasty of Kizzuwatna (see *infra*).

[747] Ed. Goetze 1940, 61-74; Chrzanowska 2017*. Discussed in Desideri-Jasink 1990, 74-78; Klengel 1999, 101.
[748] Note that the text does not refer primarily to the cult of Išḫara but to a cult institution *located* in a mountain with this name, (ḪUR.SAG *Iš-ḫa-ra*). This location, however, is probably connected with the cult of "^{d}Išḫara of ^{uru}Neriša", mentioned further in the text (thus RGTC 6 1978, 145). The text, otherwise, refers mostly to a triad of gods, Muwanu, Muwatalli and the Fire-god (^{d}*GIBIL*$_6$). Muwanu is only attested in a version of the *Plague Prayer of Mursili II* (KUB 14.13, I 14: DINGIR^{meš} ^{d}*Mu-u-wa-a-*[*nu*] "gods of? Mūwānu"; ed. Rieken 2017b*) and in a fragment of the *(ḫ)išuwa-Festival* (KBo 34.249, 5). A god Muwatalli is found only in a fragment of prayer (KBo 9.98 13), but this may be also read "Muwat[ti]" (see van Gessel 1998/1, 319-320). Both may be hypostasis of the Storm-god, but this can't be discussed here (on this matter see the commentary of Goetze 1940, 67-68). The Fire-god is only attested in this text; the Hitt. equivalent ^{d}*paḫḫur-* is found only in an OS tablet (KBo 20.31 obv. 17).

After a fragmentary introduction, the text indicates that Talzu built structures and made donations of goods and land for this temple (KUB 40.2, obv. 12´-15´):

12' *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-wa* ^{m}*Tal-zu-ú-uš* [ ]
13' *ti-it-ta-nu-ut* | *nu-wa-kán* ŠÀ Ḫ[UR.SAG *Iš-ḫa-ra*]
14' *I-NA* ḪUR.SAG *Iš-ḫa-ra-pát še-er* [ ]
15' *ú-e-te-it* | 3 ^{na4}*ḫu-u-wa-ši i*[*š-ga-ra-a-it ... ^{d}Mu-u-wa-nu*]
16' ^{d}*Mu-wa-at-ta-al-li* Ù ^{d}*G*[*IBIL*$_6$]

(Text after Chrzanowska 2017*; restorations mostly follow Goetze 1940, 60).

$_{12´}$. "When, however, Talzū [...[749]] $_{13´}$. he established. | And [...] amidst m[ount Išḫara...] $_{14´}$. right up in mount Išḫara [...] he built. $_{15´}$. Three *ḫuwaši*-stones he ins[talled ... $_{15-16´}$. for[?] Muwanu], Muwatalli and the fire-god").

Talzu erected these *ḫuwaši* (cult stelae)[750] for these gods, and made other dedications, such as gold and silver[?] divine statues in the cella of Išḫara of Neriša, a town presumably on the mountain itself.[751] The context is made clear further in the document, where it is said that several properties already belonged or were donated to the temple (ll. 25-34´ and perhaps 39´ ff.). Entire villages, with their "cultivated and uncultivated lands, threshing floors and garden land" (transl. Goetze 1940, 63) were among these possessions, and others are listed that belong to "the house" of a certain Ūtti (*ki-i* URU$^{didli.ḫi.a}$ *ŠA* É ^{m}*Ú-ut-ti;* l. 34´), unless this is the same person as the SANGA, as the context possibly suggests. Otherwise, the lands listed are said to belong to the Entu (a high priestess) and the Sanga (high priest) "since ancient times":

Obv. 35'. *ki-i-ma* URU$^{didli.ḫi.a}$ *ŠA* ^{*munus*}*E-EN-TI Ù ŠA* ^{lú}SANGA *ka-r*[*u-ú-i-li-uš a-ra-aḫ-za-an-da-ma-aš-ši*][752]

Afterwards, there is a list of – smaller – donations made to a certain woman Danitiš (obv. 35´-rev. 8), who

[749] Goetze (1940, 61 and n. 241) proposed to integrate "became king" or "appointed somebody to some office".
[750] On the *ḫuwaši*- stelae see recently Cammarosano 2019b.
[751] The beginning of the fragment provides a background for the cults at this institution. The gods Muwanu, Muwatalli and the Fire-god apparently had a role in "rescuing" the Storm-god, a note that must refer to some mythological story; there is also a reference, in this portion, to the river Puruna and to Kummani. Unfortunately the passage is very fragmentary, and the first extant lines also refer to an oracular inquiry, which may precede the decision to found this institution, or to allocate new constructions and terrains.
[752] On the basis of Rs. 7 = Goetze 1940, 64 l. 48.

seems to be someone holding a religious office, perhaps even the Entu-priestess herself.[753] However, the interpretation of this form as a personal name is uncertain. Starke (1990, 205-207) takes it as a religious office, which would in fact explain the clear alternation with Entu in this text.[754] I will go back on this question *infra*, as the detail may be significant for the dating of the text. The structure of this second donation section is not entirely clear, but at the end of it, it is recalled that:

Rev. 8. *ki-i-ma* URU$^{didli.ḫi.a}$ *an-na-al-li-uš* [ ]*

9. *na-at-ša-an ŠA* ^{m}*Ta-al-zu-ú TUP-PÍ ú-e-mi-i*[*a-nu-un*]

10. *A-NA* ^{d}*Mu-u-wa-nu* ^{d}*Mu-wa-at-ta-al-li* ^{d}*GIBIL*[$_{L6}$]

11. *Ù A-NA* ^{lú}SANGA EGIR-*pa AD-DIN* | *nam-ma* DINGIR^{meš} *ḫu-u*$^{!}$*-m*[*a-an-da-aš* ^{lú}SANGA$^{meš?}$]

12. ARAD^{meš} DINGIR-*LIM-ia a-ra-u-wa-aḫ-ḫu-un*

$_{8.}$ These towns, previous [...(had)...]* $_{9.}$ and [I fo]und them on the tablet of Talzu [...*these towns*$^{?}$] $_{10.}$ [...*belong rightfully*$^{?}$] to Muwanu, Muwatalli and the [fi]re-god. [*To the Entu-priestess*] $_{11-12.}$ and to the priest I gave (them) back. | Moreover, I freed (i.e. exempted from taxation) [al]l the gods, [the priests$^{?}$] and the temple personnel.

*Goetze (1940, 64-65) proposed to integrate "From earlier days these villages belonged to the Entu-priestess and the priest". The other integrations in italics also follow Goetze.

This passage makes clear that the issuer of this document renews older concessions, perhaps after these

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[753] This is the view of Trémouille (1991, 98-99). In fact Danitiš would be the same person mentioned in two other documents (see Beckman 1983, 258). One (KUB 56.19) deals with activities of female individuals, who appear to be members of the royal family (part of the text is published in Beckman 1983, 256-258). This document suggests that Danitiš – according to Trémouille (1991, 98) daughter of the Hittite king and a concubine – was destined since childhood to a cultic office for the Storm-god or for Šarruma (II 15´-16´). The same Danitiš (^{munus}*Ta-ni-i-ti*) would be also the author of a ritual text (KBo 2.20), but her office title is broken; this can be ^{munus}*tapriyaš* (see Trémouille 1991 on this topic). Details on this ritual were contained in the broken title paragraph:
1 *UM-MA* ^{munus}*TA-NI-I-TI* MUNUS *TA*-[
2 *nu-mu-kán kiš-an aš-ša-nu-er* [
3 *nu-wa* ^{lú}ḪAL *ú-it nu-wa-mu* [
4 *ŠU-TUM-ma-wa IŠ-TU* É.GAL-*LIM* [
5 ŠÀ.BA 1 (...)

[754] Also in the aforementioned KUB 56.19 (previous note) there are instances where the form seems to be employed as a title (II 15 ff.), although Starke also concedes that in II 1-16 it is employed as a personal name (Starke 1990, 206 n. 676a). Otherwise, other texts also show the term can be a title, for example the fragment KBo 2.20 – also transcribed *supra* – and in the first millennium AH inscription TELL AHMAR 1 (7):
<(...) [*á*$^{?}$*-mi-pa-wa/i-*]*mi-i-tu-***a* (L.314)*ka-pi-la-li-na* (FILIA)*tú-wa/i-tara/i-na* **(FEMINA.PURUS.INFRA)*ta-ni-ti-na*** *i-zi-i-wa/i-i*> "(...) [and] I myself shall make [my] *enemy*'s? daughter a ***taniti-*** for him (i.e. the Storm-god)". The interpretation of Starke is followed by Hawkins (2000, 241), who translates "hierodule".

were forgotten or disregarded for some time. Most interesting is the reference to the consultation of the "tablet of Talzu", which must have been an official document (possibly a land grant[755]) and whose provisions are being reestablished, along with the concession of other prerogatives to the temple, like the exemption from taxation.

Briefly after, it is said that also Sunaššura previously granted the same concessions and properties:

Rev. 14. *ki-i-ma ku-i-e-uš* URU.DIDLI$^{ḫi.a}$ *ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM* | *nu-wa-ra-a*[*t*]
15. *nu-wa ú-it* ^{m}*Šu-ú-na-aš-šu-ra-aš A-NA* ^{m}*Ú-ut-ti* [ ]
16. *DA-A-RI-IŠ-ši IŠ-TU* GUD UDU NINDA KAŠ BA.BA.ZA x[ ]
17. *A-NA* É^{meš} DINGIR^{meš} *a-ra-an-da-ri* | *nu-wa* É^{meš} DINGIR^{me}[^{š}]
18. *ki-nu-na-at ú-uk QA-TAM-MA-pát i-ia-nu-un* [ ] //

14. These towns, which (belong) to the gods, [*Talzu*?...]* them, 15. and Sunaššura came (and) [*confirmed the estate* ....] to Ūtti. 16-17. Forever (these) belong to the temples, together with the cattle, sheep, bread, beer, meals, x[...]; and the temples [...]. 18. The same I have now (re)established myself.

*Reconstructions follow Goetze (1940, 65 and n. 250).

The end of the fragment (rev. 19 ff.) contains indications for offerings to be dedicated to the temple every three years.

On the basis of this text, it has been suggested that Talzu is, like Sunaššura, a person of royal rank, considering the type of patronage activity they both fulfilled and the fact that who renews those former donations and prerogatives must be a Hittite king. If this was the case, the document shows that, at a time in which Kizzuwatna had become a province of the Empire, Hittite kings took care of the old local religious institutions and were able to research into old archival documents of the Kizzuwatnean dynasty. Thus, Sunaššura is with all probability the homonymous king of Kizzuwatna, and Talzu may be another undocumented member of the royal family, probably preceding the former.[756]

[755] Wilhelm 2012c.
[756] E.g. also Klengel (1999, 101) proposes he was a contemporary of either Ḫuzziya III or Muwatalli, preferring the former.

However, while for Sunaššura there seems to be sufficient evidence that this is the same individual mentioned in several documents, Talzu is not attested elsewhere and the text does not provide any clear information on his role or identity. Just on the basis of this text, it remains difficult to conclude that Talzu was indeed a king of Kizzuwatna.[757] Still, Talzu must have been an important personality; this is quite clear considering the scope of his activities and the very fact that he is referenced in this text, in which an older king of Kizzuwatna was involved. He may have been a high personality of the kingdom, as presumably was Ūtti, the other individual mentioned in the document. A chronological vicinity of the three is implied by the connection between Sunaššura and said Ūtti in rev. 15. As for the role of the latter, one possibility is that this is the SANGA of the religious institution at the time; alternatively, he was another notable land owner involved in the land distribution and perhaps the re-configuration of boundaries in the context of the new donations for the temple.[758]

Especially the reference to Sunaššura implies that the donations must refer to territories in his kingdom. This is also strongly suggested from some of the topographic details in the donation part, which refers at least to one well-known Cilician center, "Ḫulaša, close to Tarša" (vs. 30′: ^{uru}*Ḫūlaša* ^{uru}*Tarša māninkuwan*).[759] However, it is also clear that the temple possessions are not contiguous, but include scattered lands, as already noted Goetze (1940, 68). Some territories within a certain area seem to be in

[757] Kammenhuber (1968, 99) remained skeptical in this regard. This is also the opinion of M. Weeden (personal communication, May 2020). His view on this question will appear in the forthcoming *Oxford History of the Ancient Near East* (K. Rander et al. eds.; OHANE 3) (non vidi).

[758] Ūtti was certainly a person of very high status; note that a person with the same name (*Ú-ut-ti*) is attested also at Alalaḫ (AlT 108) and this was a contemporary of Niqmepa, thus possibly also of Sunaššura. He may well be the same person; I thank E. von Dassow for pointing this out to me.

[759] A detailed analysis of the section in Desideri-Jasink 1990, 76-78, esp. n. 54. It is necessary to make a brief remark on geography here. The mention of the river *Puruna* at the beginning of this fragment, likewise in other texts (e.g. KUB 20.52), is misleading when employed to reconstruct a geography of Kizzuwatna. The reference in l. 8 is clearly connected to the aetiological passage on the cults of this temple and its mythological background. The Puruna was most likely a river in Syria (§4.2, p. 162). Note that in his edition of the *Festival of the Storm-god of Manuzziya* (KUB 20.52+; A VI$^{!}$ 7), Groddek (2011, 139) takes the Puruna as the Euphrates, and in the relevant passage offerings are dedicated *to* the river (and to other gods) during the rites (A VI$^{!}$ 6-9). There is no connection with Kizzuwatna and its geography, and the reference to the Puruna in the Talzu-text is equally disconnected from the part regarding the belongings of the temple.

fact excluded from the donation, while other single plots of land belonging to the territory of other villages were included, their boundaries described in some detail.

Goetze (1940, 70 and n. 274) suggested that the Hittite royal author of this document may be Suppiluliuma I, still followed by Wilhelm (2012c). The argument is based on the idea that Danitiš, who received lands at the time of Talzu and Sunaššura, appears to be still alive when KUB 40.2 was promulgated. Goetze maintained that the treaty with Sunaššura was stipulated with Suppiluliuma, hence the attribution, but now we know that the treaty is much earlier. If one employs the same argument, may then assign the text to one of the successors of Tudḫaliya I, perhaps Arnuwanda or Tudḫaliya III. However, the identity of Danitiš poses a significant problem. From one side, if this is a title, this specific explanation falls; but even if one identifies this Danitiš with a person mentioned in other texts (see supra n. 753), then the problem ensues that these texts are much later.

After all – independently from this issue – KUB 40.2 is a late tablet, and an appropriate context for texts of this type is the Late Empire, at the time of Ḫattusili III or Tudḫaliya IV. To this later time date in fact similar donation documents which, in particular, contain historical "prologues" referring back to previous facts.[760] The goal of these documents was to gain allies through donations of lands, based on more or less accurate historical precedents.

Thus said, in the present case it appears that the text still refers to episodes of a much earlier time, since they involve Talzu, Sunaššura and Ūtti, who must have lived in the late 15th c. The relative reliability of these information – at least for the historicity of these characters, if not the specific details of the donation – is certified by the reference to earlier tablets, which were evidently retrieved and consulted in the archives, and the fact that at least one of these people can be identified with some confidence.

[760] Notable documents are the *ḫekur*-Pirwa text of Ḫattusili III, with the retrospective on the "concentric invasions" (KBo 6.28, discussed in §2.7 p. 67), and the land grant for Ura-Tarḫunta (KUB 26.58), with accounts on earlier events of the reign of Ḫattusili III; for the time of Tudḫaliya IV there is the Šaḫurunuwa donation (CTH 225). I am indebted to M. Weeden for this suggestion for a later date, and I thank him for discussing this with me.

5.7 Kizzuwatna and Mittani

5.7.1 The agreement between Pilliya and Idrimi of Alalaḫ (AlT3)

Edition: Wiseman 1953 (31-32) pl. IV n. 3; Kitchen-Lawrence 2012/1 (303-306).
Translations: Hess 2003 (331-332); Schwemer 2005b (182-183); von Dassow 2006 (collated, 174-176).
Other literature (selected): Desideri-Jasink 1990, 70-73; Klengel 1992, 88; Liverani 1990, 95 ff.; Giorgieri 2005, 80-81 and n. 8; von Dassow 2008, 34-35.

An important document from Alalaḫ is the one-columned tablet published as AlT 3, an almost complete text broken in two fragments, now displayed at the British Museum in London (*fig. 55, 83*; see already p. 247-248 for an introduction). The tablet contains a sworn agreement between two individuals, Pilliya and Idrimi:

1. [*tup*]-*pí ri-ik-si*$_{17}$ 2. *i-nu-ma* ^{m}*Píl-li-ia* 3. *ù* ^{m}*Id-ri-mi ni-iš* DINGIR^{meš} *ir-ku-su*$_{x}$ 4. *ù ri-ik-sa*$_{x}$-*am an-ni-e-em*
5. [*i-na b*]*i-ri-šu-nu ir-ku-šu* (AlT 3, 1-5)[761]

"Tablet of a binding agreement. When Pilliya and Idrimi swore an oath by the gods, and this binding agreement swore with each other."

The previous section §5.3.2(d) discussed the poorly preserved seal impression in the center of this tablet. It was very likely sealed in Kizzuwatna with the stamp seal of Pilliya, and this copy was then sent to Alalaḫ. The agreement features only provisions regarding a specific problem, the restitution of fugitives under various circumstances (ll. 6-39), a content typical also of the Ḫattuša-Kizzuwatna diplomatic corpus.[762] Pilliya and Idrimi commit to return fugitives who cross the borders and that are captured or found in the territory of the counterpart. While the two individuals are not indicated as kings, clearly these must be identified with Idrimi of Alalaḫ and, presumably, Pilliya of Kizzuwatna. The first is virtually

[761] One notes that some unorthodox spellings in this text, such as the usage of signs of the /š/ series for phonetic /s/, follows an "Anatolian" scribal convention attested also in Hittite documents, and notably in the well preserved copy of the later *Sunaššura treaty* (KBo 1.5); on this aspect see also §7.3.1, p. 370.
[762] In comparison with the more complex treaties, which refer to various matters of both global and detailed interest, this documents can be defined, in my view, rather a contract or agreement concerning one specific preoccupation.

certain, considering the mention of the king of Mittani, Paratarna, at the end of the text. The identification with Pilliya, instead, is strongly suggested by the content itself, since the agreement must refer to bordering territories, and the most plausible candidate is Kizzuwatna, neighboring Mukiš/Alalaḫ approximately to its north, and west of the Amanus. The most important sequence for historical interests is the ending of the text:

> 40. *i-na a-i-im-me-e* UD-*mi* ^{m}*Pa-ra-tar-na* 41. *it-ti* ^{m}*Id-ri-mi ni-iš* DINGIR^{meš} 42. *iz-ku-u*[*r*] *ù iš-tu* UD-*mi šu-wa-ti* (upper edge) 43. *mu-un-na-ab-tú qa-bi a-na t*[*u*]*-ur-ri* 44. *ma-an-nu-*⟨*me*⟩*-e a-wa-ti ša tup-p*[*í*] 45. *an-ni-e-im i-ti-iq* (left edge) 46. ^{d}IM ^{d}UTU ^{d}*Iš-ḫa-ra* DINGIR^{meš} *_ka-li-šu-nu* 47. *li-ḫal-li-*[*qú-šu*]
>
> or: *_ka-li-šu-nu* ⟨MU[?]⟩-ʳ*šu*ˀ *li-ḫal-li-*[*qú*] (according to Schwemer 2005b, 183 n. 11).[763]
>
> "The day in which Paratarna **has sworn an oath by the gods with Idrimi**, from that day (forward) fugitives are to be returned.[764] Who(ever) transgresses the words of this tablet, may the Storm-god (Hurr. Tešub), the Sun-god (Hurr. Šimige), Išḫara and all the gods, destroy him/ destroy *his name*".

This passage mentions Paratarna/Baratarna, the king of Mittani; since also his titles are missing, this characteristic of the document must be grounded on customary diplomatic practice. As already said, this document allows to establish an important synchronism between Paratarna of Mittani, Idrimi of Alalaḫ and Pilliya of Kizzuwatna. Moreover, the overshadowing presence of the king of Mittani in this agreement – between two kings in their own land, Pilliya and Idrimi, – obviously has certain geo-political and historical implications.

Clearly, the mention of a *previous* treaty between Paratarna and Idrimi implies: 1) that Idrimi is his subordinate, and that 2) being bound to him by oath, this premise is relevant to the stipulation of the

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[763] Indeed, the hand copy of Wiseman (1953, plate IV) shows traces of a sign after *ka-li-šu-nu,* ignored in transcription. Von Dassow (2006, 176) states that her translation is based on autoptic collation, but she does not signal the possible presence of this sign. From the available photos, it is not possible to me to make any further considerations. The integration of Schwemer finds support, for example, in AlT 2, 78: (...) *ú-ḫal-liq-šu-*[*n*]*u* MU-*šu ù* NUMUN-*šu* (...).

[764] Von Dassow (2008, 34 n. 76) reads *qa-bi* as *ga*$_5$*-bi, i.e. gabbi* "all". Cfr. the translation in Schwemer 2005b: "An welchem Tag auch immer Parattarna zusammen mit Idrimi d(*ies*)en Eid bei den Göttern geleistet hat, von jenem Tag an *gilt*, dass man einen Flüchtling aus[lie]fert"; here this is read as "*qabû*" to order (contexts of use in CAD/Q, 20 n. 5). The content of the provision is clear, anyway.

current agreement with Pilliya, which can't be concluded without a reference to the overlord (also von Dassow 2008, 34).[765] In summary, Idrimi has to go through Paratarna to stipulate this contract *with* another self-determined polity, represented by Pilliya.

The text itself, instead, does not clarify explicitly the position of Pilliya in respect to Paratarna. While it is evident that Idrimi's and Pilliya's positions are equivalent in merit to the specific question of the contract, is it so also in respect to Paratarna, Idrimi's overlord? This question found different answers, but most scholars suggest that the presence of Paratarna in this clause *implies* that *also* Pilliya must be a subordinate of the Mittanian king at the time of this stipulation, with various explanations.[766]

1. Pilliya as a subordinate. Since the tablet contains the original version drafted by Pilliya's chancellery, Giorgieri (2005, 80 n. 8) proposed that Idrimi's version, sent from Alalaḫ to Pilliya, may have employed a specular formulation of the clause in reference to Paratarna (i.e. "On whatever day Baratarna swore an oath by the gods with *Pilliya...*"). The same point is made by von Dassow (2008, 34 esp. n. 77), in particular on the basis of the strict reciprocal structure of the document. This is in fact *necessary*, following this view, as within the perfectly parallel structure of the document this provision represents a strong element of asymmetry that must find explanation.

Note that a similar employ of specular-clauses remains conjectural, and is unparalleled in other documents. The only document that allows comparison of two versions certainly written by different chancelleries is the Hittite treaty with Egypt (CTH 91).[767] While these show, indeed, that inverted formulations were consistently employed, a critical difference is that for *every* provision both partners are indicated, and never one of them only (*fig. 85*).[768] Following this principle, if the clause applied to both

[765] But see Beal (1986, 429 n. 26), according to whom the oath is not precedent; see discussion *infra*.
[766] E.g. Beal 1986, 429; Bryce 2005, 117; von Dassow, 2006, 2008.
[767] The manuscripts from Ḫattuša are copies of the Egyptian version, the hieroglyphic versions in Egypt are copies of the Hittite tablets sent to Egypt; on this aspect see recently some remarks in Edzard 2018, 324-325.
[768] See Quack 2002, 293 for this synthetic scheme of the two versions. The inversions are of two types: 1) if both kings are mentioned in the same sentence, the order of their names is inverted in the two versions; 2) if each

rulers in AlT 3, the text 'should' indicate both Pilliya and Idrimi in the sentence, or provide a second clause – specular to the first – for Pilliya.[769]

2. Pilliya not a subordinate. In *The Hurrians,* Wilhelm (1989, 26) in fact proposed a different interpretation, although subsequently he changed his view on the matter (1994b, 293; 1995, 1249[770]). On the position of Idrimi and Pilliya, Wilhelm wrote:

> "Idrimi was bound by treaty to acknowledge the supremacy of the king of Mittani (...); he still had the right, however, to arrange treaties and to indulge in foreign politics *without consulting the king as long as he observed the terms of their agreement*".
>
> "This treaty also makes it clear that Kizzuwatna – unlike Alalakh – was not yet subject to Mittani, because Idrimi *declared his allegiance to the oath of loyalty he had sworn to the Hurrian king, which would hardly have been necessary if both kings had been bound to the same suzerain*." (Wilhelm 1989, 26).

However, more recently, Klengel (1999, 95-96 n. 40) and Schwemer (2005b, 182-183; more explicitly in 2007, 152) seem to maintain this interpretation as well:

> "Während Pillija den Vertrag selbständig abschließt, beeidigt Idrimi die Vereinbarung gemeinsam mit seinem Oberherrn Parrattarna (...)" (Klengel 1999, 95-96 n. 40).

This interpretation, in my view, presents the most straightforward reading of the passage, according to the text content and formulation. The view that both Idrimi and Pilliya were subjects of the Mittanian king requires, instead, an additional layer of interpretation, and, in particular, the assumption that Idrimi's copy of the agreement contained a reverse formulation, which is entirely hypothetical.[771]

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provision refers to one of the two only, then a *second*, identical provision, exists for the counterpart. In this case their order is likewise inverted.

[769] One example may be text n. [1] *supra*, but with a further complication, since Telipinu is not indicated by its name but only as "Great King" in all versions except one fragment. In any case, all fragments are very fragmentary and it is only hypothetical that among the available tablets the versions of both chancelleries are attested.

[770] Wilhelm 1994b, 293: "(...) Parrattarna (...) der Oberherr der Könige dieser Länder (i.e. Alalaḫ and Kizzuwatna) war und demnach seinen Herrschaftsbereich bis zum Mittelmeer und nach Kilikien ausgedehnt hatte (...)". Wilhelm 1995, 1249: "(...) Kizzuwatna (...) which had probably already been tied to Mitanni by Parattarna (...)".

[771] One may consider the treaty between Pilliya and Zidanza for a methodological observation. In that instance the oath provision, generally attributed to Pilliya, is often taken as a signal of his lower status. Why, in that case, the

While von Dassow (2008, 34 and n. 77) insisted on the reciprocal structure of the document as a signal of the equal status of the two parts under the same overlord, *precisely* the break of symmetry represented by the oath provision in this – otherwise – perfectly balanced document, corresponds to the different status *of Idrimi* in respect to Pilliya, who was *not* bound to that subordination treaty. The text itself appears to make clear that an asymmetry exists not between Pilliya and Idrimi, who are equal within the specific matter discussed, but between *their position* in respect to Paratarna.

If Pilliya and Idrimi were both oath-bound to Paratarna, it seems puzzling that this is not made explicit in AlT 3, considering that the document, otherwise, manages to carefully define both parties' duties and prerogatives. At least in principle, according to international law practice in the period, if both parties were under the supervision of Mittani their relations could be carried out through the 'imperial' administration, rather than conducted directly,[772] and one may argue that a different *type* of document could have been employed: a deliberation of the Mittanian king, such as an edict-type document imposed on both parts would suffice to settle the matter. A perfect example is AlT 14, between Kizzuwatna and Alalaḫ, which dates to the next generation of rulers and reveals a mutated political situation (§7.1).[773] Indeed, perhaps the clear subordinate status of Kizzuwatna in this later text may have influenced the interpretation of the former.

Note that Beal even suggested the opposite (1986, 429 n. 26), i.e. that "(...) the phrase *clearly shows that it is Idrimi* who is not yet a tributary", while Kizzuwatna already was at the time of the stipulation. This would be the precise reason for the inclusion of this special provision, since Idrimi's sworn oath to Paratarna was necessary to validate the document. This explanation starts from the premise that it is

document shipped to Kizzuwatna could also not contain inverted formulations, following the same argument made for AlT 3? It appears that these interpretations are, inevitably, informed by and bound to specific interpretations of other evidence, leading to circular argumentation (see next section).

[772] See Beckman 2003, 755 n. 17.

[773] Although they are later texts, see also the two arbitrations issued by Mursili II over some quarrels between his subordinates in Syria, concerning possessions of cities and questions of borders (CTH 63, CTH 64; see Beckman 1999 n. 30 and 31A).

unlikely that a tributary (Idrimi) could make a treaty with a foreign power *if* the other was not a subject as well, thus the contract is rather an intra-empire stipulation under the aegis of Paratarna, valid only since Idrimi ties himself to Mittani. Beal's counterintuitive explanation is ingenious, but in my view difficult to prove just from the content of this clause. It is also not compatible with the fact that the oath between Idrimi and Paratarna seems to pre-exist this document, as the formulation itself suggests.[774] AlT 3 clearly *depends* from this previous agreement.

Additionally, Schwemer (2007, 152) pointed out that it was not impossible that some independent rulers could stipulate treaties with neighbors who were vassals of an overlord, bringing up the example of AlT 2, a slightly later treaty between Ir-Teššob of Tunip and Niqmepa of Alalaḫ.[775] The document is written from the perspective of Niqmepa – according to most scholars – who speaks in the first person. A passage towards the end of the text (§12, 72–74) would show that the treaty counterpart, Ir-Teššob, was an independent ruler:

> 72. [LUGAL É]RIN^{meš} *Ḫur-ri* EN-*lí šum-ma it-ti* LUGAL ÉRIN^{meš} *Ḫu*[*r-ri*] ˹*ta*˺-*na-kir ù a-na-ku*
> 73. [*ma*]-*mi-it-šu ša* LUGAL ÉRIN^{meš} *Ḫur-ri* EN-*ia* ˹*la*˺ *a-ḫa-ap-pí* 74. ˹*a*˺-*na-mu-ú a-wa-te*^{meš} *iš-tu ma-*˹*mi*˺-*ti lu-ú i-pá-aš-šar-*˹*ú*(?)˺ (AlT 2, 72-74)[776]
>
> ''[The kin]g of the Hurrians is my lord. (*Even) if you are at war with / become hostile to the king of the Hur*[*rians*], I will not break the oath to the king of the Hurrians, my lord, (unless) he cancels the words of the oath." (Transl. after Schwemer 2007, 152).

A different translation of von Dassow (2008, 52 n. 123) for the last sentence ("(…); these terms would be released from the oath") does not modify the basic meaning of the passage significantly. However,

[774] See also the remarks of von Dassow 2008, 38 n. 93 for other problems generated by this interpretation.
[775] Ed. Wiseman 1953, 26-31 and more recently Dietrich-Loretz 1997; a translation and discussion also in Schwemer 2005c, 183-186.
[776] Transcription from von Dassow 2008, 52 n. 123, with some differences from Dietrich-Loretz 1997, 222. In particular, the proposed reading <˹*ta*˺-*na-kir*> is crucial, in place of <*na-kir*>.

according to her, the document should be interpreted quite differently, as – similarly to AlT 3 – it would indicate that both rulers can be seen as subordinates of Mittani (ibid. 52-54).[777]

While this question is not to be discussed here, this other example serves for showing the complexity of interpreting these diplomatic documents. Taking a step back, the existence of different specific interpretations of the oath clause of the tablet of Pilliya and Idrimi shows that, far for being obvious, the meaning of the passage is still quite problematic.

5.7.2 Historical context and other sources

Methodologically, it seems that the interpretations of this document often *derives* from the hypothetical premise that Pilliya was also a subordinate of Mittani at that time, rather than the other way around. This is chiefly because other evidence critically informs this interpretation, in particular the content of the Idrimi statue inscription and the treaty between Zidanza and Pilliya. This section will review this picture for a historical re-assessment.

AlT 3 and the Idrimi inscription. Von Dassow (2006, 174; also 2008, 37-39) maintains that AlT 3 was concluded under the supervision of the common overlord. In particular, she reads the document within the context of Idrimi's military activities to the north "against Ḫatti", following a passage of his famous statue inscription.[778] In this (fictional) autobiographical composition he lists cities "of Ḫatti" that he despoiled, but these military actions, according to the scholar, would refer in fact to an invasion of Kizzuwatnean territories, eventually under the aegis of Paratarna. Idrimi states:

> 64. ÉRIN^{meš}-*bá el-te-qí ù a-na ma-at Ḫa-at-te*^{ki} 65. *e-te-li ù* 7 URU.DIDLI$^{ḫi.a}$ *aṣ-bat-šu-nu** 66. ^{uru}*Pa-aš-ša-ḫé* ^{ki} ^{uru}*Da-ma-ru-ut-la*^{ki} 67. ^{uru}*Ḫu-làḫ-ḫa-an*^{ki} ^{uru}*Zi-la*$^{⟨ki⟩⟨uru⟩}$*I-e*^{ki} 68. ^{uru}*Ú-lu-zi-la*^{ki} *ù* ^{uru}*Za-ru-na*^{ki}

[777] Indeed, von Dassow (2008, 52-53 and n. 124) also suggests that the perspective of this document, found at Alalaḫ, is that of Ir-Teššob, not Niqmepa's. While in this case the two versions turned out to be identical, the copy of the treaty of Ir-Teššob (not extant) would have been understood as the word of Niqmepa, i.e. "you" and "me" had the opposite sense in the two cases.

[778] Ed. Smith 1949, Oller 1977; Dietrich-Loretz 1981; Durand 2011 and the online edition by Lauinger 2017. See also Longman 1991, 2003.

69. *an-mu-ú* URU.DIDLI$^{ḫi.a}$ *aṣ-bat-šu-nu** *ù ul-lu-ú* 70. *eḫ-te-pè-šu-nu-ti ma-at Ḫa-at-te^{ki}*

71. *ú-ul ip-ḫur ù a-na* UGU-*ia ú-ul il-li-ku* 72. *ša* ŠÀ-*bi-ia e-te-pu-*^{r}*uš*$^{¬}$

* The inscription is well-known for its non-standard Akkadian grammar and paleography. For this passage note that, at l. 65 and 69, *aṣ-bat-šu-nu* (Dietrich-Loretz 1981, Durand 2011, Lauinger 2017) was read in other works *ṣa-lul-šu-nu* (after Goetze 1950, 229). The two readings require quite different translations:

1. "I took troops, went up to the land of Ḫatti, and *captured* seven cities: Paššaḫe, Damarutla, Ḫulaḫḫan, Zila, I'e, Uluzila and Zaruna. These cities *I captured*, and *I destroyed* others. The land of Ḫatti did not gather/mobilize, and come against me. I did as I please. (...)" (Adapted from J. Lauinger 2017).

2. "I took troops and went up against Ḫatti. I *destroyed* (l. 70) x$^{?}$ cities *under their sovereignty* (*ṣalulšunu*), (including) Paššaḫe, Damrut-rē'î, Ḫulaḫḫan, Zise, Ie/Yâ, Uluzila, and Zarana, these cities were (*under) their treaty protection* (*ṣalulšunu*). The land Ḫatti did not assemble and come against me. So I did as I pleased (...)". (From Longman 2003, 479).

Von Dassow connected the content of AlT 3 with these events (i.e conflicts with Kizzuwatna), which caused population displacements and changes in the territorial layouts in the area (2008, 38). Idrimi presumably acted on behalf of his overlord Paratarna, perhaps "employ(ing) this tactic as part of an effort to compel Kizzuwatna's allegiance to Mittani" (ibid.). At the conclusion of warfare, the agreement with Sunaššura – under the supervision of Mittani – aims at repairing the disruptions in the social and geo-political landscape.

This interpretation of the passage heavily depends on the geography described. Durand (2011, 144 n. 168) already observed that very little can be said of these toponyms, and only Zaruna is attested at least in the *Annals of Ḫattusili.* Of this toponym I already discussed in §4.3.1 (p. 161-162), where a location *outside* Cilicia, east of the Amanus, was proposed. The area in question may, broadly speaking, correspond with the Amuq valley and the plains going north. This appears to be the view of Durand (2011, 144 n. 168) as well: "On gagne, à la lecture du texte d'Idrimi, l'impression que tout ce qui se trouvait « dans les hauteurs » surplombant la plaine était considéré comme «zone hittite»" (see also his remarks on Zaruna). These highlands are rather those going north of Alalaḫ along the mountains, rather than across them in

the shores of plain Cilicia. Thus, these territories were unlikely part of Kizzuwatna (§2.7).[779] The Cilician locations proposed for some of these centers listed by Idrimi are all tentative (ibid. 37 and n. 88-89), and in fact chiefly based on this specific interpretation of AlT 3.

This view takes away one difficulty of the text, which is to explain the mention of "Ḫatti" in place of Kizzuwatna. It is possible in fact that Idrimi considers "Ḫatti" those territories going north (possibly for a considerable distance) and apparently still affiliated to the Anatolian kingdom. This area was since a very long time sphere of action of the Hittite kingdom and, following the text, presumably still formally under its control. The lack of Hittite resistance (ll. 70-72) corresponds probably better to this scenario as well, given the distance of this area from Anatolia and the fragile Hittite hold on these territories throughout the Old Kingdom. These territories, up to the Anti-Taurus, were already disputed earlier on between Hittites and "the Hurrians", and now with Mittani.

Eventually, this view is also compatible with a scenario in which Idrimi plundered the north – presumably in agreement with Parataarna – acting *in support* of Kizzuwatna against Ḫattuša, as suggested Kühne (1982, 212) quoted also by Klengel (1992, 88 n. 20). This different interpretation would involve Kizzuwatna in the Mittanian political axis in anti-Hittite function.

The picture does not change substantially if the inscription dates in the 14th rather than in the 15th c.[780] Even if the passage could, in this case, project back in time a later situation (if Kizzuwatna was already seen as Hittite province at this time), ultimately the question still depends on the geography of the activities of Idrimi himself. Thus, it is not necessary to explain this reference to "Ḫatti" through the long

[779] Similarly Ünal 2014, 485.

[780] Many agree that a dating lower than the time of Idrimi is necessary, thus the statue would be a pseudo-autobiography composed later (discussion in Lauinger 2019, 36 ff. with references.). Lauinger (2019, 38), for the reasons exposed in his article, reiterates a proposal for a dating not contemporaneous to Idrimi but relatively close in time, to ca. 1400 BCE. A similar dating in Fink 2010. Note that the website of the British Museum maintains a very high dating for the statue, to 16th c. (!), but this high dating corresponds to a surpassed view, which located Idrimi much earlier in time.

lasting subjection of Cilicia/Kizzuwatna to the Hittites in the Old Kingdom, or with their current political vicinity.[781]

Therefore, Kizzuwatna may not be directly involved with Idrimi's military actions.[782] Commenting on the content of AlT 3, fugitives and population movements between bordering territories appear to be typical of the period, and in fact they are a recurrent preoccupation of all the diplomatic documents of the Hatti-Kizzuwatna corpus. Since this is the only theme touched in AlT 3, this very fact shows the limited extent of the diplomatic and political relevance of the document itself; in other words, it seems a stretch to consider it a far reaching peace treaty between Pilliya and Idrimi. A degree of conflict is certainly at place in the background of the document, but immediate correlation with the *events* described in the Idrimi statue, whose fine chronology in relation to AlT 3 is unknown, is not guaranteed.

AlT 3 and the treaty between Pilliya and Zidanza. The document must be also discussed in relation to the treaty Zidanza-Pilliya (text n. [4]). The latter is frequently interpreted as an 'unbalanced' parity treaty, but this remains uncertain. At any rate, one should still explain the fact that Pilliya, during his reign, maintained diplomatic ties both with Ḫattuša and with Mittani – directly or through their subordinates. The solution to this has been to identify different diplomatic phases during the reign of Pilliya: in origin, Kizzuwatna was bound to Ḫattuša as in the previous generations, but at a second moment in time one can deduce from AlT 3 diplomatic vicinity to Mittani.[783] While in my view AlT 3 does not demonstrate Kizzuwatna had become a *tributary* of Mittani, it still suggests that political and diplomatic relations did happen, which probably requires that the previous alliance with Ḫattuša had been invalidated.[784] These diplomatic relations may be constituted by a treaty of broader scope not

[781] Indeed, a later date may explain even better why the described area can be attributed to Ḫatti, if the authors "saw" the period of the conquests of Tudḫaliya I in Syria (late 15th c.), re-started after a long halt during the late Old Kingdom.
[782] See for example Bryce 2005, 117: "His conquests brought him *close* to the borders of Kizzuwadna, and may have lead to the treaty which he drew up with the Kizzuwadnan king Pilliya".
[783] E.g. Beal 1986, 430; Bryce 2005, 117-118.
[784] But this is not necessary the case, as observed Schwemer 2007, 152.

necessarily dissimilar to those previously stipulated with Ḫattuša (i.e. a parity treaty), in which Kizzuwatna maintained its status of self-determined polity. This picture would be supported by the passage of the *Treaty with Sunaššura* about Kizzuwatna's shift of alliance towards Mittani at the "time of my (i.e. Tudḫaliya's) grandfather" (§7.3.2). This later reference would prove that Kizzuwatna, from being a close ally or even a subordinate of Ḫatti – depending on the interpretations – passed under the protection of, or closed an alliance with the Mittanian kingdom. This may have happened even after the time of Zidanta, with Ḫuzziya II.[785]

Synthesis. In my view, the text of AlT 3 suggests that this contract, dedicated to specific questions of fugitives, was stipulated between two regional kingdoms – namely their rulers Idrimi and Pilliya – that were acting independently (somewhat contra Beal 1986, n. 26). The reason for which this stipulation was possible, even though at least one party was tied to the Mittanian overlord, is that the document regards a minor dispute, presumably related to borders' issues, and has a quite limited political outcome.[786] Still, the endorsement of Paratarna was required, in my view, for his status as overlord of Idrimi. Their *subordination* oath[787] was an agreement of much higher diplomatic level, thus any other agreement concluded by Idrimi necessarily depended from compatibility with the previous.

It can't be proved beyond doubt that the agreement AlT 3 and the military events described in the Idrimi inscription are strictly connected either. The agreement refers to preoccupation well attested also in the

[785] Bryce 2005, 118 and 428 n. 61. Note that the contrary was also suggested, i.e. that the treaty with Idrimi predates that with Zidanza (Kühne 1982, 221 n. 195), but see the counter-arguments of Beal (1986, 430 and n. 30), on which I do not expand here. The chronology is rather tight, and much depends on the length and exact dates of the kingdom of Idrimi, thus whether he outlived Zidanza II or not (see the chronological chart for approximate references).

[786] For this reason Wiseman (1953, 32) suggested this text is only a portion of a longer, more far reaching treaty. This is not necessarily the case: the fact that 1) the tablet contains a concluded text, it is sealed and includes divine witnesses and curses, and 2) that there is no mention of a broader agreement of which AlT3 would be part of, do not seem compatible with this proposal.

[787] Idrimi Statue (57-58): 57. *i-na* LÚ-*ti-ia i-na ki-nu-ti-ia* PÀD *an-na-am* 58. *az-kur-šu ù* LUGAL-*ku a-na* ^{uru}*A-la-la-aḫ*^{ki}, so translated by Lauinger (2017) "I swore the earlier oath in my status as a loyal retainer, and then I was king for Alalaḫ.", and Durand (2011, 142) "en gentilhomme loyale que j'étais, le serment antérieur je lui jurai; lors, me voilà roi; à la ville d'Alalaḫ…".

Hittite-Kizzuwatna diplomatic corpus, whereas in that case there is no need to assume the problem was consequential to previous military activities.

At the light of the sources, one could propose the following background for the creation of the document:

1. The oath between Idrimi and Paratarna mentioned in AlT 3 is very likely the same mentioned explicitly in Idrimi inscription (ll. 57-58), a sworn subordination oath thanks to which Idrimi was confirmed on the throne of Alalaḫ. As Klengel observed (1992, 87), the expanding Mittanian domination in Syrian territories happened through oaths sworn by local authorities, and was thus based on links of personal submission rather than territorial integration of areas into a supra-regional state structure. If this oath indicated that Idrimi owed military support to Paratarna, this can be the context of the attack against Hittite domains described in the statue inscription.

2. If Pilliya had to entertain relationships at local level with his Syrian neighbor Idrimi, he presumably had to do so *also* with Paratarna, in reason of the specific system of power that Mittani imposed on his subordinates. In this sense, form and content of AlT 3 are well expected if Pilliya, embodying a self-standing, foreign entity, had to discuss matters with a local ruler who was bound to an overlord. Although Alalaḫ discusses here relatively independently a matter concerning its own territory, it was below the jurisdiction of Mittani, thus the actual representative with which *Pilliya* signs a contract is Paratarna.

3. If Pilliya had previous private agreements with Paratarna *directly*, posit of the kind we know he previously stipulated with Ḫatti,[788] and he had a dispute with Idrimi over borders' matters, this explains the presence of the discussed provision in AlT 3, and makes clear that Idrimi had to comply to the will of his overlord concerning the matter. In this scenario, Idrimi had to stipulate an agreement with Pilliya –

[788] This may be confirmed by the passage in the Sunaššura treaty concerning the tablet of the oath with Mittani, that must be destroyed after the new stipulation with the Hittites (KBo 1.5 IV 25-26): *šanītam tuppu ša nīš* DINGIR^{meš} *ša epiš lū nipaššiṭ-šu awāt* LÚ *Ḫurri lū ninassuk* "furthermore: the tablet of the oath which was (previously) made, we will erase. The word of the Hurrian we will discard" (=Wilhelm 2014b* ll. 255-257).

for which both parts had the same prerogatives and duties in reference to fugitives and trespassing – *in reason* of his loyalty to Paratarna.

This reading explains the reference to the Idrimi-Paratarna oath in AlT 3 in 1) the background of the contract; 2) in reference to Idrimi; 3) in reference to Pilliya *and* his position in respect to both Idrimi and Paratarna.

After all, this interpretation does not impact substantially the broader historical view of the period and the meaning of this document in that background. Considering the content of both the agreement Idrimi-Pilliya and of the statue of Idrimi, it may be that "Parattarna had indeed acquired Kizzuwatna's allegiance by the time that Idrimi made terms with Pilliya" (von Dassow 2008, 39), but it does not seem absolutely certain that this was a subordinated or tributary territory, whereas Alalaḫ *clearly* is. As concerns Kizzuwatna, the diplomatic ties with Mittani and/or his subordinates in Syria probably voided any previous treaty of alliance held with Ḫattuša. Pilliya's shift of alliance may be explained through the fact that Kizzuwatna, at a certain point in time, was forced to establish diplomatic connections with Mittani for the mutated political reality, with the growing role of this kingdom in the macro-area under Paratarna.[789] It may even be true that Kizzuwatna factually fell under Mittani as a tributary, but the evidence in my view does not suggests this.

It appears that the Hittites did not take this "treason" lightly. When Tudḫaliya managed to re-gain a hegemonic role in Anatolia and Syria, through his military successes and perhaps even campaigns in Kizzuwatna, the former alliance with the Hittites had to be re-established. But only formally Tudḫaliya granted Kizzuwatna its previous status of peer ally, while in fact imposing a substantially resized role, and initiating a deeper operation of integration of the region in the Hittite territory (ch. 7).

[789] See for example Bryce 2005, 118.

5.8 Archaeology

From a purely archaeological perspective, there is very little evidence that can be attributed safely to the 15th c. It does not seem there are distinctive material reflections of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna itself, i.e. informing on its administrative and political life, or on the kingdom's social life. One problem for this period at many sites is that later levels of 14th-13th c. and their constructions heavily obliterated the previous levels and architectures. It is the case, for example, of the so called "temple" building at the key site of **Tarsus** (level IX, see *fig. 5; fig. 31*) built above earlier structures probably of monumental character in existence since the level V and still in the period of Kizzuwatna (ca. 16th-15th c.; see Jean 2010, 159).[790]

The most relevant archaeological marker of the period is the substantial diffusion at all sites of NCA-*style* pottery, as summarized in *fig. 28*. This material-cultural change corresponds archaeologically with the beginning of LBA in Cilicia, approximately mid-16th c. Actually, it has been observed that, at Ḫattuša, circa at the turn of 15th c. begun the production of a more standardized pottery type, with decrease in variety of forms and lesser production of high quality red polished ware – whose distinctive forms were the beautiful beak-spouted jugs (Schoop 2006, 263-267; 2009, 152). It is this more limited assemblage that chiefly informs the Cilician NCA inspired pottery, which suggests the influx increased especially in the 15th c.

While the pottery of LB I levels in Cilicia was local, Syrian wares or imports are rare or absent. *Any* import is indeed very rare in all LB I levels, similarly to previous phases, and with the exception of a figurine from Sirkeli,[791] the few imported objects all come from Tarsus (Jean 2010, 471). The Red Lustrous Wheel-made (RLW-m) ware of Cypriot or Southern-Anatolian production,[792] typical of the period and

[790] The level VI at Tarsus, corresponding with the age of independent Kizzuwatna, was already discussed in previous chapters (§4.5) for the problems connected with the stratigraphy and chronology.
[791] This is a terracotta of king or dignitary, of Syrian style, typical of north Syrian Middle Bronze Age, and found in a LB I level; another fragment of anthropomorphic terracotta figurine shows instead Hittite iconography, and may be local (see Jean 2010, 463 with ref.).
[792] See ch. 7.8 for literature.

found in great quantity in Central Anatolia and in the Göksu Valley, as well as in the Amuq and at Alalaḫ, is notably rare in Plain Cilicia (Jean 2010, 486 with ref.).[793]

The absence of imports not only in the LB I but also in the LB II is remarkable, and shows a degree of isolation, especially if compared with other eastern Mediterranean coastal regions (Cyprus, Levant and Egypt), where Cypriot and later Mycenaean imports are abundant (Jean 2010, 486). Also remarkable is the virtually absolute absence of Mittanian material cultural correlates, since for some decades in 15th c. Kizzuwatna appeared to be politically tied to Mittani. Mittanian seal impressions are very rare as well.[794]

The most important historical document from Cilicia for this period is the seal of Išpudaḫšu, found however in a secondary context (§5.3.1). This document certifies, though, the use of administrative and bureaucratic systems entirely compatible with those in use in central Anatolia during the 16th and 15th c. Instead, the absence of tablets from the Kizzuwatna chancellery remains to date one of the most significant question marks in Hittitological research. As discussed previously (§4.4), the Hittite land grant dating to the time of Telipinu found at Tarsus comes from a much later context, and only secondarily provides hints on local history. While the period itself is very obscure archaeologically, even unstratified finds dating to this time are rare.

Architecture is somewhat more significant, though. At **Mersin**, the fortifications of level VII, adopting the Hittite casemates model (see *fig. 6, 13*), existed at least in the 15th c.[795] They are built above a previous level VIII, poorly known.[796] While there is no information on this occupation phase, there is evidence that

[793] Note that other Cypriot imports are equally absent in Cilicia, as anywhere else in Anatolia (with the exception of Troy).
[794] Jean (2010, 458) lists a faience cylinder seals of Mittanian manufacture from Tarsus. At Kinet Höyük a hematite cylinder seal of "elaborate" Mittanian style was found in the Neo-Assyrian layers, but the late context suggests this was held as heirloom, and can't be connected for sure with Kinet in the LBA.
[795] There are now some radiocarbon dates from the recent excavations of level "IX". These confirm a date in the LB I, i.e. end of the 16th or early 15th c. (Jean 2010, 403); this level corresponds indeed to the VII of the old excavations (see *fig. 28*). For architectural details in reference to the possible chronology of the fortification walls at Ḫattuša see Jean 2010, 191-192.
[796] Jean 2010, 187-188.

the casemate fortification structures were employed later for occupation (lev. V), as demonstrates an assemblage of complete vessels found in the "piece 56" – a space of re-use within the walls. It would indicate the loss of the defensive function of these structures during the late Empire period.[797] While lev. VIII is poorly known because the fortification foundations intrudes directly this phase, the construction phase of lv. VII marks nonetheless an important stratigraphical change.[798]

The central Anatolian inspiration of these structures does not imply, of course, Hittite direct intervention or political presence. Already Garstang proposed to date them to the age of independent Kizzuwatna;[799] he was particularly insightful, as his considerations anticipated the re-dating of this type of architectures to an age earlier than the empire period solely on stratigraphic basis. This matches with the re-dating of most of the defensive walls at Ḫattuša, advocated by Schachner in recent years in various contributions; with good reason, they are considered to belong to the Old Kingdom, and not to the age of Suppiluliuma I. A dating of level VII to 15th c. agrees with the interpretation of Jean (2006, 2010) for the levels VIII and VII, in which the Syrian wares persisted, replaced only at level VI by the Hittite style pottery. The continuity in use of the local pottery traditions at Mersin, still in the 15th c., is quite remarkable as it is unique of this site.

Jean (2010, 224) suggests that the presence of fortifications *but* the absence of monumental buildings seems to suggest this site was a post with military and defensive function in the LB I and II, thus throughout the Kizzuwatna and the Hittite period. However, the substantial later accumulations and the limited excavations do not allow to draw a final picture of these early levels; for certain, the site citadel was not of big dimensions. It has been proposed that Mersin/Yumuktepe had a close connection with the

[797] Jean 2006, 2010, 189.
[798] It seems, thus, misleading to group the two levels together as in Novák et al. (2017, 183). Note that for these authors the level would date to 14th c., thus some discrepancy emerges with their interpretation of the stratigraphy at Tarsus (see §4.5.1).
[799] Garstang 1953, 237: "The precise date of such Hittite fortifications at the capital (…) is commonly ascribed to the reign of Subbiluliuma (…)" but "it had cleary been in the making under Subbiluliuma's predecessors".

nearby site of Soli Höyük, as they appear to have complementary functions. One could be a military post and the second a harbor and commercial hub (Jean 2010, 481).

For the ancient coastal site of **Mersin/Viranşehir-Soli Höyük**, close to modern Mersin and excavated since 1999, information from a number of articles indicate similar trends as in the other sites. Originally, the excavators divided the stratigraphy in "Pre-Imperial (Middle-Hittite)", "Imperial" and "Post-Imperial". One relevant find is a sealed cretula described briefly in Yağcı 2008 (800), and found in the "Pre-Imperial" layers below buildings dated to the Empire Period; notably, it was found together with a RLW-m flask, which suggests this layer unlikely dates earlier than the 15th c. The seal is published in Dinçol-Dinçol 2004 who dated it to the final 16th-early 15th c. The seal is certainly ancient, but the AH inscription, which employs well-developed syllabic signs to write a name *(m)u-wa-zi*, points to the first three quarters of 15th c. rather than the 16th c. Radiocarbon dates published in Novák et al. 2017 (156) confirms a late 15th c. destruction date for this "middle Hittite" level.[800] The level may have fortifications of Hittite Central Anatolian style (Yağcı 2009; Jean 2010, 206).

Large scale architectures dating to the 15th c. were also found on the mound of **Kinet Höyük** (*fig. 7*). It is at this time that the central Anatolian style pottery repertoire, of local production, appears *abruptly* in the local sequence. At this site in fact the change is quite distinctive in comparison with the other Cilician centers; this apparently sudden introduction of the NCA-style tradition in the LB I may explain the absence of forms typical of the central Anatolian assemblage deriving from MB prototypes (Gates 2006, 306, n. 21), mirroring the importation from Ḫattuša of an already standardized repertoire.[801] Differently from the other sites, Kinet shows larger Mediterranean connectivity, with fragments of imported Cypriot pottery (e.g. *White Slip, Base-Ring*, bichromes*)* from Level IV-Phase 15.

[800] See already Jean 2010, 403
[801] See the summary on the pottery of lv. 15 in Jean 2010, 259-262.

The change in the LBA at this site is particularly remarkable also architecturally, with the obliteration of the large scale structures of lev. V (§4.5) and the construction of a new monumental building in lev. IV/Phase 15. This underwent renewals (phases 15A-C), but not with substantial modifications (*fig. 88*). Notably, a sounding showed that the building stands above a fire layer with MB II material in situ; the layer is contemporary with the monumental complex of the eastern terrace of lev. V (see §3.1 and §4.5.1).[802] The architectural configuration of two units in this building is particularly worth noting, because it might be consistent with a *bit hilani* plan (Gates 2009). This name defines an architecture characterized by a porch-like entrance, typical of the Syro-Hittite and Assyrian first millennium Syria. Some archaeologists have seen possible early prototypes of these structures in the LBA, in particular at Alalaḫ III but also in the entrance of the earlier palace of lv. IV, that certainly dates to 15th c. Other examples exist elsewhere in Syria, and while it was proposed that the source for this building type may be Hittite, this is quite uncertain.[803] Jean (2010, 78) is of the view that this architectural form may be considered "Amuq-Cilician", if the earliest types are indeed the palace entrance at Alalaḫ and the building at Kinet. In respect to productive activities, Kinet may have had industries for the production of purple dye, as suggest finds of *murex* in all LBA levels.[804] More substantial is the evidence represented from a large concentration of metal objects and metalwork-related raw materials from few spaces of the monumental building complex, which suggests the existence of a metallurgical atelier (see *infra* on metallurgy).[805]

[802] Jean 2010, 76.
[803] Examples may be found in building E at Büyükkale (Naumann 1971, 431-433, fig. 573), and in building C at Šarišša (Müller-Karpe 2000); see bibliography in Jean 2010, 78 n. 85. However, P. Neve found the interpretation of the entrance of Building E as *hilani* uncertain (Neve 1982, 92-95). More recently, A. Müller-Karpe described the architectural difference between the Hittite columned porch and the *hilani*-, showing that while one works as transition area between columned porches between open spaces (courts), the latter is a vestibule to an inner space of the building, thus the two types have quite different characteristics and functions (Müller-Karpe 2000, 317, figs. 1-4).
[804] Discussed in Jean 2010, 477-478 and 480.
[805] Jean 2010, 79.

At **Sirkeli**, the most remarkable feature of the site is the rock outcrop towering above the river Ceyhan, where a monumental buildings was built directly above the worked rock (*fig. 87*).[806] The architectures are massive, with some large boulder walls up to to 2 m wide. The dating, complete form and function of the building are yet unknown. Monumental aspect and special features, such as cupules excavated in the rock, suggest this is has a special function, probably connected to the religious and/or cultic spheres. A tunnel connecting a kind of circular well to an 8 m deep natural crack in a NE direction in the rock also appears to have been a focus of this location, north of what seems to be a large courtyard. The global concept of monumental buildings with elaborate stone-works, integrated in rock outcrops in the landscape is strongly reminiscent of the architectures with stone works distinctive of the Hittite capital. A small isolated squared construction has been also compared with a feature typical of some Hittite temples, a small, self-standing one-room building built to one side of temple courtyards.[807]

While the dating of these structures is unclear, in the Empire period the relief of Muwatalli II was carved hereby, on the rock surface that today overlooks the river (*fig. 86*). For the association of the relief with this location of importance, the complex has been interpreted by some as the funerary monument for Muwatalli – probably including a mortuary temple institution – called E_2 ^{na4}*ḫekur* ŠAG.UŠ in the treaty of Tudḫaliya IV with Kuruntiya of Tarḫuntašša.[808] A second very similar relief, but poorly preserved, was also identified by Ehringhaus (1995). After a recent 3D survey of the entire rock surface, it is suggested that traces of an erased inscription related to this second relief can be attributed to Muwatalli's son and heir Mursili III (Urḫi-Teššob), and that presumably this second monument underwent a *damnatio*

[806] See Ehringhaus 1999a; a summary in Jean 2010, 216-218.
[807] Notably, this is a feature of temples of an early architectural type: Temple 1, Temple 5 and in the earlier phase of Building II at Yazilikaya (see Seeher 2011). Jean 2010, 217 with previous references. On the development and characteristics of Hittite temple architectures see Zimmer-Vorhaus 2011, Schachner 2011, 75 ff.
[808] CTH 106.A, the Bronze Tablet. The form can be translated "house/temple of the eternal peak". The *ḫekur* of Muwatalli in this document seems to be matter of controversy, as it appears that access to the location was formerly forbidden to Kuruntiya, but will be now granted (I 91-II 3; II 64-66). On the ^{na4}*ḫekur*- and related matters see Imparati 1977, van den Hout 2002, Singer 2009.

memoriae in the context of the clash for the throne between him and the uncle Ḫattusili III (Marazzi et al. 2019, 231-232).[809] These events highlight particularly the significance, also political, of this location in the late Hittite Empire.

The question is whether it is possible to date the structures to a previous period. Indeed, radiocarbon dates from the building itself are high[810] and the excavator is also of the view that the relief of Muwatalli was carved there *because* of the importance of the location, rather than the other way around, thus the building was not built as an ensemble with the rock carving.[811] An early dating of the massive architectures and the stone techniques is also compatible with the current reviews for earlier dates of several parallel monumental architectures at Ḫattuša to the 16th c. in the Old Kingdom.[812] If there is a chance that these monumental architectures can be earlier, then Hittite inspiration from the Old Kingdom models is clear, and the building may represent one example of sanctuary architecture of the independent kingdom of Kizzuwatna in 15th c. This is also compatible with the possibility that this site, certainly a major settlement in the region, was a sacred center of regional importance (Kummani?[813]). One must await for upcoming publications of additional revisions on the chronology at Ḫattuša; for example, now Schachner suggests that the great Temple 1 was built even in the late 17th or early 16th c.[814]

However, a dating in the late 15th to the early 14th c. in the Early New Kingdom period can't be excluded either. At any rate, the dates and the stratigraphy suggest, on the contrary, that a dating of this building

[809] Attribution to Mursili III was already proposed in Kozal-Novák 2017b. The new study also shows that in a third location the stone was prepared for another relief, which was not completed (Marazzi et al. 2019, 224, §4.3).
[810] M. Novák personal communication (Sirkeli, July 2019). See also, for example, the case of the dates in ns. *fig. 29*, already discussed, for "Plateau VI", presumably from Building A1 on the other side of the mound, attributed to 14th and 13th c. despite the high 14C dates.
[811] Novák 2020 (presentation, Würzburg Feb. 4th).
[812] The same applies to the evolution model of Hittite temple architectures (see previous note n. 807). One notes that, if the small squared structure discussed in Jean 2010 (217) can be compared with the isolated feature found in some Hittite temples, it must be considered that all those where it is present can be now considered quite early, including the earliest phase of the buildings at the Yazilikaya sanctuary.
[813] Forlanini 2013, 6; Novák-Rutishauser 2017, 138.
[814] Schachner 2020b (presentation, Würzburg Feb. 4th).

to the Empire period (i.e. post 1350), is unlikely, in consideration of the architectural characteristics and the chronology.

At Sirkeli there is also evidence of fortification architectures. Structures found in Chantier A, excavated on the NW corner of the mound, have been interpreted as part of a fortification system; there are similarities with those at Mersin lev. VII-V (see Ahrens et. al. 2009; Jean 2010, 220-221). If Sirkeli was indeed Kummani this would imply the existence of monumental and special structures at this site, including fortifications, well before the Early New Kingdom. Again the issue of dating applies to these structures as well.

In reference to local economic and production activities, archaeological evidence is scanty, but it is worth expanding briefly on the metallurgical industry, since in literature one can find frequent references to the importance of this sector in Cilicia. For example, Yener (1995, 103) suggested that Kizzuwatna could be one of the main suppliers of copper, silver and perhaps tin for central Anatolia, for the availability of metal ores on the Taurus.

It is true that, not unlikely elsewhere in Anatolia and in the Near East, the LBA in Cilicia provides increasing evidence of metal industry. The atelier discovered at Kinet in the phase 15 monumental building was already mentioned. At Tarsus a deposit of metal objects, probably a foundation deposit, was found instead in the building above which the Hittite-style "temple" was later built. Weapons found in recent excavations at Yumuktepe (lev. "IX") may be more directly connected with military function (Jean 2010, 471). Diffusion of metal objects and related activities appear, in general, more consistent in the LB II than in the first part of the period.

More specifically, the possibility was aired that in Cilicia an early industry of iron existed in the LBA, mainly on the basis of references to iron production in written sources.[815] Through second millennium,

[815] Jean 2010, 43 with references.

iron items appear more frequently in excavations[816] and iron is increasingly mentioned in texts, where there is even evidence of a specific terminology referring to iron qualities and types, notably in Hittite context.[817] Already the kanišite texts may provide evidence for production of iron, which at that time was certainly a very valuable metal as it was weighted against gold and silver, and appears to be more valuable than both (Dercksen 2005). This seems to change later on, as the value clearly dropped in Hittite Empire period documents, where iron, like copper, is weighted in *mina*, and not in *shekel*.[818] Contemporary evidence exists for the production of iron from smelting its ores, but this complex technology picked up and became widespread only between the 12th and the 9th c.[819] While the production of limited quantities of iron in second millennium is likely, it remains difficult to address the topic for the absence of archaeological evidence of smelting installations, and for the difficult analysis of the materials.[820] Despite few claims for earlier contexts, the earliest undisputed evidence of primary iron smelting to date goes back to around 900 BCE.[821]

A much discussed piece of evidence for an alleged role of Cilicia in iron metalworking is a fragmentary Akkadian letter, sent probably from Ḫattusili III to an Assyrian king,[822] which mentions "good iron" awaited by the correspondent. The metal could not be shipped since its reserves in Kizzuwatna were apparently finished:

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[816] On early iron production in Anatolia see Yalcın 1999. The find of an iron lump from third millennium layers at Tarsus remains contentious, since there are no descriptions nor analysis of the object. See the discussion in Yalçın 1999, 181.

[817] For the terminology of iron in written documents see Košak 1986. Apart from the words for iron, Hitt. *ḫapalki-*, Akk. *parzillu-*, there are references to specific qualities or types of iron: AN.BAR "(smelted) iron", AN.BAR GE_6 "meteoric? iron", AN.BAR SIG_5 "good iron", AN.BAR BABBAR "white iron (?)". On metallurgy in general in Hittite Anatolia see the overview in Siegelová-Tsumoto 2011, with previous bibliography.

[818] See Yalcın 1999, 183.

[819] Yalçın 1999, 185.

[820] It is very hard to distinguish smelted iron from meteoric iron scientifically, thus it remains uncertain if iron objects produced as early as the end or the 3rd (e.g. six items from the tombs at Alaca Höyük; Yalçın 1999, 178), and increasingly frequent in 2nd millennium – especially in Anatolia – were produced through smelting technology (Weeks 2012, 298, 306).

[821] At Tell Hammeh in Jordan; Weeks 2012, 306.

[822] Mora-Giorgieri 2004, 59 don't exclude this may be Tudḫaliya IV. The Assyrian king may be Adad-Nirari I (Beckman 1999, 147) or Šalmanašer I (e.g. Jean 2010, 43).

(KBo 1.14, 20´-24´) 20. *a-na* AN.BAR SIG$_5$-*qí ša tàš-pu-ra-an-ni* AN.BAR SIG$_5$ *i-na* ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na* 21. *i-na* É ^{na4}KIŠIB-*ia la-a-aš-šu* AN.BAR *a-na e-pé-ši le-mé-e-nu* 22. *al*$^{!}$(ŠAB)-*ta-pár* AN.BAR SIG$_5$-*qá e-ep-pu-šu a-di-ni la-a i-gám-ma-ru* 23. *i-gám-ma-ru-*^{r}*ma*^{1} *ú-še-bé-la-ak-ku i-na-an-na a-nu-um-ma* EME GÍR AN.BAR 24. [*ul-te-b*]*íl-ak-ku*

"(...) concerning the *good iron* (AN.BAR SIG$_5$-*qí* = *parzilli damqi*) you wrote me about, my storehouse (lit. "seal-house")[823] in Kizzuwatna has run out of *good iron*. I wrote that the iron (quality) for the making was too bad. They will produce *good iron* but they have not finished yet. When they have finished I will send it to you. Now I am sending you an iron dagger (...)" (Text and translation adapted from Mora-Giorgieri 2004, 66).[824]

It is possible that "good iron" means steel[825] or a type of iron of high quality which in the LBA was produced as a luxury commodity. Indeed, it is very likely that the discussion in the letter must be read in the context of exchange of prestige goods as diplomatic gifts.[826] The content does not imply, otherwise, that iron production was necessarily under palatial control, nor that the Hittites had any sort of monopoly in this activity (as noted Zaccagnini 1970; Beckman 1999), but certainly that the commodity was quite valuable, presumably difficult to produce, and that the kingdom was – as one expects – an important consumer. It is possible that the specific reference to Kizzuwatna indicates that a particularly advanced industry of iron existed locally, but this is not made explicit and other explanations are equally possible. Note that we miss the context of this particular reference within the epistolary exchange, and the letter is also fragmentary. For example, transportation of iron (goods) from Kizzuwatna to Assyria may be more convenient than from central Anatolia. The reference may be otherwise coincidental, if more than one "seal-houses" – an administrative definition attested since the time of the Edict of Telipinu – could store *good iron*, along with other commodities of high value belonging to the kingdom.

[823] Beckman 1999, 148: "armory"; Mora-Giorgieri 2004, 66 "deposito".
[824] Ed. Goetze 1940, 27-31; Siegelová 1984, 76; Mora-Giorgieri 2004, 57-76. Other discussions in Zaccagnini 1971; Košak 1986, 133; Hagenbuchner 1989, 267-269 (n. 195); Müller-Karpe 1994, 78; Beckman 1999, 147-149 (text n. 24B); Jean 2010, 43. Note that there are different translations of the end of l. 21, for which I follow Mora and Giorgieri (see the comment therein, p. 72).
[825] On steel see Weeks 2012, 311-312. Some early examples of carburized iron artifacts are known from Cyprus, Anatolia, and the Levant already in the late second millennium BCE.
[826] Mora-Giorgieri 2004, 57, after Zaccagnini 1970.

Very limited, and hard to interpret, is the data on funerary customs. In Cilicia, only at Tarsus and Soli burials were found in second millennium levels. Jean discussed two possible urn tombs *intra muros* at Soli, dating to the LB II but with earlier materials among the funerary offers, such as a scarab of Tuthmosis III.[827] This is worth mentioning here, for also at Tarsus evidence of incineration was found, in an LB I or slightly earlier context.[828] It is well-known that cremation was a funerary practice typical of central Anatolia since the Neolithic.[829] Additionally, Jean noted (2010, 209) that the only other cases of urns *intra muros* come from Konya-Karahöyük, dating to the 19th c, while more frequent were extra-city burials, in western and central Anatolia in MB/LB I, notably at Böğazköy (also in LB II). Hittite textual evidence also informs on the practice of cremation.[830] Eventually, this scanty evidence from Cilicia may witness the transfer of burial customs from central Anatolia at least by the end of the MBA,[831] but it is notoriously difficult to correlate specific burial practices to population dynamics. Thus, it remains a matter of conjecture – especially for the low level of detail we own on these data – whether migrations of people from north of the Taurus (§3.3.2) could provide a suitable framework for this phenomenon.

5.9 Conclusions

This chapter considered the relevant documents for a history of Kizzuwatna in the 15th c. The main information comes from the series of diplomatic texts found at Ḫattuša, few other documents of different content – some of later date, – and a contract tablet from Alalaḫ.

Highly formalized inter-state relations in the Late Bronze Age Near East are a highlight of the period.

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[827] The tomb dates, though, to late 13th c., after an initial dating to early 14th. (see Jean 2010, 208 and n. 184 for details).
[828] This was an infant burial in a small jar, according to Goldman 1956, 47, fig. 167; it can be attributed to lv. V, according to Jean 2010, 155.
[829] See previous literature in Jean 2010, 209.
[830] The royal funerary ritual (CTH 450); ed. Kassian et al. 2002.
[831] Similarly Jean 2010, 434.

These follow distinct juridical rules and behaviors that constitute a diplomatic system certainly more advanced and far reaching than in previous times.[832] Among the earliest LBA documents are the treaties between the Hittite kingdom and Kizzuwatna (from the late 16th through the 15th c.). Apart from the topics treated in detail in the chapter, some final observations of broad scope can be made on the basis of the discussion:

1) Although treaties belong to a genre unprecedented in the Old Hittite kingdom, their conceptual and formal components appear to be standardized since the very beginning of this textual tradition, i.e. the treaty of Telipinu and Išpudaḫšu. The existence of this well-formed typology of document (parity treaty), highly formalized, may speak of a *tradition* of diplomacy rather than an "invention" inaugurated at the time of Telipinu. It is also remarkable that for several generations these documents are exclusively employed to regulate formal relationships with Kizzuwatna.[833]

Kizzuwatna is the first Anatolian kingdom whose sovereignty over a defined territory was explicitly acknowledged by Ḫattuša, as well as its equal diplomatic status. One interesting aspect of these documents is that there is no hint, from their content and form, that in previous time a *different* diplomatic situation ever existed. In other words, it is not clear from these texts that the Hittites previously had any control on the territory now Kizzuwatna, an element that complies with the view proposed in this study (ch. 4). While this argument is inevitably circular, it is remarkable that the first information available on Kizzuwatna come from a *parity* treaty. Intrinsically, this would be more easily explained by a history of independence rather than as an interlude in ongoing Hittite political hegemony, in particular when there is no clear evidence this was the previous situation.

[832] See Liverani 2001, 2.
[833] The only exception is a very fragmentary document with a sworn agreement with the *ḫapiru* (CTH 27), whose status as treaty proper is, however, debated (a brief discussion with literature in Devecchi 2015a, 26-27). At any rate, they do not represent a 'state', but a group of people. Devecchi thinks these were presumably seen by the Hittites as foreigners living in their own territories; on the *ḫapiru* see an overview in von Dassow 2008, 105-111.

I maintain that signs of previous Hittite hegemony over Kizzuwatna would stand out from the configuration of the treaties themselves and from content[834] if – in the Hittite minds – the land once and for long time 'legitimately' belonged to the kingdom. In summary, the strong equalitarian character of the treaties in 15th c. is perhaps harder to contextualize if earlier on, Cilicia/Kizzuwatna had been more or less stably under Hittite control in 16th c.

2) The diplomatic corpus suggests a situation of relative diplomatic stability for a time span of several generations of rulers. However, the genesis of these documents implies that at least to some degree a situation of conflict must have preceded. The stipulation of a parity treaty entails the notion of resolution, it is the end of a process, eventually preceded by a situation of less amicable relationships. This is possibly suggested by the content of the *Edict of Telipinu*, and details such as the surrender of the title of Great King by the rulers of Kizzuwatna, absent in all the treaties but employed in the seal of Išpudaḫšu.

Considering the obsessive insistence on principles of equality, communicated in these documents at various levels, this detail somewhat plays out of tune. Hypothetically, it signals that while able to discuss at peer level with Ḫattuša, Kizzuwatna was increasingly experiencing the political pressure of the neighbor.

3) Indeed, Kizzuwatna appears to lose status through time, both towards Ḫattuša and Mittani, but this view chiefly depends on the interpretation of the treaty with Zidanza and of the Alalaḫ tablet AlT 3. The latter indicates at least the existence of direct channels of communication with the Mittanian area, which suggests at this stage a shift in the broader system of alliances. This contradicts explicitly the basic principle of the agreements with the Hittite kingdom, and corresponds in fact with the interpretation of the events from the Hittite perspective as well, as shows the content of the historical introduction of the later *Sunaššura treaty*.

[834] Historical prologues cover this function; however, these were devised later and are characteristic of documents justifying the subordinate status of the counterpart.

4) In 15th c. the definitive success of NCA-style pottery in Cilicia and the inspiration to Hittite monumental and defensive architectures mirror a new geo-political layout, in which Kizzuwatna/Cilicia became more deeply involved, also through diplomatic ties, in a sphere of interaction including central Anatolia. This process began around the end of 16th c. Previously, in the Old Kingdom period, one such connection with the north is barely visible archaeologically, and eventually one can see incipient signals. Remarkable, on the contrary, is the substantial absence of archaeological correlates referring to Mittanian Syria in 15th c. The connection with central Anatolia is not exclusive either, however, as there are particularities unique to Cilicia: the most visible regional traits are the partial continuity in the local pottery traditions and the absence of typical materials of the Hittite early Old Kingdom state, like distinctive imports such as the RLW-m ware, so frequent in Ḫattuša. This indicates the exclusion of the region from this special market, as well as from other routes of contacts, given the differences in the material culture also with other coastal regions of eastern Mediterranean.

As a final note to this chapter discussion (and to introduce the final chapters of this work) it is worth stressing that the geo-political significance of Cilicia/Kizzuwatna, which materialized in the 15th c. in the context of the clash between Ḫatti and Mittani, has been – correctly, in my view – chiefly measured through the lens of the Hittite pragmatic interests. But this also means that a distinction can be drawn from the previous age: in the Old Kingdom, through the end of the 17th and in the 16th c. the Hittites did not have a serious opposition *in* Syria, and the kings before Telipinu (at least Ḫattusili, Mursili and Ḫantili) were able, although with alternating fortune, to lead campaigns beyond the Anti-Taurus range. Something changed in 15th c., and the 'crisis' of the Hittite late Old Kingdom, or "Middle Kingdom" (1525-1450 ca.), can be contextualized in broader dynamics of the macro-area, including the emergence of Mittani as a centralized supra-regional kingdom in Syria (which filled in the vacuum left from Yamḫad), and that of new regional polities, like Kizzuwatna. Whether these are causes or consequences of the Hittite crisis is difficult to say, and, as frequently in historical interpretation, rather demands to be considered two faces of the same medal.

Chapter 6. State, society and religion in Kizzuwatna

6.1. Language, migrations, identities, ethnicity: what useful categories for a history of Kizzuwatna?

This section evaluates what kind of concepts referring to population aspects are appropriate for a discussion on Kizzuwatna. To begin with, there is hardly ground for dealing with a concept like *ethnicity* in Kizzuwatna, given the lack of any internal sources and the poverty and nature of the external ones. With Hall (1997, 182) "(ethnicity) is something that needs to be actively proclaimed, reclaimed and disclaimed through discursive channels".[835] For this reason written sources remain the fundamental tool for a treatment of the topic. Archaeology may inform, secondarily, on how material culture was employed (or not) in marking ethnic boundaries that already pre-exist in the social discourse (ibid. 142). But also in this case we miss precisely the circuit of reference (the "discursive channels" of Hall) on which to project the potential meaning of archaeological data. Equally hard, for the same reasons, is to employ the concept of *social identity*.[836] Ultimately, even though potential indicia of social identities (including concepts of ethnicity) may be drawn from various streams of evidence, the problem remains that one can't infer how these elements were perceived and valued by the locals.

Since for all these reasons I choose to refrain from discussing in this chapter notions of ethnicity or social identity directly, it is worth stressing the difference of the case of Kizzuwatna from other similar case studies. Buccellati (2010, 2013), for example, employed 1) language 2) religion 3) art 4) customs as identifiers to define potential meanings of a Hurrian ethnicity throughout time.[837] If the data shows a certain "distributional cohesiveness" (ibid. 88) of these elements – i.e. there is consistent overlap, –

[835] On the definition and characteristics of the concept of *ethnicity*, see the introduction and the excellent summary in Hall 1997, 32-33.
[836] For the meaning of *social identity* I refer to Knapp 2008, 31-35. While frequently employed as a synonym for ethnicity, "identity actually designates a broader category within which there are more specific elements, *including* ethnicity". For example, it can include sexuality, gender, social class.
[837] For a theoretical framework on the semiotics of ethnicity see Buccellati 2010, 81-84.

clusters of markers reasonably indicate there was an underlying semiotic reality in the carrier population, which can be broadly defined ethnicity.

Language and religion may be employed as identifiers for Kizzuwatna at some extent, since they both define essential attributes of this territory at the eyes of the neighbor Hittites. The Hittite perspective is not insignificant although external, in particular because it does not appear to be affected by derogatory considerations, and also because it is specifically projected on the domain of religion, where the receiver (the Hittites) perceived significant differences from their own traditions. Buccellati also observed the significance of language in defining a Hurrian identity.[838] It is to anyone's experience undeniable that language poses a communication barrier and at the same time creates a connection among users which "cloaks (...) the speakers who understand each other but are not understood by outsiders" (Buccellati 2010, 81). To some extent, religion and other cultural markers also pose a barrier, although – generally speaking – may be breached with less effort. I agree with Buccellati that language is a powerful identifier, although Hall (1997, 177) showed that ethnic groups are not necessarily or primarily identified by language, while, on the contrary, language may have a role in ethnicity.

The problem for the present case, instead, is whether elements like language and religion were equally significant for constructing a Kizzuwatnean identity, as we totally lack hints of internal perspectives. They probably were, from a Hittite perspective, but this would build, still, a limited unidirectional concept of what a possible Kizzuwatnean 'identity' was. While it is not possible to enter the domain of *local* social and cultural constructs, it remains worth discussing these aspects of the local population of Kizzuwatna, independently from the fact that they inform or not notions of identity, which is not the goal of this study to investigate.

[838] Buccellati 2010, 2013.

There are three topics that will be touched upon in this chapter. The first is language, and is intimately related to the possibility to trace population dynamics in pre-historic and proto-historic time (§6.2). The second topic is the limited onomastic data on the local royal dynasty. The question is whether dynastic names could mirror aspects of population or provide details on the local socio-political background (§6.3). Third, the existence of specific religious traditions that – from an external perspective in the past and a scholarly point of view in the present – distinguish Kizzuwatna from other regions will be touched upon discussing the local pantheon and the ritual tradition later imported in central Anatolia (§6.4). Common to all these elements potentially related to population is the fact that they are bound to dynamics that can be – with a level of approximation – traced historically.

6.2 Language and people

6.2.1 Languages and populations in Kizzuwatna in historical context

With the volume based on his PhD dissertation, Yakubovich (2010a, 272-285) offered the most detailed overview of the socio-linguistic layout of Kizzuwatna and provided, in particular, an explicit political interpretation of the status of Luwian and Hurrian (the dynamics that lead to the introduction of these languages in Cilicia was discussed extensively in §3.3). For this section's topic, I will briefly summarize his view for an evaluation. The reader is advised that the evidence is extremely scanty, thus some of the views here proposed remain necessarily hypothetical.

Yakubovich considers that the Anatolian names of the first ruler of Kizzuwatna, Išpudaḫšu, and his father Pariyawatri, show that the elites in Kizzuwatna were, in origin, culturally Hittite-Luwian. However, like elsewhere, Akkadian was the standard language for writing: this is the case for the tablet of Pilliya (AlT

3), as well as the group of diplomatic tablets in the "Syrian" ductus previously discussed (§5.5.3), if those can be also attributed to the Kizzuwatna chancellery.[839]

According the linguistic model of Yakubovich, the arrival of Hurrian speakers pre-dated that of Luwian speaking people, but these locals later converted to Luwian, a process which left traces in the Kizzuwatna dialect. However, while he thinks that Hurrian was earlier spoken in Cilicia to some extent, it is only throughout the 15th c. that relations with Mittani would motivate the increasing prestige of this language among the elites. For this reason Hurrian remained employed at least in some categories of documents, for example of religious content. It held a special status, as language of prestige in the official religious sphere (ibid. 2010, 302).[840]

Since in Kizzuwatna "(…) the local elites perceived Akkadian and to a lesser extent Hurrian as languages fit for writing, then both Hittite and Luvian must have been relegated to vernacular status" (Yakubovich 2010a, 284). Later on, the annexation of Kizzuwatna presumably caused the expansion of the central Anatolian Luwian also in the south, and the extinction of the Kizzuwatna dialect. It is also suggested that the annexation of Kizzuwatna and the employ of code-switching in ritual texts (see *infra*) may have, on the other hand, promoted the acceptance of Luwian in central Anatolia as a written language after the New Kingdom period. This view is summarized in the following scheme, presumably referring to the 15th c. situation:

	Linguistic dominance	**Social dominance**	**Cultural dominance**
Kizzuwatna	Luwian (Kizzuwatna)	Luwian-Hittite	Akkadian-Hurrian
Hatti	Luwian (C. Anatolian)	Hittite	Hittite

Table 8. Multilingualism in Kizzuwatna and Hatti according to Yakubovich 2010a (285, tab. 30).

[839] Already Yakubovich 2010a, 274.
[840] For Yakubovich this was the case also in Mittani. However, the *Mittani Letter* of Tušratta suggests that at least to some extent Hurrian was employed in Mittani for diplomacy and perhaps for other types of document. There are also the 'Hurro-Akkadian' texts from Nuzi, with economic, administrative and legal content (basic references in Giorgieri 2000, 178-179).

It is important to stress that this reconstruction is informed especially by the linguistic peculiarities of the 'rituals of Kizzuwatna', which will be discussed in better detail in the next chapter (§7.5.2). In particular, the analysis of the multilingual (Hurrian and Luwian) content of these texts, and the distinctive modalities of transmission in Hittite context, could inform on the status of the two languages in the region of origin of this tradition.

Yakubovich maintains that Hurrian was not a native language of the upper class (2010a, 284), since these elites were Hittite-Luwian, and came from central Anatolia during the Old Kingdom conquests. However, ch. 3 of this study presented arguments to suggest that the Hurrian linguistic *and* cultural background can't be entirely attributed to the influence of Mittani, but more likely indicates that a numerically significant or culturally influential population component lived in the territory since several generations. De Martino (2017b, 158) also thinks Hurrian was spoken at the court of Kizzuwatna, but probably sees this a development of the later part of the 15th c. motivated by diplomatic vicinity with Mittani.[841] In summary, considering the onomastic data (§6.4) and the Hurrian linguistic influx in Hittite context, beginning in the early 14th c., one can't exclude that a Hurrian speaking minority, be it the group of the royal elite, existed in Kizzuwatna at that time.

The idea of a politically dominant Hittite-Luwian elite after 16th c. – as in the model of Yakubovich – is based on the Indo-European Anatolian onomastic of the earliest known members of the dynasty of Kizzuwatna, and the hypothesis that the linguistic Luwianization of Cilicia is connected with the Hittite Old Kingdom campaigns, a link which is difficult to observe historically. While the onomastics of the royal family is discussed in better detail in a dedicated section *infra* (§6.3), I anticipate here that Kloekhorst recently proposed (2019) that even the Kanišite name Išpudaḫšu – linguistically Hittite – is

[841] See previously de Martino 2016, 40.

not necessarily to be related *directly* with the Old Hittite kingdom environment, thus attributing a "Hittite" background to this name may be misleading.

It is true that in mid-15th c. the change of habit in the dynastic onomastics – with the employ of Hurrian names – and the fact that the local royal élite appears to be entirely Hurrianized (as it seems clear from the Early New Kingdom evidence) may depend also on the diplomatic vicinity with Mittani and its possible cultural and ideological influx. However, the Hurrian linguistic content of the textual materials imported at Ḫattuša, correlated with the Kizzuwatnean religious traditions, is an important signal that these 'Hurrianized' Kizzuwatna cults can't be connected directly to Mittani and its political influx in 15th c. More likely, those cults existed in Cilicia from longer time, and must have developed locally in the form we know in the Hittite documents. The prestige of Hurrian in the domain of ritual and religion, as previously discussed, goes back to previous trends, linked to the cultural-religious competence of the Hurrian-speaking experts, and visible in the broader context of northern Mesopotamia already in the early second millennium (§3.3.1).

A picture of long-lasting interaction and merger of various population components in Cilicia apparently lead through time to the development of a cultural pattern much distinct from those of both central Anatolia and northern Syria; this is at least clear from the cultural characterization of the sources related to Kizzuwatna in the Hittite perspective. It is the outcome of the contribution of unknown local components and of those that we can associate to Hurrian and Luwian speakers, originally coming from outside the region. The development of a distinctive regional socio-cultural complex may be also seen in light of the isolated geographical-environmental setting of Cilicia and its position in the second millennium Near Eastern geo-political context. It is difficult, however, to characterize this outcome as a

unitary body, as a hybridized society in cultural sense.[842] This is in fact not the impression one gets from the relevant body of sources from the Hittite capital, although one should consider that these materials reflect a complex history of transmission rather than some original situation in Kizzuwatna;[843] the hints, thus, remain difficult to evaluate historically-culturally.

Some more details may be added as concerns the two Luwian and Hurrian linguistic components in Cilicia. Recently, Melchert (2013b, 168) observed that the Luwian language found in Tunnawiya's ritual (CTH 409) is entirely compatible with the dialectal specifics of the Kizzuwatna Luwian described in Yakubovich 2010a. However, this composition has no explicit connection with Kizzuwatna, and its content suggests it originates in traditions of the later "Lower Land", the region immediately north of the Taurus in the Konya plain (as per Miller 2004, 452-458). On the basis of this, Melchert concluded that the Luwian spoken in Kizzuwatna *and* in some adjacent areas of the Hittite 'Lower Land'/southern Cappadocia could be, essentially, the same language, thus constituting a larger *koinē* of Luwian distinct from the dialect of Ḫattuša. An important implication of this reconstruction would be that the Lower Land, or part of it, was strongly connected with Cilicia at least from a linguistic point of view. This situation is compatible with a model of migration through time that presumes the maintenance of close ties between movers and people in the land of origin, through streams of subsequent migrations. On the contrary, it also means that these people had a more limited connection with the central Anatolian plateau, intended as the socio-linguistic domain of the Ḫattušan environs. The picture may also provide a background to the pattern of increasing diffusion of central Anatolian material culture in Cilicia approximately from the MBA II on (§4.5).

[842] "Hybrid cultures (...) do not simply fuse colonial and indigenous features; rather they develop entirely new social and material creations – hybrid identities if you will – that demonstrate their own unity and coherence" (Knapp (2008, 58). For models of cultural hybridization, see a detailed definition in ibid. 57-61, with detailed literature on the topic. This notion has been employed, for example, in several recent works of B. Knapp and P. van Dommelen dedicated to the archaeology of Cyprus.
[843] The topic is discussed in the next chapter in better detail (§7.5.2).

Hurrian linguistic material is critically visible in the religious traditions of Kizzuwatna, later imported in Ḫattuša. In my view, these traditions must have developed locally for at least for some generations. As a matter of fact one can't entirely exclude these traditions were exclusively connected to a group of religious experts, and these elements are not necessarily representative of the population. But this seems unlikely, since the predominance in the Kizzuwatna religion of Syrian-Hurrian deities and traditions rather speaks of a 'strong' cultural background, in which an Anatolian-Luwian component brought its contribution as well, as visible in the mixed character of the Kizzuwatnean cults and religion transmitted at Ḫattuša (§6.4). Luwian incantations and the Hurrian terminology often adopted *through* Luwian shows that the complex outcome of the interaction was entirely a local product that we can only reconstruct at limited extent. At the same time, the famed local temple institutions, well-known from the Hittite documents, possibly had a long tradition as well. Hardly these were established – or were re-semantized within a north Syrian/Hurrian religious scope – only in the 15th c.

These elements, along with the maintenance of Hurrian in the religious lexicon and as a spoken language among the elites (see ch. 7) suggest a modification to the scheme of Yakubovich (2010a, 285 tab. 30; cfr. *supra tab. 8*):

Linguistic dominance	**Socio-cultural dominance**
Luwian (of Kizzuwatna)	mixed Luwian-Hurrian (of local background)

The item "cultural dominance" was removed since we hardly have a real impression of what a Kizzuwatnean "culture" looked like, and was combined in broader terms of "socio-cultural" dominance. The meaning of this label is here that the only available expressions of local culture (regarding the religious sphere) reveal the role of a local Kizzuwatnean-Hurrian component linguistically perceptible. Instead, in purely socio-linguistic terms it seems likely – as Yakubovich suggested – that a good proportion of the population, perhaps the majority, spoke Luwian, if not in the 15th c. certainly later. But there is no compelling reason to imagine that the local élites, as discussed *infra*, were not of local

extraction. There is also no necessary opposition between different population components – and even less so these would have had any particular linguistic characterization. The maintenance of Hurrian among the elites would be principally based on tradition, and perhaps in part political-diplomatic reasons.

6.2.2 On Hurrian in Kizzuwatna

It is worth discussing a few points concerning the use of Hurrian in Kizzuwatna, since the subject has not been investigated explicitly in research. It is well-known that the Hurrian language, despite a remarkable homogeneity through time, does show variation in texts of different periods and stemming from different regions, as one can well expect. However, the study of dialectal varieties or diachronic change in Hurrian is hampered by the chronological and spatial distribution of the corpus of texts and the complexity of this documentation.

In literature two principal language 'variants' have been recognized.[844] Important differences exist in fact between the language of the *Mittani Letter* (EA 24; mid-14th c.),[845] and the form of Hurrian called "Old Hurrian", coined to indicate the language of the inscription of Tiž-Adal of Urkeš (late 22nd-21st c.), but also used for archaic forms of Hurrian in second millennium.[846] Some texts show mixed traits, such as those from Nuzi and Ḫattuša-Boğazköy; there is a sense that their form of Hurrian is rather conservative, quite close indeed (although not identical) with Old Hurrian, whereas the Mittani Letter shows loss of several morphemes in the verbal system and differences in syntax.[847] An "archaic" appearance is also typical of the Hurrian onomastic items.

[844] See Wilhelm 2004b, 83 "dialects"; Giorgieri 2000, 179-180 "linguistic phases". An excellent overview of literature on the topic in Wilhelm 2017.
[845] Ed. Wilhelm 1992, 63-71; Wilhelm 2015, 188-241.
[846] Wilhelm 2004b, 81. On the inscription of Tiž-Adal see supra note n. 270.
[847] Giorgieri 2000, 179. Differently from the Boğazköy texts, the Mittani letter also employs rigorous graphematic and spelling conventions, which is a substantial help for understanding the underlying grammatical features. The rest of the Hurrian documents remains more difficult to analyze and translate.

Linguistic differences in Hurrian are not only connected to the chronology of the documents, however, and recently Wilhelm (2017) re-discussed this topic in some detail, with a history of research and some case studies. By analyzing some overlooked Hurrian forms, Wilhelm showed that there is reason to consider some of these differences as representative of synchronic dialects of Hurrian. In particular, the small chronological distance between the Hurrian documents from Boğazköy and the Mittani Letter, and the existence of linguistic variation in contemporary texts elsewhere, allows to describe the recognized variants as dialectal, rather than purely diachronic.[848] Thus, while a distinction between the Hurrian of the earliest documents from northern Mesopotamia and the Mittanian chancery Hurrian still stands, within this dialectological perspective one can frame, for example, some well-known regional differences, in particular some innovations common to western Syria (West Hurrian) versus conservative traits in the region east of the Tigris (East Hurrian).[849]

In relation to this topic, one question of interest for the present study is what form of Hurrian was employed in Kizzuwatna. Although there is no evidence directly stemming from Cilicia to give an answer, one may proceed from the analysis of Hurrian material in the Boğazköy texts, which includes a number of 'Kizzuwatna rituals'. We do know Hurrian names of ritual practitioners and people coming from Kizzuwatna as well (see §7.5.2), but onomastics is unsuitable for such approach, since names generally appear to retain conservative traits.[850]

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[848] There was already evidence of this after the discovery of a corpus of Hurrian-Hittite bilingual tablets at the Upper Town of Ḫattuša in the 80s (KBo 32); paleographically, they clearly dated to ca. 1400, thus were only some 50 years earlier than the Mittani Letter (see Wilhelm 2017, 77). While it remains likely that some of these texts had an earlier origin, Wilhelm recently found evidence that the texts from Nuzi retained conservative forms still in 14th c. (for example forms *–o=m* typical of "Old Hurrian"), alongside innovative traits common to the Mittani Letter, as well as otherwise unattested features (e.g. use of negative erg. verbal forms *–kk*V-, incompatible with the Mittani letter).

[849] The loss of *–f/v-* gen. suffix in the plural is common to Mittani and western Syria, between Alalaḫ and Aleppo, where this phenomenon is even attested much earlier, in tablets from Alalaḫ VII (Wilhelm 2017, 79-80). Note that this trait is also found in the Hurrian of Boğazköy.

[850] De Martino (2011b, 65-66) pointed out peculiarities in some of these names which may reflect the conservation of archaic traits in Kizzuwatna, and that underwent loss in Ḫattuša: the name Pendib-šarri (priest of Ištar in

Since the ritual texts from Boğazköy that presumably bear the Hurrian "of Kizzuwatna" differ linguistically from the Letter of Tušratta (EA 24), which features a standardized Hurrian in use in the Mittani chancellery, these texts can't be ultimately correlated with influx or importation *from* Mittani in 15th c. if, following Wilhelm (2017), their linguistic differences are expression of synchronic variants (i.e. dialects). The easier explanation is that these documents present a form of Hurrian which was local to Cilicia, and whose conservative traits are compatible with the relative isolation of communities living, for several generations, in a peripheral area of the Hurrian linguistic 'continuum'.

This possibility may be verified in future research through better understanding of the language of the Hurrian documents from Ḫattuša. The main question would be whether other Hurrian texts, which made their appearance in the Hittite archives in the Early New Kingdom period – but whose origin is less clear and most likely much earlier (e.g. the bilingual *Song of Release*, the parables, mythological narratives, etc.[851]), – may be or not connected to the Kizzuwatna documents from a linguistic point of view, therefore whether they were also imported in Ḫattuša from Kizzuwatna or from other possible sources.[852]

The task is complex since, as a matter of fact, very few Hurrian texts can be included in a hypothetical "Kizzuwatna-Hurrian corpus". According to M. Giorgieri[853] these may be eventually the Hurrian incantations in the ritual of Šalašu (CTH 788), the invocation for Teššob and Ḫebat composed by Kantuzili (KUB 27.42) and the religious *termini technici* in rituals, which rarely contain brief Hurrian passages (e.g. the ritual of Ammiḫatna from Kizzuwatna). What complicates the matter further is that several other Hurrian texts, as for example the rituals *itkalzi* or the rituals of Allaituraḫḫi were most likely transmitted

Kizzuwatna and father of Pudo-Ḫeba) retains the suffix *–b* of the first element, which is usually absent in Hurrian names of the Hittite area. Another name, Eḫlib-Adda, shows the same feature, but the provenance of this individual is unknown.

[851] KBo 32; ed. Neu 1996. A useful overview of the content of this group of bilingual Hurrian-Hittite tablets in Wilhelm 1996b, 19-23.

[852] See already Wilhelm (2008, 190-193) and De Martino (2014b, 130-131), for the possibility that texts like the *Song of Release* and the Parables had already reached Kizzuwatna before the ENK.

[853] Personal communication (April 2020).

in central Anatolia via Kizzuwatna, but did not originate there for certain. Thus, there are several possible layers of transmission that should be reconstructed, to which one must add the possibility – as already mentioned – that some Hurrian texts arrived in Hittite Anatolia also through other trajectories (e.g. directly from northern Syria). Careful linguistic analysis may eventually break through some of these barriers.

Some examples of the potential results of a similar research can be extracted from the recent study of Wilhelm (2017, 80-81). He found that unusual spellings of verbal forms in one tablet of the Kizzuwatnean ritual of Šalašu (KBo 11.19) and in the Hurrian version of Gilgameš from Boğazköy probably indicate a dialectal form *–ou* (in place of *–au*) for the 1 sg. erg. personal suffix.[854] Still, it must be noted, the latter tablet also employs the regular form *–au* in one case in the same incantation (ChS I/5 nr. 41 rev. 8: *iš-ku-ta-a-ap* to be analyzed as *išk=ud=au* "I *iškud-*... (them)" vs. six instances of the other form),[855] which reveals the complex philological history of these documents. These variations may depend on how the Hurrian texts have been passed on to the Hittites (see §7.5.2).

Quite significant, for a general picture, is the fact that the Hurrian of the texts at Ḫattuša retains traits common to other peripheral areas, such as Nuzi, but which diverge consistently from the chancery Hurrian of the Mittani letter. Despite the Boğazköy "dialect" is ultimately mixed, and shows interference with the Mittanian sphere as well, the distinctive traits common to the 'eastern Hurrian' context speak against a diffusion of Hurrian in Kizzuwatna from western Syria *in* the 15th c., especially if the phenomenon were to be seen in the context of diplomatic and political connections with the kingdom of Mittani.

[854] These texts employ a sequence <*-(C*u*)-u-ú-(un)*> in several verbs, clearly forms of 1 sg. with or without *–n* 3 sg. abs. pronoun. The Mittani letter uses a well-known convention for distinguishing /o/ from /u/, employing the signs <u> and <ú>. The same seems to apply to these spellings, which, while previously tentatively read /o/, rather represent /ou/, a variant of the regular 1 sg. *–au* (i.e. –K=*ou=(n)* vs. –K=*au=(n)*).
[855] Cfr. also Allaiturahhi-ritual, ChS I/5 nr. 1 obv. 5'-6' in similar context <*iš-ki-iš-ta-u*[*n*]> (*išk=išt=au=n*). I thank M. Giorgieri for pointing this out to me.

6.3 The dynasty: onomastics and related questions

The most recent literature maintains that the name **Pariyawatri** (father of Išpudaḫšu, as attested in his seal) is Anatolian. For Yakubovich (2010a, 274) and Zehnder (2010, 37-38) this name is, more precisely, Luwian.[856] An Anatolian Indo-European (henceforth IE) interpretation is chiefly supported by the existence of several Anatolian IE names employing the element *–pariya* (e.g. *Ištapariya, Pariyamuwa, Pariyamaḫu*). These attestations make the proposal of B. Landsberger (1954, 130b) of an Indo-Aryan background less likely.

> Landsberger suggested that the component *pariya-* is to be equated with a form *biriya-*. Kammenhuber 1968, 93 compared it with Vedic Sanskrit *priyá-* "good, beloved", found in names such as *bi-ri-a-aš-šu-ra*/*priyāsura* "beloved lord". The entry in the *Reallexicon* by Frantz-Szabó (2004b) maintains an Indo-Aryan origin, referring to both Landsberger and Kammenhuber, but note that the latter remained skeptical throughout her volume of an Indo-Aryan origin for Pariyawatri, preferring an Anatolian background (e.g. 95, 108).[857] Note, in a Hittite fragment of the treaty of Išpudaḫšu, the name Piriyašauma, perhaps also akin to these formations (supra p. 276-277).

The question is not insignificant, since a tradition of Indo-Aryan names famously distinguishes the onomastic of the royal house of Mittani. If this name was really Indo-Aryan, it would thus precede in time the Mittanian tradition.[858] Since it *can* be explained through Anatolian, at present this interpretation should be considered the most likely.

The name **Išpudaḫšu** was recently treated in detail by Kloekhorst (2019), whose findings are summarized here.[859] This name is certainly a compound of two elements, a form *išpud-/šupud-,* and the masculine onomastic suffix *-ḫšu.* This is proved by employ of both elements for composing other names

[856] Zehnder compares it with the Luw. root *pariyan-*. See also de Martino 2011, 20 n. 99, on this and the other names of the kings of Kizzuwatna.
[857] See also Kammenhuber 1988, 40-41, for a summary on her view of the overall poverty of Indo-Aryan linguistic items in Late Bronze Age sources.
[858] See note n. 548.
[859] Kloekhorst 2019, esp. 54-56, 146-147, also 239-241.

attested first at Kaniš and later in Hittite documents.[860] In the Kanišite texts this name is spelled in two ways: *išpudaḫšu* and *šupudaḫšu*, while in Hittite only the form *išpudaḫšu* is attested.[861] Kloekhorst confirmed that these names are 'Hittitoids', but also presented some other relevant details in his recent treatment.

> Goetze (1954, 356)[862] proposed that the element *išpud(a)-* can be interpreted as a theophoric, being *išpud/ta-* presumably related to Hitt. *išpant-* "night", attested also as a divine entity (van Gessel 1998, 204). Alternation in Kanišite Hittite of initial *išp-/šup-* suggests underlying cluster /sp-/, and the Hittite cognate requires that, phonologically, the form *išpud-/šupud-* at Kaneš was in fact */špund(a)-/*. This is likely, since this spelling of cluster /nd/ follows Old Assyrian convention. Etymologically, this interpretation of the lexeme is also plausible, complying with the generally proposed IE background of *išpant-* "night" (from a preform **k*^{w}*sp-nt*).[863] The second element *-ḫšu* is very frequent in masculine names at Kaniš.[864] The meaning of this form is very likely "son": Goetze already derived this from the verb *hāš-*^{i}/*hass-* "to give birth, procreate" (see also Kloekhorst 2008), comparing it to the semantically similar Greek names in *–génēs*. The root is at the basis of the cognates *hās-/hass-*^{i} "to generate", *hāšša-* "descendant",[865] but also *hassu-* "king".[866] Kloekhorst shows that Goetze was probably right in his analysis of the name, and that this was probably right in his analysis of the name, and that this was probably /spund-á-hsu/, a name which means "night-born" (lit. "son of the night").[867]

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[860] E.g. *šupudaš-mei* (Kaniš)/*išpudaš-mei* (Ḫattuša), *išpudaš-inar(a)-* (Ḫattuša); these are genitive formations in *–aš* of the base form *išpud-/šupud-*. The suffix *-ḫšu* is very productive in compound names of Anatolian-IE linguistic background, such as *ilalia-ḫšu* "desired son", *apizia-ḫšu* "last/youngest son", *šupia-ḫšu* "blessed son" ("sacred" in Kloekhorst 2019, 56), *niwa-ḫšu* "new son". See *infra* for the semantics of this component.

[861] That this is voiced /d/ and not voiceless /t/ is proven by 1) exclusive spelling with voiced in Kanišite Hittite; 2) spellings with voiced in Hittite (both using signs DA and DAḪ), along with TA.

[862] Similarly Bossert (1946, 162).

[863] See already Goetze 1954, 355; Kloekhorst 2008, 404; 2019, 147.

[864] A feminine counterpart exists, formed with addition of the Anatolian fem. suffix *–šar* (*-ḫšušar*; e.g. *šupia-ḫšušar*) discussed in Kloekhorst 2019, 54-56. See already Landsberger 1954, 47.

[865] Cfr. Luw. *hasu-* "offspring" (Laroche 1966, 302).

[866] Bossert connected in fact *-ḫšu* primarily with "king", which Goetze rejected as this sematic was not particularly suitable for name formation. The two may indeed be connected, as later proposed Laroche (1966, 299-300). For the semantic of *haššu-* "king" see already Kloekhorst 2008, 327 ff. and 2019, 55. Archi explained the employ somewhat differently (2016, 21 ff; and n. 20), comparing the component *–hsu* to one quite productive in the onomastic of the Eblaite dynasty in Syria, the element *–damu* "blood". These names with *–damu* conceptualized "kin" as blood ties, detecting the belonging to a certain family. This was the same concept employed by Laroche to explain, ultimately, the derivation of Hitt. *ḫaššu-* "king" from the same root.

[867] This fits nicely with the attestation of a name *šiwašmei* "*mei-* of the day-god"; cfr. the counterpart *špudašmei*.

The topic is particularly relevant for potential implications from a glottological and historical point of view. The relationship between the cognates Anat. /spund/ and Hitt. /ispant/, whose linguistic details can't be discussed here (Kloekhorst 2019, 239-242), is not trivial since this is among the critical evidence on the basis of which the author proposes that the Hittite attested at Ḫattuša can't be considered a later stage of the Hittite attested at Kaniš. The linguistic items attested at Kaniš vis-á-vis the Hittite ones require that the two reflect in fact *two separate dialects*. The name *Išpudaḫšu*, attested in Old Hittite period texts, poses a problem, since this form does not comply with the phonological rules of Hittite. Thus, this item must reflect another dialectal background, notably compatible with the Kaniš documents.[868] Ultimately, it is suggested that the origins of Ḫattuša-Hittite may be traced in Kuššar ('Kuššarite' Hittite) – the place of origin of the Hittite dynasty, – rather than in Kaniš/Neša, where a distinct dialect of Hittite ('Kanišite' Hittite) was spoken by the locals during the *kārum*-period (2019, 246-268).

While it was already well-known that the name Išpudaḫšu was Anatolian, it is now clear that this name is Hittite. This has no historical meaning *per se*, provided the high chance of cross-linguistic use of names, and that, in any case, speakers of Anatolian languages were presumably living in Cilicia since some generations (ch. 3). However, for the present study, there is one substantial implication of the arguments of Kloekhorst, which is made explicit in his work:

> "In the second half of the 17th century BCE, Kaniš loses its function as a trading hub, and may even become largely abandoned. In Hittite texts from after this period, Kaniš is hardly mentioned, and we therefore have no idea about the nature of its population or the language (or languages) these people spoke. The fact that Išpudaḫšu, king of Kizzuwatna (the region south of Kaniš) at the end of the 16th century BCE, bears a clearly Kanišite Hittite name, **may be viewed as an indication that Kanišite Hittite remained in use in South central Anatolia up to this period**. However, Kizzuwatna was at that time also home to speakers of Hurrian (...) and Luwian (...). Since especially Luwian was (...) quickly spreading into central and South East Anatolia, becoming the dominant language there, **it seems likely that Kanišite Hittite had become marginalized** already when the second half of the 2nd millennium BCE set in". (Kloekhorst 2019, 268).

[868] The glottological details are laid out in ibid., 242-244.

I can't comment on the broader proposal of Kloekhorst to distinguish two dialects of Hittite, which is something that is still to be received in the field of study. The arguments proposed however, require to comment on the presence of the name Išpudaḫšu – which Kloekhorst showed to be a *loan* from the Kanišite Hittite dialect – in the Hittite texts, and in particular as the name of the king of Kizzuwatna.

The name is very rare in Ḫattuša, and refers always to the king of Kizzuwatna apart from one reference to another individual who was a palace employee during the Old Kingdom (KBo 3. 35, CTH 8).[869] Kloekhorst' reconstruction works well with the idea that central Anatolian people did move south. Since this old name was rather at home in the southern fringes of the plateau, a direct central Anatolian connection with Ḫattuša (i.e. the Old Hittite state; Yakubovich 2010a) is made less likely, as this "Hittite" name contradicts this scenario. Considering this explanation, it does not surprise that the name appears to be rarely used at Ḫattuša. It is uncertain, instead, how diffused the name was in Kizzuwatna, since the regional onomastic evidence is much poorer.[870] Note that this name not only was quite well attested in MBA Kaniš, but several names existed which were composed of the same elements (see previous notes n. 849). All these also appear to be quite rare at Ḫattuša and within Hittite onomastic items.[871]

While the first two names here analyzed have an Anatolian-IE background, some rulers of Kizzuwatna had instead Hurrian names (**Eḫeya, Pilliya** and possibly **Talzu**). Freu (2001, 17) interpreted this change in the onomastic tradition as "a rupture in the evolution of Kizzuwatna", because it could perhaps signal the emergence of a new group of power. Note that this view is also based on the idea that new Hurrian newcomers in 15th c. integrated a former background of Luwian population, but for

[869] See Laroche 1966, 81 and Kloekhorst 2019, 146 n. 682 for a list of attestations. As previously discussed, the combination TONITRUS.REX in seals does not spell this name (pace Dinçol-Dinçol 2008).
[870] Kümmel 1980, 629. Most names connected with Kizzuwatna are, otherwise, mixed Luwian and Hurrian; a collection of names comes from the references to native ritual experts (see §7.5.2)
[871] The element *išpud-* is found once in *Išpudašmei*, attested only in a land grant of Telipinu (Rüster-Wilhelm 2012 n. 23), and probably in the name of a mountain ($^{ḫur.sag}$*Išpudaštēwa-*); the element *-ḫšu* was one of the most productive in the corpus of kanišite names, but in Hittite context one finds only *Taruḫšu,* in the edict of Telipinu (KBo 3.1+, II 69). References in Kloekhorst 2019, 146 n. 680, 683, 687; 54-55 n.153; 94-95.

Yakubovich (2010a) and the present study the situation must have been the opposite (see §3.3). Since the local population environment of Cilicia/Kizzuwatna was *already* culturally and linguistically mixed, it is hard to expand on the presumed political meaning of this onomastic shift.

> **Eḫeya** presumably underlies a Hurr. form *eġ=e/i=ya,* with *–ia* hypocoristic (Giorgieri 2000, 290). Eḫ(ḫ)iya is also attested at Nuzi (lit. in de Martino 2011, 20 n. 99); the meaning, however, is unclear. **Pa/illiya** is considered Hurrian by Goetze (1940, 6 n. 23), Laroche (1966, 134) and Kammenhuber (1968, 106-107), in particular on the basis of the onomastics at Nuzi (*P/Bal(l)iya, Pal-teya, -tešub, -tilla*; ref in ibid. 107). The verbal root *pal-* means "to know", as shows an Ugarit Akkadian-Hurrian bilingual entry *pal-* = *idû*. Note that the switch between *a/i* is typically Anatolian – or, rather Luwian, – and probably depends already on either linguistic reality or scribal convention in Kizzuwatna, since the earliest documents where this name is attested and Pilliya's tablet from Alalaḫ employ the sign <*píl*>.[872] For the possible Hurrian background of the name **Talzu** see Goetze (1940, 6 n. 23), who connected *tal-* with *adal-* or *til-* (1940, 6 with references), but a root *tal-* also exists (Giorgieri 2000, Richter 2012, 430). That the name is connected to these forms is unclear, however.

The linguistic background of the name **Paddatiššu** is even less clear, and a concise overview of literature can be found in Wilhelm 2014d*. According to Freu (2001, 17) this name is not Anatolian, and previous proposals have suggested either Hurrian or Indo-Aryan background (Laroche 1966, 138). Of this opinion was Landsberger (1954, 51 n. 84; 130), according to whom the form *patta-tiššu* includes the component *–tišu/i,* found also in other names of possible Indo-Aryan derivation, such as *Mitra-tiššu*, in a Cassite seal (ibid. ref. 128, §3). Kammenhuber (1968, 168) remained skeptical on the Indo-Aryan interpretation. Ultimately, Lebrun (2001, 88) also proposed that the name can be Luwian, thus the question seems to remain very open. The chronological position of Paddatiššu remains uncertain, but since he may precede Eḫeya and Pilliya, it would be quite significant if his name was Indo-Aryan.

[872] The form with –a- is found in late copies of the ritual CTH 475 and in tablet catalogs (see Laroche 1966, 134 for attestations).

Sunaššura is the only name of these rulers that has been recognized by most scholars as Indo-Aryan.[873] However, also in this case Kammenhuber (1968, 87-93 and 172) was absolutely positive that this was a wrong interpretation. One must say that in this case her position seems too skeptical, since the reading is quite plausible.

> For Kammenhuber the recognition of a component *–ásura* ("lord, divine, god") or *–śūra* ("hero") in the name were based on false analysis and circularity (ibid. 91). She noted that already Goetze (1940, 7 n. 29) raised doubts on possible Indo-Aryan *–śūra*, on the basis of other names from Hurrian (and Hittite) context such as *Šunaili, Šurā, Šurabi, Galmaššura, Naipšura*. Gelb et al. (1943) still maintained that *-šura* could be Indo-European or Indo-Aryan (ref. ibid. 89), but rather than a form /*suna-sura*/ (cfr. Sscr. **śuna-śūra,* "hero/lord of prosperity") this could be read **śuna-ásūra-* "(divine) spirit of prosperity" (Dumont in Gelb et al. 1943, 260). Still, names with the element *ásura* are lacking in Old Indo-Aryan and are very rare in Old Iranian likewise (Kammenhuber 1968, 89). As previously mentioned, Landsberger (1954, 51) thought that Pariyawatri, Šunaššura and Paddatiššu were all Indo-Aryan names. Note the spelling of the name at Alalaḫ (AlT 14, see *infra*), with the series SU vs. ŠU (*su-na-aš-šu-ra*), indicating most likely a fricative alveolar.[874]

Considering the political climate of the mid- and late 15th c., if this name was Indo-Aryan its employ in the dynasty of Kizzuwatna can be well explained as imitation of the tradition of the royal house of Mittani. There is no need to assume this indicates the seizure of power by a new ethno-linguistic élite in Kizzuwatna, or an "Indo-Aryan conquest" of the kingdom – which is the idea that Kammenhuber particularly opposed (see ead. 1968, 93 ff.). This is especially true if this is the only name of the series for which this distinctive linguistic background remains plausible (in fact it is very unclear for the cases of Pariyawatri and Paddatiššu). Hardly one can conclude, given the evidence, that a broader connection with the Mittani elites existed, and that a similar tradition was shared both in Kizzuwatna and Mittani. Historically speaking, the occasional employ of a similar name would simply shows the strong vicinity with Mittani towards the end of the dynastic history of Kizzuwatna.

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[873] Goetze 1940, 7 n. 29; Landsberger 1954, 51; Laroche 1966, 165 (with previous bibliography); de Martino 2011, 20 n. 99; Schwemer 2012.

[874] For the spelling of sibilants in the cuneiform of Alalaḫ and in Anatolia see Wilhelm 1994b and Mora-Giorgieri 2004, 191 n. 42.

While this overview does not allow to draw any concrete historical conclusion, it was shown that the mixed linguistic environment of Kizzuwatna, particularly in reason of the historical process that – at least according to this study – determined it, explains also the variety of the onomastic items here analyzed. It was suggested that the Anatolian names, in particular for the case of Išpudaḫšu, do not necessarily represent evidence for a political connection of the local dynasty with central Anatolia, but these can as well be rooted in the local environment. In fact, the linguistic history of this name, as presented by Kloekhorst (2019), seems to contradict the idea that its usage for a Kizzuwatnean dynast suggests *Hittite* (i.e. Kuššarite) penetration in the region, as in the scenario proposed by Yakubovich (2010a), but can have a different background, whose details remain difficult to address. Later preference for Hurrian onomastics (if the fact mirrors purposeful choices), might find partial explanation in the political vicinity to Mittani, which is particularly clear in the case of Sunaššura, who bears an Indo-Aryan name elsewhere exclusive tradition of the highest royal elites of Mittani. Otherwise, Hurrian names are local to Cilicia Kizzuwatna at least since the end of 16th c.[875]

6.4 Religion of Kizzuwatna: principal deities and cults

This section presents a short overview with some selected bibliography, as an extensive treatment of the topic should be the subject of a whole study. Indeed, the religion of Kizzuwatna was never the subject of a dedicated study, which thus remains a desideratum. Some discussions exist in works concerned with Hittite religion: while Kümmel (1980, §5-6) provided a basic outline of the pantheon, some aspects of the religion of Kizzuwatna have been presented in Haas 1994, 580-583 (pantheon), Trémouille 2001, Archi 2002a and 2013, Hutter 2003, 250-254 (Luwian traditions) and Taracha 2009, 118-128.[876] A succinct, yet

[875] See the names attested in the Tarsus Land Grant, discussed in §4.4.
[876] See also the volumes on the Kizzuwatna rituals: Haas-Wilhelm 1974; Miller 2004; Strauss 2006. On the cult of single deities see Prechel 1996 (Išḫara), Haas 1979, Wegner 1981, Beckman 1998 (Ištar-Šavoška and Ištar of Nineveh), Trémouille 1997 (Ḫebat), Laroche 1963 (Šarruma).

useful overview is the article of Archi 2002b. Recently, Gilan (2019) discussed the Kizzuwatna religious traditions in Hittite context in terms of religious convergence.

Relevant documents for a reconstruction of the religion in Kizzuwatna are the "Kizzuwatna rituals" (see §7.5.2), many festival texts dedicated to the cults of Kizzuwatna, and other indications on the pantheon come from the lists of gods in diplomatic documents. Notably, after Kizzuwatna became a province of the Empire (with Suppiluliuma I), the Hittite treaties included the gods of Kizzuwatna in the official lists of the state gods.[877] Among the treaties with Kizzuwatna, the only list of gods which is extant comes from one of the Akkadian tablets of the Šunaššura treaty (KBo 28.110+):

79". [x x x x *a*]-*wa-at tup-pí an-ni-im e-et-ti-iq* 80". [^{d}UTU ^{uru}*A-ri-i*]*n-na* ^{d}IM ^{uru}*Ḫa-at-ti* $^{r d}$LAMMA$^{\urcorner}$ ^{uru}*Ḫa-at-ti*
81". [^{d}IM ^{uru}*Ḫa-la*]-*ab* ^{d}*Ḫé-bat* ^{d}ZUEN $^{d r}$*IŠTAR*$^{\urcorner}$ ^{d}*ZA-BA*$_4$-*BA*$_4$ 82". [x x x]x DINGIR^{meš} *ša* KUR ^{uru}*Ḫa-at-ti ù* DINGIR^{meš}
83". [*ša* KUR ^{uru}*K*]*i-iz-zu-wa-at-ni* 84". NUMUN-*šu šum-šu li-ḫal-li-qú* // (Ed. Wilhelm 2014a*)

I will start from this short list to introduce the most important gods of the pantheon. The two gods at the head were definitely *Teššob* (spelled syllabically or ^{d}10) and *Ḫebat* of Aleppo. It is very clear that the traditions of this city were very influential in the broader region, and were at the basis of the Syro-Hurrian component of the Kizzuwatnean pantheon. This included several other gods of the Ḫalabite-Hurrian and the broader Syro-Hurrian milieu, but also had specific regional characteristics.

This list does not feature Šarruma, who was, indeed, a local god and probably a mountain god in origin, belonging only to the tradition of Kizzuwatna/Kummani.[878] This god became very important in Hittite context, and in the Empire period was part of a well-attested triad together with Teššob and Ḫebat, understood as his divine parents.[879] Šarruma, in order of importance, usually stands at the same level of

[877] Usually the Storm-god and Ḫebat of Kizzuwatna are mentioned, together with, more generically, "male and female gods of Kizzuwatna". Some documents also indicate Ḫebat of Lawazantiya; see Strauss 2005, 228 and n. 5.
[878] The reader can find a summary on the multiple – and complex – aspects of Šarruma in Trémouille 2009, 80-83, with extensive bibliography. Also Schwemer 2001, 484-487.
[879] The connection with Ḫebat is quite peculiar; some texts feature the dyad as a single unit: ^{d}Ḫebat-Šarruma or ^{d}Ḫebat-^{d}Šarruma. Details in Trémouille 2009, 81 §3.1.

the LAMMA-god ("tutelary" god) of Ḫattuša in the sequence of the Hittite gods, after the Sun-goddess of Arinna and Tarḫunta. In Cilicia, names attested in Greek sources containing the element <*zarma*> (Gr. ζαρμα) have been explained through survival of the god's name in onomastic tradition, which would suggest continuity through the whole Iron Age.[880]

This list does not make clear if the following gods belong to the Hittite or the Kizzuwatna side, particularly for the logographic spelling which obscures their precise identity. The name of the moon-god in the Hurrian divine lists of festival texts was Kužoġ, but the sumerogram <^{d}ZUEN> was likewise employed for the Anatolian moon-god (Arma).[881] While this remains ambiguous, the (restored) sign *IŠTAR* here most likely stands for Šavoška (also spelled Šauška).[882]

We do not know the underlying identity of the war-god here spelled ^{d}*ZA-BA$_4$-BA$_4$* but three war-gods are frequently listed together in the offering lists of Kizzuwatnean festivals (Aštabi, Nubadig and Ḫešui; see *tab. 9*, p. 349). The heterogram was also employed for several Anatolian war deities (Mouton 2017, 168-169) and Taracha (2009, 98, n. 508, 113 and n. 607) suggested that one of these may be the Luwian god Iyarri, in particular for the frequent association of the latter with Šanta, another war-god. It is worth mentioning that the cult of Šanta was prominent in Cilicia in the first millennium, as this was the poliad god of Tarsus in the form Sandas/Sandon, identified by the Greeks with Herakles.[883] It is possible that this cult in Hellenistic time derives from long lasting local continuity, thus that Šanta was already a relevant deity in Cilicia in second millennium; the Luwian background of this deity is clear from the onomastics, since Luwian rather than Hittite names especially feature this theonym (Beckman 2009, 6).

[880] A recent treatment in Adiego 2019. There are also names of Cilician people in Assyrian sources which contain the divine name, such as ^{m}*Sa-an-da-s/šar-me*, which also contains the theonym Šanta (see *infra*), or ^{m}*Ù-as-sur-me* (the latter is presumably identical with a name like Anat. *Waššu-Šarma*) (chart in ibid. 157-158).
[881] This can't be Šarruma, instead, although this god also appears to have a lunar aspect (Trémouille 2009, 82 n. 3.4). See also Giorgieri 2014, 332-333 for the connection between another Hurrian lunar god (Umpu) and Šarruma.
[882] On Ištar in Anatolia see Haas 1979, Wegner 1981, Beckman 1998, 4; also Miller 2004, 424 n. 677. See next chapter (§7.5.1, p. 410-412) for a more detailed discussion on the introduction of the cult of Ištar-Šavoška in Hittite context.
[883] On this topic see Rutherford 2017.

The list in this treaty is clearly very synthetic, both for the Hittite and the Kizzuwatna side, in comparison with longer lists found typically in later treaties and in festival texts. Only few other documents of the former period (15th-early 14th c.) may give scanty indications on the local pantheon. For example, Išḫara was an important goddess in Kizzuwatna (but also at Alalaḫ and Emar) and she was listed in the Pilliya tablet as divine witness (AlT 3), together with the Storm-god (^{d}IM, i.e. Tešob) and the Sun-god (^{d}UTU).[884] From this contract, it appears that these gods could be important both at Alalaḫ and in Kizzuwatna. The importance of the cult of Išḫara in Kizzuwatna, otherwise, also emerges from the donation document referring to the patronage activity of Talzu and Šunaššura (§5.6.2).

Other early references exist about the Goddess of the Night (DINGIR GE$_6$), another important deity of Kizzuwatna.[885] The interest of this figure in Hittitological scholarship is bound first of all to the content of the tablet KUB 29.4, which instructs on how to "split" this deity and transfer her cult elsewhere (CTH 481).[886] Then, KUB 32.133, a text frequently connected with the former, is a document of the time of Mursili II which discusses reforms for the cult of this deity. The beginning of the text informs that an ancestor of the king, Tudḫaliya (I), had once split (*arḫa šarriet*) the Goddess of the Night from her temple in Kizzuwatna, installing a new, separate cult in Šamuḫa (CTH 482).[887]

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[884] On Išḫara see Prechel 1996, Archi 2002a, 2002b, 47-48. Note that in the list of gods in the treaty of the Bronze Tablet (III, 94) Išḫara is "the goddess of Arušna", a center of Kizzuwatna.

[885] On this divine figure and the related texts see the detailed works of Miller (2004, 259-439; 2008), Beal 2002b, and a brief discussion in Gilan 2014a, 200-201.

[886] Ed. Miller 2004, 259-310, with previous bibliography (261-262). The relevant passages, after Miller's edition, recite:

(KUB 29.4 A I 3-4: incipit) *ma-a-an* ***a-pé-e-ez iš-tu*** **É** DINGIR GE$_6$ *pa-ra-a ta-ma-i* É DINGIR GE$_6$ *ú-e-te-ez-zi nam-ma-za* DINGIR-*lam* ***ḫa-an-ti-i a-ša-a-ši*** (...)

(Thus (says) the Priest of the Deity of the Night: ...) "when (a man) builds a second temple of the Deity of the Night ***on the basis of*** **that (original) temple** of the Deity of the Night, and further, **he sets up the deity separately**" (...).

(KUB 29.4 (A) IV 42-43: colophon) *ma-a-an-za* DINGIR GE$_6$ *ku-iš* ***ḫa-an-ti-i a-ša-ši*** *nu-uš-ši ki-i* SISKUR$_2$-*šú*

"When someone **erects** the Deity of the Night **separately**, these are the rituals for him".

[887] Ed. Miller 2004, 312-315; see also Miller 2008.

1. *UM-MA* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* ^{m}*Mur-ši*-DINGIR-*LIM* LUGAL GAL DUMU ^{m}*ŠU*-[*UP*]-*PÍ-LU-LI-U-MA* LUGAL GAL UR.SAG 2. AB.BA-*IA-za-kán ku-wa-pí* ^{m}*Tù-ut-ḫa-li-ia-aš* LUGAL GAL DINGIR GE_6 *IŠ-TU* É DINGIR GE_6 3. ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni ar-ḫa šar-ri-i-e-et na-an-za-an I-NA* ^{uru}*ŠA-MU-ḪA* 4. É DINGIR-*LIM ḫa-an-ti-i i-ia-at* (...) (KUB 32.133 I 1-4)

"Thus (speaks) his Majesty Mursili, Great King, son of Suppiluliuma, Great King, Hero: when my ancestor Tudḫaliya, the Great King, divided the Deity of the Night from the temple of the Deity of the Night in Kizzuwatna and worshipped her separately in a temple in Šamuḫa (...)." (After Miller 2004, 312).

While CTH 481 does not actually describe directly the transfer of the cult at the time of Tudḫaliya,[888] nonetheless both documents provide details on how the cults of Kizzuwatna found their way in Hittite context from the time of Tudḫaliya I on.[889] The cult of this Deity of the Night must have been important in Kizzuwatna considering the decision to import her cult, and especially the existence of a 'dossier' on these events in the Hittite archives.[890]

Miller (2004, 363-396) discussed in detail the possible identity of this deity, whose spelling in the form DINGIR GE_6 is unique to Kizzuwatna and has no antecedents. Miller refused the concept of a "dark/black deity" for this reading is unwarranted, preferring a reading of GE_6 as "night". The deity "of the Night" has very likely an association with Ištar, but is nonetheless a goddess with other distinctive aspects, in particular infernal traits alien to Ištar. It may have been a local, indigenous deity, who – for compatible characteristics – was later identified with Ištar/Šavoška. Eventually this identification would cause her to be absorbed by the hypostasis of Ištar/Šavoška of Šamuḫa.

The cults of the Netherworld included some distinctive traditions; notable is a group of Netherworld gods which appears rather frequently in Hittite and Hurrian purification rituals, and in few

[888] On the disassociation between the two texts see Miller 2004, 357-362.
[889] For the probability that this is a reference to Tudḫaliya I and not the III see in particular Miller 2004, 355-356.
[890] KUB 32.133 I 5-7: "(...) it came about, however, that the wooden tablet scribes and the temple personnel began to incessantly alter them (i.e. the rituals and obligation for the deity) – I, Mursili, Great King, have reedited them (i.e. the rituals and obligations for the deity) from the tablets." (Transl. Miller 2004, 312).

other documents,[891] the 'Ancient gods' (Hitt. *karuileš šiuneš*).[892] This definition is a calque of Hurrian *ammadena enna* (ammade=na en(i)=na) "former gods", or "ancestors gods".[893] The Akkadogram *Annunaku-* was also equivalent. They appear also in mythological narratives of Hurrian origin, and their 'antiquity' refers to their primordial nature, as indicated in the mythological texts revolving around the deeds of the Hurrian Storm-god.[894] When the Storm-god achieved supremacy, and established a new universal *kosmos,* these gods, former rulers of the divine world – and his 'ancestors'[895] – were banned to the Netherworld (see ns. l. 210). The Ancient gods are sometimes named individually, but their number and identity in the lists are not uniform.[896]

Archi (1990, 120) noted that the Ancient gods are listed alongside the Hittite gods, and not those of Mittani, in the treaty between Suppiluliuma I and Šattiwaza (CTH 51); thus, it appears that the group belonged, originally, to the traditions of Kizzuwatna – at that point included in the Hittite pantheon – but not those of Mittani. This is yet another example of the specificity of the traditions developed in Kizzuwatna.

An important source of information, which shows the complexity of the Kizzuwatnean pantheon, are the later lists of Hurrian deities receiving offerings in the festival texts, documents chiefly of 13th c. date. They are arranged in two groups of male and female gods, respectively related to the cult

[891] All the attestations are collected in Lorenz-Link 2016, 165 ff.
[892] On the Ancient gods, their identity and characteristics Laroche 1974, Archi 1990. The most comprehensive treatment on the Ancient gods is currently the unpublished PhD dissertation of U. Lorenz-Link, defended in 2009 and made available online in 2016 (Lorenz-Link 2016, 165-221).
[893] Richter 2012, 25; 87. For the translation "former" see Campbell 2015, 201, n. 103 (with previous literature).
[894] In particular the *Song of Beginning* (CTH 344), which opens a 'cycle' of compositions including *Song of Ullikummi* (CTH 345), *Hedammu myth* (CTH 348), *Song of* LAMMA/*Kuruntiya* (CTH 343), and several other fragments of largely incomplete texts. Translations in Hoffner 1998, Pecchioli Daddi-Polvani 1990.
[895] Wilhelm 2009b.
[896] On the origin of the names of the Ancient gods: Haas 1976, 206-209 and 1994 112-113; Wilhelm 1982, 79; Archi 1990. Brief individual profiles in Lorenz-Link 2016, 210 ff. Notably, sometimes they include the previous kings of the gods of the Hurrian myth, Alalu and Kumarbi, who also became 'ancient' after their deposition from power. An extension of this principle brought to include in some lists also gods that have nothing to do with the Netherworld, and, on the contrary, were the supreme celestial deities of the Sumerian-Mesopotamian pantheon, like Enlil, Ninlil, and Anu, presumably correlated to the group for their 'historical' antiquity.

of the two chief gods Teššob and Ḫebat. These lists are defined with the technical term *kaluti-*, a word whose probable meaning is "round; circle" (i.e. of offerings).[897] On the basis of the collection of the many *kaluti-* lists from the festival texts, Wegner (ChS I/3-2, 53-65) distinguished "standard" and "special" lists. The "standard" lists include the main deities of the Hittite and Hurrian pantheon, thus can be seen as representative of the Hittite official state cult. Instead, the "special" lists belong to festivals for individual towns or regional traditions (e.g. Manuzziya, Šapinuwa, etc.), and present several differences from the former, including deities of local importance. One such list is that of the *kaluti-* "of Kizzuwatna".[898] Although broken, this list does not include any Hittite god and should be to some extent loyal to the original pantheon of Kizzuwatna. *Tab. 9* shows the list of the *kaluti-* of Kizzuwatna derived from the relevant group of texts; it appears that the deities were arranged in order of importance.[899]

Table 9. *Kaluti*-lists for Teššob and Ḫebat of Kizzuwatna (after Wegner, ChS/I 3-2, 56-57)

^{d}Teššob		**^{d}Ḫebat**	
^{d}Ḫebat purulli=ve	T. "of the Temple"	^{d}Ḫebat ^{d}muž=ni ^{uru}Kizzuwatna	Ḫebat "the just/perfect"
^{d}Teššob arde=ne=ve	T. "of the city"	^{d}Ḫebat ^{d}Šarruma ^{uru}Kizzuwatna	Ḫebat (and)? Šarruma
^{d}Tažmiž	Tašmišu, brother of Teššob	^{d}Taru ^{d}Tagidu	
^{d}Kumarve	Kumarbi, grain god and ancestor god	^{d}Hodena ^{d}Hodellura	divine midwives
^{d}Kužoġ	moon-god		
^{d}Šimige	sun-god	(incomplete)**	
^{d}Aštabi, ^{d}Nubadig, ^{d}Ḫešue	war-gods		
^{d}Ḫatni $^{(d)}$Pižaža=p=ḫe*	Ḫ. of mount Piša(i)ša		
$^{(d)}$eže ḫavorni	earth and sky		
fabani=na šiye=na	mountains and rivers		
^{gu4}Šeri ^{gu4}Ḫurri	Šeri-bull and Ḫurri-bull		
$^{ḫur.sag}$Nanni	mount Nanni/Namni; Amanus?		
$^{ḫur.sag}$Ḫazzi	mount Ḫazzi; Ṣāpôn/Gebel-al-Aqra'		
(incomplete)**			

*In a lists for the cult of Teššob and Ḫebat of Ḫalab (CTH 698) we find instead ^{d}*IŠTAR* (i.e. Šavoška) (and) ^{d}*Pišaišapḫi*. Elsewhere *P.* has also divine determinative.

** One may try to integrate the incomplete lists employing those of the **ritual of Muwalanni for Teššob of Manuziya** (CTH 703; ChS/I 3-2, 57-58). In the *kaluti*-list of Teššob, after the landscape features, come also

[897] See Wegner in ChS/I 3.1, 1 and n. 1. This term is not attested in Hurrian, thus its origin is unknown.
[898] The relevant tablets are listed in ChS/3-2, x-xi, group VI, with editions therein.
[899] See ChS I/3-2, 53-65 for details. A summary on the *kaluti*-lists also in Taracha 2009, 118-119. Fragments of festival texts listed under CTH 704, 705, 706 potentially include new materials for integrating these lists, but it was not possible to consider them in the present study.

Šarruma "bull calf of the storm-god" (^{d}U AMAR-*ti* ^{d}LUGAL-*ma*) and Dinu/Tenu "vizier" of Teššob. In the highest ranks this list is almost identical to that of Kizzuwatna, apart from the local hypostasis of Teššob. The spelling ^{d}IB (Ninurta) probably stands for Tašmišu (see Schwemer 2001, 499), NISABA for Kumarbi and *SÎN* for Kužoġ, but we additionally find ^{d}*É-A* (Ea/Aya) and a Hurrian god, Pirenkir. At the end, there are collective groups of gods: the "Gods of the fathers of Teššob", the "gods of the city" and the "gods of the land", plus sacred paraphernalia of the deity. The female *kaluti*-list features various hypostasis of Ḫebat, the "gods of the fathers" and "of the city" and other important female goddesses of the Hurrian pantheon, ^{d}Umbu/^{d}NIN.GAL (on the cult of Ningal see Imparati 1979, 297), Aya (^{d}Aa), Šavoška (*IŠTAR*) and her two attendants Ninatta and Kulitta, Išḫara, Allani (goddess of the Netherworld) and the groups of "male" and "female gods" (Hurr. *tur=o=ḫḫe=na en(i)=na; ašt=o=ḫḫe=na en(i)=na*).

The Ḫalabite background is clear, but local traits are also important: apart from Šarruma, the mountain gods of Syro-Cilician context also speak of a distinctive regional tradition, which includes the immediate Syrian proximities (Mts. Nanni and Ḫazzi, and the Pišaiša-/Pižaža[900]).

The particular mode of worship based on the *kaluti*- series was very influential in Hittite context, when the Kizzuwatna cults where imported between the end of 15th c. and the first half of 14th c. The most remarkable example is the Kizzuwatnean pantheon carved in the chamber A at the rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya, arranged, after the same principle, with two processions of male and female gods following Teššob and Ḫebat, meeting in the central panel of the rock sanctuary (*fig. 91*). While, traditionally, a low date to the end of the Empire is assigned to the complex and the reliefs,[901] reviews of the architectural chronologies at Ḫattuša, published in the last decade and ongoing, provide reasons to think that this monument was in fact created much earlier, during the Early New Kingdom and with the earliest 'wave' of the importation of the cult from Kizzuwatna. Of this view is also C. Corti, who recently discussed this possibility in some detail (2017, 14-15). Corti is certainly correct pointing out the possibility of an early date of the multi-level building, with temple plan, built at the entrance of the sanctuary (i.e. "building II" and "IV"; Seeher 2011, 128-132). Typologically the earliest phase is certainly closer to the 15th c. than the 13th c. – and some structures could be earlier.[902] Concerning the carvings, an early dating can

[900] A nord Syrian location for this mountain is also probable (see RGCT/6, 316).
[901] Seeher 2011, 24.
[902] An overview on Hittite temple architectures and chronology in Zimmer-Vorhaus 2011.

be proposed on the basis of parallel retro-dating of several Hittite reliefs from Ortaköy, Kayalıpınar and Alacahöyük, previously assigned to the Empire period,[903] and for stylistic differences observed between the main reliefs and others, presumably later additions, such as the representation of Tudḫaliya IV in another location of chamber A.[904] In my view, the employ of AH script for the names of the gods does not pose any problem, and indeed well fit with the series of innovations post-dating the reign of Tudḫaliya I (see supra §5.3.3); attribution of the reliefs to Arnuwanda or, even better, Tudḫaliya III, seems very reasonable.

Considering the complexity of the topic of the religion in Kizzuwatna, this could not be treated exhaustively here. The section aimed at highlighting that the composite background of the local traditions does not only stand on two main components, one Syro-Hurrian and chiefly Ḫalabite, and one Anatolian (namely Anatolian-Luwian), but is the more complex outcome of a regional elaboration of these traditions – still preponderant – enriched by the inclusion of exclusively local traits. Other hints on the Kizzuwatnean religion come from the content of the Kizzuwatna rituals, discussed later in the historical context of the transmission of these documents with their lore of religious and cultic traditions in the Hittite archives (§7.5.2).

[903] Schachner 2012.
[904] Details in Corti 2017, 15 (and bibliography in n. 78).

Chapter 7. Kizzuwatna and the Hittite Early New Kingdom (late 15th- mid 14th c.)

7.1 The reign of Sunaššura under Mittani (AlT 14)

One generation after Pilliya, we own documents regarding king Sunaššura of Kizzuwatna,[905] in particular a well-preserved treaty stipulated with Tudḫaliya I provides important historical information (§7.3). But there is also one document from Alalaḫ (AlT 14) which gives indirect information on the reign of this king. The small tablet contains a legal deliberation issued by the king of Mittani Sauštatar *(fig. 84)*,[906] resolving a quarrel between Sunaššura and king Niqmepa of Alalaḫ;[907] the latter received the response from Mittani and there he kept it in his palatial archives. It is worth quoting here the short text entirely:[908]

1. *a-na pa-ni* ^{m}*Sa-uš-sa-ta-at-tar* LUGAL
2. ^{m}*Níq-me-pa aš-šum* ^{uru}*A-la-wa-ri*^{ki}
3. *it-ti* ^{m}*Su-na-aš-šu-ra*
4. [*di-nam*] *iṣ-bat-ma*
5. [^{m}*Níq-me-pa i-na di*]*-nim*
6. [*il-te-e-ma* ^{u}]^{ru}*A-la-wa-ri*^{ki}
7. [*a-na* ^{m}*Níq-me-pa it-t*]*ù-ur*
8. [x x x x x x]x-*a-wa*^{ki}
9. [x x x x x x]x

> "Before Sauštatar, the king, Niqmepa brought a legal case against Sunaššura regarding (the possession of) Alawari. Niqmepa won the case, and Alawari (was) returne(d) to Niqmepa. [... (the city)]-awa [...]"

The text was sealed by Sauštatar, who employed, though, the seal of an ancestor (possibly his grandfather):[909]

> *Šu-ut-ta-ar-n*[*a*] DUMU *Ki-ir-ta* LUGAL *Ma-i-ta-ni* (*fig. 84*; ed. Collon 1975, 131 n. 230)

[905] The position of Talzu is uncertain, but he probably reigned before Sunaššura (§5.5.2).
[906] Sauštatar (spelled *Sauštatar* or *Šauša(ta)tar,* at Terqa *Sausadatra*; see von Dassow 2014, 19) was son of Parsatatar according to his seal. This otherwise unknown king is probably to be identified with Barattarna, although this remains uncertain; ref. in Wilhelm 2009c.
[907] King of Mukiš and Alalaḫ, as indicated in a treaty with Ir-Teššob of Tunip (AlT 2).
[908] Ed. Wiseman 1953, 39; pl. VIII n. 14; integrations, based on AlT 13, follow von Dassow 2008, 48 n. 115. The text is discussed also in Klengel 1992, 89; 1999, 110.
[909] The same seal was also employed in AlT 13, another legal decision concerning Niqmepa. Wihelm 1989 defined this "dynastic seal"; a similar tradition continued later on, since the seal of Sauštatar was used by several rulers after him likewise (Wilhelm 2009c, 106).

The document, although fragmentary, appears to deal with territorial issues between the bordering territories of Alalaḫ and Kizzuwatna, thus identification of Sunaššura with the homonymous king is virtually certain.[910]

Niqmepa made a claim against Sunaššura for the possession of a certain town Alawari, which was probably located in Syria, beyond the Amanus.[911] It was ultimately decided that Niqmepa had rights on the town, which is probably why he received confirmation through a sealed document.[912] What this text indicates very clearly, being an arbitration of Sauštatar, is that both local rulers were under the authority of Mittani.

Typologically, this unilateral deliberation can be well distinguished from the contract AlT 3, discussed previously (§5.6.3). The former was, rather, a private negotiation among Pilliya and Idrimi, and this difference is critical, in support of the view that the earlier stipulation does not imply their status was equal in face of the king of Mittani.[913]

This document shows unequivocally a new situation, in which Kizzuwatna is *de iure* a territory subordinate to the Mittanian kingdom, not dissimilarly from Alalaḫ. By this time, thus, the Mittanian political influence over Cilicia appears to be at its apex. This situation corresponds with that described in the historical introduction to the Sunaššura treaty, which was presumably stipulated after this document by the same ruler (§7.3.1).

The assumption that the Sunaššura of the treaty with Ḫattuša is the same individual mentioned in this deliberation depends chiefly on the view one maintains on a broader problem, critical for the historical

[910] As in the case of AlT 3 (§5.7) all names – with the exception of Sauštatar – appear without title, thus this does not speak against the identification with those rulers; see already Beal (1986, 431 n. 33) on this point.
[911] On the location of Alawari, see von Dassow 2008, 48 n. 116 and Belmonte Marín 2001, 12-13.
[912] Von Dassow 2008, 48 noted that when other decisions were not in favor of Niqmepa, he still received a letter informing about it (e.g. AlT 112).
[913] Differently from von Dassow 2008, who sees AlT 14 to confirm the subordinate status of Kizzuwatna endured since the previous generation.

reconstruction of the period and for the interpretation and attribution of several documents. This is the complex question regarding the number of rulers bearing the name Tudḫaliya in the Early New Kingdom period (ca. 1450-1350). The next section provides an overview of the problem and a historical background, before moving on to the discussion of the treaty.

7.2 A new kingdom: the reign of Tudḫaliya

7.2.1 Excursus: the problem of Tudḫaliya I/II and the Early New Kindgom's dynasty

This long standing problem consists in the possibility that the 'founder' of the New Kingdom was not the Tudḫaliya who preceded Arnuwanda I, but an earlier namesake; if so, there would be three Tudḫaliya in the Early New Kingdom, instead of two (the last being Tudḫaliya III, predecessor of Suppiluliuma I).[914] Since this possibility has implications for the attribution and interpretation of various documents, as well as the chronology of the period, a review of the main related questions is in order. Notable repercussions on the history of Kizzuwatna derive from the fact that Tudḫaliya was the king who stipulated a treaty with Sunaššura of Kizzuwatna (§7.3.1), and who married Nikkal-madi, presumably a princess or high-ranking person from Kizzuwatna (§7.3.2). The identity of this Tudḫaliya remains critical for an historical assessment of the period.

The bibliography on this topic is vast and the discussion here refers only to some recent contributions and the main lines of interpretation. The hypothesis of two Tudḫaliya at the beginning of the old kingdom, which goes back to Gurney (1979b, 220 ff.) and Košak (1980), was rejected by Beal (1986, 442 ff. and n. 87). Afterwards, most scholars followed the view of a minimum number of rulers in the Early New Kingdom, thus only one Tudḫaliya before Arnuwanda, against the opinion of a minority of scholars, in particular Freu (1996, 2004, 2007), Carruba (2005, 2008), and recently Taracha (2014). Freu (2003, 52) criticized the elimination of individuals from the 'list' of kings – namely one Tudḫaliya and Ḫattusili II –

[914] See an introduction to the problem and the bibliography in Taracha 2014, 956.

suspecting that the reason for doing so was the compatibility of the resulting picture with the low chronology, which was becoming increasingly popular after the early 90s. Still, maintaining the MC – as in the present work – does not pose impracticable difficulties; although it does require to assume long lengths of reign for Tudḫaliya I, Arnuwanda I and Tudḫaliya III, this scenario is neither unrealistic nor contradicted by the evidence.

Carruba (2008, 15, 17) re-iterated his long-held position, chiefly based on content details and formal differences among the documents of the period, which could be motivated chronologically. According to him, an explanation for these differences can't be reduced to a long reign of Tudḫaliya I (similarly Popko 2005, see also *infra*); rather, two individual rulers with this name must have existed. More recently, the same view is maintained by Taracha, who in 2014 discussed the implications of a passage from the fragmentary tablet KBo 50.4, which to this date probably posits the most important problem for a 'unitary' view. This is the relevant section[915]:

1 [*UM-MA ta-ba-ar-n*]*a* ⌜m*Ar-nu-wa-an*⌝*-t*[*a* LUGAL.GAL *Ù* f*Aš-mu-ni-kal* MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL]
2 [DUMU.M]UNUS *ŠA* m*Tù-ut-ḫa-li-ya* [LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG DUMU.DUMU.MUNUS]
3 [*ŠA* m*Tù-u*]*t-ḫa-li-ya* LUGAL.GAL UR.[SAG]

"[Thus (speaks) Tabarn]a, Arnuwand[a Great King, ***and Ažmo-Nikkal, Great Queen***]
[dau]ghter of Tudḫaliya [Great King, Hero, ***granddaughter***]
[of Tud]ḫaliya, Great King, He[ro ...]

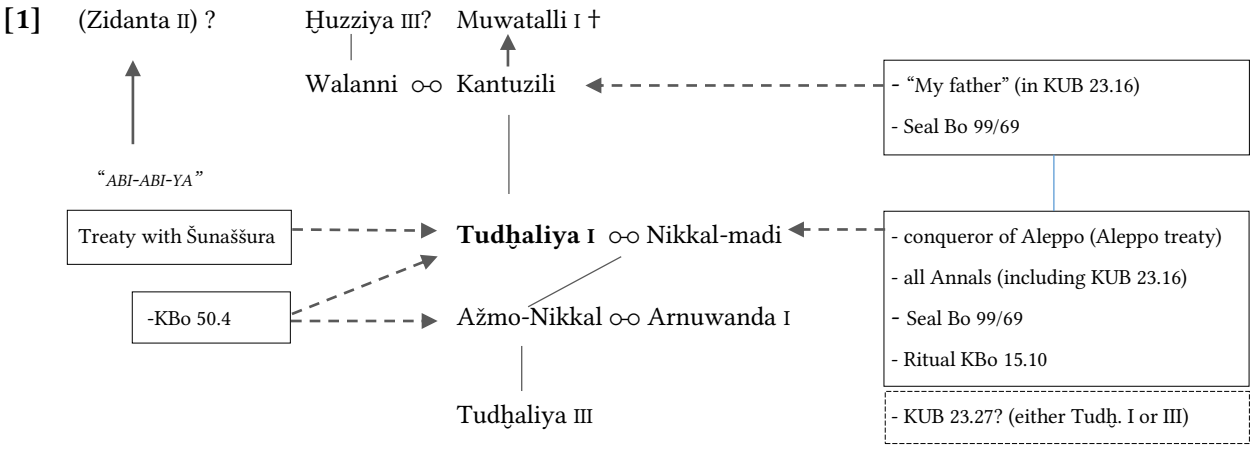
The text genre and the content of this fragmentary tablet remain unclear.[916] If one follows the reconstruction proposed by Taracha, the introduction of this tablet would confirm a sequence of *two* Tudḫaliya one after the other at the beginning of the New Kingdom. De Martino (2016, 38 n. 16) observes

[915] Reconstruction according to Taracha (2014, 960), adapted. See another publication in Groddek (2009, 3-4) and previously Soysal 1989, 61, 103.
[916] Groddek (2009, 3) lists the fragment as CTH 148; Taracha (2014, 961) suggests that this may be a decree or another kind of official document. The fragmentary paragraph following the introduction with the rulers' titulary mentions Ḫattusili and Mursili, thus clearly refers to the origins of the Old Kingdom. It begins with: "[Previou]sly[?], those who [were kin]gs in Ḫattuša [...] and/but[?] they were the "ancestor"-kings (lit. grandfathers): [Ḫattusili, man of Kuššar, and ⌜Murs⌝ili. And [...] the gods were doing well".

that a different reconstruction is possible, i.e. that Arnuwanda could be listed a second time after Ažmo-Nikkal. If he was indicated there as *adoptive* son of Tudḫaliya, both references would refer to the same predecessor. However, it seems difficult to find a suitable formulation that complies with this reconstruction, while the one proposed by Taracha (2014, 960) appears plausible and provides a relatively simple solution. The question remains open, but while it is true that this unusual formulation has no parallels in other documents, a motivation can be perhaps sought in the exceptional status of queen Ažmo-Nikkal, communicated also in other documents (§7.3.2): she was the natural daughter of Tudḫaliya and Nikkal-madi. Thus, a different reconstruction than that proposed by Taracha can't be excluded either.

Some scholars suggest that the so called "Cruciform Seal" (*fig. 82*) also distinguishes the Tudḫaliya who married Nikkal-madi from Tudḫaliya I (e.g. Carruba 1998, 96; Taracha 2014, 957), but this object is fragmentary and presents several interpretative problems.[917] In brief, it is unclear who is the individual Tudḫaliya in the upper wing of the seal.

I tentatively synthesized the two main alternative views in the scheme of *tab. 10*.



[917] Ed. Dinçol et al. 1993. The seal was created at the time of Mursili II with clear propagandistic interests. In the two sides it lists important kings of the Old Kingdom and their queens (side A: Labarna, Ḫattusili I, Mursili I) and of the Early New Kingdom before Suppiluliuma (side B: Tudḫaliya I, Arnuwanda, Tudḫaliya III (probably). See also Miller 2004, 7-9, and a detailed re-analysis with new suggestions for an interpretation in Stavi 2011.

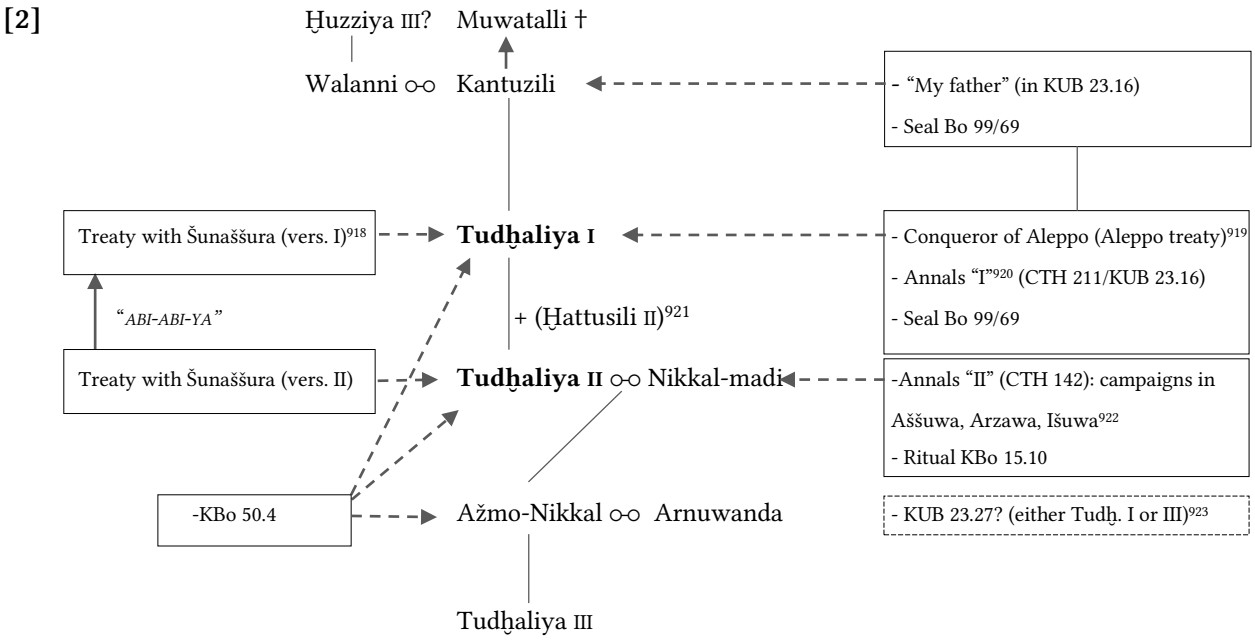

[2]
Ḫuzziya III? Muwatalli †
Walanni ○○ Kantuzili
- "My father" (in KUB 23.16)
- Seal Bo 99/69
Treaty with Šunaššura (vers. I)[918]
Tudḫaliya I
- Conqueror of Aleppo (Aleppo treaty)[919]
- Annals "I"[920] (CTH 211/KUB 23.16)
- Seal Bo 99/69
"ABI-ABI-YA"
+ (Ḫattusili II)[921]
Treaty with Šunaššura (vers. II)
Tudḫaliya II ○○ Nikkal-madi
-Annals "II" (CTH 142): campaigns in Aššuwa, Arzawa, Išuwa[922]
- Ritual KBo 15.10
-KBo 50.4
Ažmo-Nikkal ○○ Arnuwanda
- KUB 23.27? (either Tudḫ. I or III)[923]
Tudḫaliya III

Table 10. Alternative reconstructions of the Early New Kingdom dynastic sequence and potential attribution of some relevant documents.

[918] As discussed *infra* in detail (§7.3.1a) the two versions may correspond, according to some scholars, to the Hittite (earlier) and Akkadian (later) versions of the document, although the documentary situation seems more complex than a simple bipartition in two 'versions'.

[919] For Carruba (2008, 88-89) the *Aleppo treaty* (CTH 75) refers to Tudḫaliya I, hardly the second. The documents would suggest that Tudḫaliya II was largely credited with other campaigns, especially in Aššuwa, but not for a conquest of Aleppo; prosopography of the texts of T. I and T. II would be also different, and in fact for Carruba there is one more generation in between (Ḫattusili II). But see now Gilan 2017, von Dassow 2014, 21 n. 30

[920] For Carruba the Annalistic texts of Tudḫaliya do not belong to only one ruler. There are some fragments which belong to Tudḫaliya I (KUB 23.16; ed. Carruba 2008, 17-29 with literature). One of the main arguments to separate the texts is stylistic, with a "Tacitian" style of KUB 23.16 *vis á vis* KUB 23.27, but one must consider the limited extent of the supposedly earlier fragment for a similar formal analysis.

[921] Carruba 2008, 118. For the existence of Ḫattusili II, the argument has been made that it is unlikely that father and son (i.e. Tudḫaliya I and II) could bear the same name, as papponimy was customary in the Hittite dynasty. However, most scholars now reject the existence of Ḫattusili II, as there is virtually no evidence on this ruler (De Martino 2016, 38).

[922] According to Carruba (2008) this text would prove that this Tudḫaliya can't be the son of Kantuzili, since it states that the father died when he was still young (KUB 23.27, 2-3), which contradicts the possibility that Tuḫaliya fought with Kantuzili against Muwa, as KUB 23.16 indicates. Note that this passage is first of all integrated (Carruba 2008, 32-33); additionally, assuming the restoration is correct, the formula "I was young", as also Carruba underlines, can be found in other texts and is a repertoire phrase that does not necessarily *explain* how young was actually Tudḫaliya when the father died.

[923] Some scholars assign KUB 23.27 to Tudḫaliya III, usually incorporated in the Annals of Tudḫaliya I (or the II, in the option n. [2]). See Bryce 2005, 424 n. 12 with additional references.

A critical difference between the two alternatives is the resulting attribution of some texts, that in the case of [1] would all belong to the same ruler (Tudḫaliya I), while in the case of [2] can be split in two groups, each assigned to Tudḫaliya I or II.

This is significant for a history of Kizzuwatna. For example, primarily on paleographic ground, Popko (2005) challenged the idea that the MS tablets of the treaty and other documents attributed to Tudḫaliya should be dated to the same period, consequently to the same ruler. According to him the Akkadian and Hittite manuscripts of the treaty (KBo 1.5 KBo 28.110 and KUB 36.127) must be earlier than KBo 15.10, a tablet describing a ritual for Tudḫaliya and Nikkal-madi that is presumably contemporary with those rulers. In general, it would appear that some documents (the earliest) show script characteristics distinct from those attributed to Tudḫaliya II (supposedly) and Arnuwanda. The consequence would be that while the treaty with Sunaššura (if this was one treaty only) belongs to Tudḫaliya I, it was another individual, Tudḫaliya II, who married Nikkal-madi, and the ruler to whom some other documents (e.g. some of the Annalistic texts) must be also attributed.

The hypothesis n. [2] has a significant impact, more specifically, on the dating and interpretation of the tablets belonging to the corpus of the treaty between Tudḫaliya and Sunaššura. It probably requires, in particular, that also two different Sunaššura existed, most likely one immediately after the other or even at a distance of two generations, as shown in the scheme.[924] While, strictly speaking, Popko's view does not require so, in fact other scholars suggested that the various versions of this document should be indeed separated and *also* attributed to different Kizzuwatnean individual rulers respectively (see *infra*).[925]

[924] For two Sunaššura, see Freu 2001, Houwink ten Cate 1998, Carruba 2008, 116. See previous literature also in Beal 1986, 442 n. 85. In general, who maintains that two Tudḫaliya I and II existed, also generally prefers two Sunaššura, one contemporary with Sauštatar (AlT 14) and perhaps T. I (if one takes the "first version" of the treaty dating to T. I), the second his grandchild, contemporary to Tudḫaliya II (see a brief summary on the problem in Schwemer 2012, 312).

[925] E.g. Houwink ten Cate (1998, 36-58 and n. 3), Freu (2001, 2003, 52), Kitchen-Lawrence (2012/2, 39).

If one considers this other problem (discussed in §7.3.1 in detail) the situation becomes even more complex.

This is perhaps the main inconvenience of the hypothesis, which requires to face the coincidence that the existence of two Tudḫaliya necessitates – at least according to some scholars – *two* distinct corresponding and contemporary Sunaššura in Kizzuwatna.[926] Principally for this reason, and the overall congruity of the evidence for a unitary view the present study follows the current convention opting for one Tudḫaliya only.[927]

At present one must, however, admit that the evidence remains at least in part contradictory (notably the introduction to KBo 50.4), and no evidence exists that confirms unmistakably one or the other view beyond any reasonable doubt. Considering these uncertainties, and for the impact of the issue on the history of Kizzuwatna, the main implications of one and the other view were presented here as a caveat for the discussion of the topics in this chapter.

7.2.2. Historical background

Tudḫaliya I came on the throne of Ḫattuša after an obscure phase of internal strife. The previous king, Muwatalli I, was murdered in a plot schemed by the Hittite noblemen Ḫimuili and Kantuzili, as we learn from the tablet KUB 34.40.[928] It is likely that these two individuals had ties with the previous ruler, who was murdered by Muwatalli himself.[929] After the murder of Ḫuzziya and the usurpation of the throne, Muwatalli likely assigned or confirmed them to high offices in the attempt to find a reconciliation among

[926] As an alternative to this problem, Carruba (2008, 118) suggested that the first may have been Kartasūra, a character mentioned in KUB 23.16 (see in detail §7.6).
[927] See Miller 2014, 288 for a summary with 'four arguments' against a sequence including two Tudḫaliya and a Ḫattusili II.
[928] Ed. Miller 2013, 158-159.
[929] Following Bryce (2005, 114-115 and 421 n. 85). The usurpation of Muwatalli is known from the content of KBo 16.24+16.25 (CTH 251), informing on the murder of king Ḫuzziya II.

the Hittite elites. It seems hardly possible that this Kantuzili[930] is someone different from the father of Tudḫaliya: this genealogy is attested in a famous seal found in 1999 (Bo 99/69; *fig. 54*).[931]

While Tudḫaliya I is sometimes credited with beginning a new dynasty, that emerged from these fights for power between factions, it is possible that he actually belonged to the main dynastic line interrupted by the precedent usurpation of Muwatalli I, through his father Kantuzili – independently from the fact that the latter was or was not the son of king Ḫuzziya.[932] He may well have belonged to the broader royal family, as several scholars think.[933] Ultimately, while we know nothing of the ascendancy of Kantuzili, the hypothesis that Tudḫaliya belonged to a different clan of 'Hurrian' descent is unwarranted.[934]

Taracha (2004, 2014) suggested, more specifically, that the new dynasty came from Kizzuwatna, as the cultural influx from this territory in the ENK, and the new royal onomastic tradition would suggest. One reason he put forward is that throughout the New Kingdom the eldest sons of the king – supposed heirs to the throne – were given alternatively the names Tudḫaliya and Arnuwanda, which is clearly a new custom. While for Taracha this new tradition has a Kizzuwatnean connection, because these two names derive from sacred mountains located in the vicinities of Kummani, this connection is unlikely.[935]

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[930] KBo 32.185 obv. 14. On this Kantuzili, who bears the title UGULA $^{lu.meš}$KUŠ$_7$.KÙ.GI "chief of the golden charioteers" in LSU n. 47 and various other titles in seals (MAGNUS.HASTARIUS; MAGNUS.AURIGA$_2$ and REX.FILIUS), see recently Bilgin 2018, 197-201, with discussion of the significant questions. Note that for the existence of various individuals with this name the interpretation of some documents, in particular a group of seal impressions, remains quite complex; a summary with some open questions can be found in Marizza 2007, 17-24 (esp. II. 3.4 on seals). See also Gilan 2014a, 201 n. 30 with references.

[931] Their relationship is confirmed in some fragments of Annals, attributed to Tudḫaliya I, which attest his military collaboration with the father (KBo 50.65, see Groddek 2009, 164; KUB 23.16, see Carruba 2008, 17-21).

[932] Freu (1995, 137) suggested that Ḫimuili and Kantuzili could be sons of Ḫuzziya.

[933] Pecchioli Daddi 2005, 288; Bryce 2005, 122 (with previous references n. 7); de Martino 2016, 36-37.

[934] See Taracha 2004, 631 n. 3 for the scholarly background of this view. According to some scholars this would explain the new 'philo-Hurrian' cultural background of the Early New Kingdom. Similar is the view of Freu (1995, 137), who also suggested that the Kantuzili who murdered Muwatalli and the father of Tudḫaliya should be distinguished.

[935] Taracha 2014, 957. Both were certainly mountain names (Wilhelm 2014, 224) but there is no reason to think they were located in Kizzuwatna; the texts do not speak of their vicinity to Kummani either. While probably Taracha intends here Kummani to be located at Comana, the existence of the name Tudḫaliya in Kanišite texts by itself excludes that the homonymous mountain should be located *in* Kizzuwatna. Indeed, it is "(...) wohl im hethitischen Kernland zu suchen" (RGTC 6, 446) although a more precise Central Anatolian localization is not possible either.

Additionally, since Arnuwanda was probably not a natural son of Tudḫaliya,[936] this explanation does not actually apply, at least to this name. More importantly, it seems hard to adjust the hypothesis with the presence of Kantuzili at the court of Muwatalli I and his high status, if he was a Kizzuwatnean. It seems far more likely that the family of Tudḫaliya belonged to the Hittite elites and was perhaps even of royal rank.[937]

While a direct connection between the *origins* of Tudḫaliya and the Early New Kingdom Hurrianization should be excluded, one can find another compelling explanation for these phenomena through the political and personal connection this ruler established with Kizzuwatna. Most notably, this could happen through his marriage with Nikkal-madi, if she was a Kizzuwantnean princess (discussed *infra* in detail §7.4.1).

The installation of Tudḫaliya as king appears to be motivated by the decision to concede the throne to someone not directly involved with the assassination of the predecessor (de Martino 2016, 36-37), and who, supposedly, had at the same time significant rights to claim the throne. The likely turbulent beginning of his reign was characterized by new fights with a revenge-seeking faction loyal to Muwatalli I, led by Muwa, chief of the body-guard (GAL *MEŠEDI*) of the former king. Tudḫaliya and his father opposed and eventually defeated Muwa and his army, also supported by Hurrian allies, in events described in the fragmentary historiographic text KUB 23.16.

Although, strictly speaking, Tudḫaliya perhaps did not initiate a new dynasty, his kingdom certainly marked the beginning of a new era. This perception of the modern historiography can be perhaps projected back also in the later Hittite context: Tudḫaliya maintained an important position in the

The same applies to mountain Arnuwanda (RGTC 6, 39), which should have been located in the vicinities of mt. Tudḫaliya, according to the festival text CTH 591 (see Wilhelm 2014, 224 for details).

[936] Beal 1983, 117; Bryce 2005, 128.

[937] A discussion also in Miller 2014, 286-288, with further bibliography.

historiographical memory[938] and a special document like the "Cruciform Seal" (*fig. 82*) recognized him indeed as the initiator of the New Kingdom dynastic sequence.

7.2.3. The integration of Kizzuwatna in the Hittite kingdom: political and cultural strategies

In this new era of the Hittite kingdom's history, Kizzuwatna played a central role, and the goal of the following sections is to discuss and assess this role in detail. While this aspect has been already addressed cursorily in previous historiographical literature,[939] the aim here is to show in better detail how some conscious and coherent political strategies concerning Kizzuwatna initiated with Tudḫaliya I, can be seen as part of a more far-reaching project of territorial incorporation. For the present discussion, there are two main themes of interest: the first regards the political sphere, with the diplomatic process that lead to the actual annexation of Kizzuwatna to the Hittite kingdom (§7.3, §7.4 and §7.6). The second is the substantial and distinctive cultural impact of the annexation of Kizzuwatna on the cultural history of the Hittite kingdom (§7.5), an aspect deeply intertwined with the political dynamics.

The probably long reign of Tudḫaliya I inaugurated a new phase of remarkable political and military achievements.[940] This is not the place to discuss this topic in detail, but a brief overview will be useful to introduce and contextualize those aspects of his political action which specifically involved Kizzuwatna.

The closest model for Tudḫaliya's aggressive policy of military expansionism in all directions were the campaigns of the early kings of the Old Kingdom. However, the political project of Tudḫaliya can be

[938] See for example the introduction to the Aleppo treaty (CTH 75), where Tudḫaliya was seen as one of the great kings of the past, together with Ḫattusili and Mursili. On this topic see Gilan 2017. Previously Gilan (2014b, 97-98) also showed that Tudḫaliya I is among the few kings who were venerated in form of statue (CTH 660), among the "founding fathers" of the Hittite kingdom (previously Singer 2009, 180).
[939] E.g. recently de Martino 2016, 40, 50-51.
[940] For historical treatments of the reign of Tudḫaliya and the Early New Kingdom see Bryce 2005, 121-153; Carruba 2008, 17-63; Stavi 2015, 28-36; de Martino 2016, 38-44. A historical overview with list of the relevant primary sources in Klengel 1999, 103-134.

considered more consistently 'imperialistic' in nature.[941] Indeed, some scholars credit him as the founder of the Hittite Empire (e.g. Archi 2003, 11), and define the period preceding Suppiluliuma I "Early Empire period". While it appears more clearly that only with Suppiluliuma the kingdom was configures as an Empire *in substance*, it does not seem inappropriate to identify in Tudḫaliya at least the roots of a Hittite imperial project, for the systematic approach to territorial conquests and for other strategies adopted to include new territories in the kingdom's domain (the progressive incorporation of Kizzuwatna).

It seems that the military ambitions of Tudḫaliya's agenda extended once again to northern Syria, an objective virtually abandoned since at least the time of Telipinu, almost one century earlier. The Hittites could probably take advantage of the difficult moment of Mittani, weakened by the previous Egyptian incursions of Tuthmose III (ca. 1479-1425[942]), which eventually found a halt in the last decades of his reign;[943] the growing power of Assyria in the area may also have been a component in these dynamics.[944] It was likely during the time of conflict with the Egyptians that Mittani also lost hold on Kizzuwatna, which sometimes between the reign of Pilliya and Sunaššura had become a subordinate state. Consequently, the Hittites could regain this strategically important ally to the enemy.[945]

However, contemporary documents do not inform on the Syrian campaigns of Tudḫaliya, and there are only indirect references from later time. The conquest of Aleppo by a king Tudḫaliya is in fact mentioned only in the historical introduction of the *treaty of Mursili II with Talmi-Šarruma of Aleppo* (CTH 75); this

[941] In a sense compatible with that of an "imperial mission", as recently articulated in Liverani (2017b, 6-7) concerning the ideological background of the (Neo) Assyrian imperialism, but applicable to other contexts.
[942] Note that the dates of the New Kingdom may need to be pushed back some ten years to adjust to 14C dates, thus would provide a slightly higher chronology of this period; on this topic see Bronk-Ramsey et al. 2010.
[943] Redford 2003, 185 ff. Activities in Syria lasted for some two decades after his 21st year, thus covering approximately the 60s-40s of the century. In the 35th year (10th campaign) a large confrontation with Mittani seems to have happened at Aleppo, and the last Asian campaign is dated in Egyptian sources to the 42nd year (thus around 1440 BCE or shortly after), after major revolts in the main cities of Syria inspired by Mittani.
[944] Bryce 2005, 138.
[945] Also Stavi 2015, 34.

is more likely the earliest Tudḫaliya, as these events fall neatly within this context of his military expansion project, even though attribution to Tudḫaliya III for this reference can't be entirely excluded.[946]

The Annalistic texts,[947] instead, inform on the substantial military successes of Tudḫaliya in western Anatolia, where the Hittites reached the Aegean area conquering Aššuwa.[948] In the East he managed to conquer Išuwa and military successes were obtained also against the Kaška populations in north-central Anatolia. Therefore, the extensive campaigns reached unprecedented distances, especially in the west, although it is clear that in none of these areas a durable control could be achieved. With the successors of Tudḫaliya, in fact, the Hittite kingdom lived a new phase of crisis (as discussed later in this chapter).

In foreign politics, the other highlight of the kingdom of Tudḫaliya was a new diplomatic policy towards the neighbor Kizzuwatna, which led to its factual annexation to the Hittite kingdom in the late part of his reign or under his successor Arnuwanda (in detail §7.6). The annexation did not happen, apparently, through military conquest, thus a different strategy was adopted here, in particular starting with a new alliance treaty. It can't be excluded that actual conflicts led to this stipulation, with which the Hittites eventually managed to overturn the extant alliance between Kizzuwatna and Mittani. As anticipated, the Mittanian crisis in the central decades of 15th c. favored this geo-political realignment.

While the details of this process of annexation, and its actual formalization, remain unknown, some hints can be drawn from the content of this important historical source.

[946] On this text see recently Gilan 2017 (who suggests this is Tudḫaliya I). The stipulation of a treaty with Tunip (CTH 135) may be also attributed to Tudḫaliya (Klinger 1995a, 238-241; Klengel 1999, 105; Devecchi 2015a, 185; de Martino 2016, 42 with references) but this remains uncertain, as some suggest a dating to Suppiluliuma I (von Dassow 2008, 60 with references). In this case, still, the text would refer back to events of previous time.
[947] The fragments of Annalistic texts belonging to Tudḫaliya I are collected under CTH 142. A recent collection of the relevant documents in Carruba 2008, 17-63 (where he separates them between a Tudḫaliya I and II).
[948] An important original document is the Aegean sword inscribed with a dedication of Tudḫaliya I after the successful campaigns in these territories (a detailed treatment of the object in Salvini-Vagnetti 1995).

7.3. The treaty between Tudḫaliya I and Sunaššura

The treaty between Tudḫaliya and Sunaššura (CTH 41) is certainly one of the most important historical documents on Kizzuwatna. For a long time the dating of this text remained uncertain, because the name of the Hittite king could not be read in any of the available copies. Among the many attributions, a dating between one of the earliest Tudḫaliya (I-III) and Suppiluliuma I seemed the most likely.[949]

After collation of the tablet, in 1988 Wilhelm showed that in the poorly preserved first line of the copy KBo 1.5 the name of Tudḫaliya could be restored. Despite this finding, there is still discussion on the attribution of this text for two reasons; one depends from the issue of the number of Tudḫaliya at the beginning of the New Kingdom (§7.2.1), the second regards the complex documentary situation of the treaty's manuscripts. In fact the tablets, both in Akkadian and Hittite, rather than copies of the same document, appear to be different versions of the treaty.

There is a broad consensus that the text should be attributed to Tudḫaliya I, within the model with only one "early" Tudḫaliya.[950] If this was the case, the various versions should be all attributed to the same ruler despite their differences (see *infra*). Of course, who suggest there were two Tudḫaliya may distinguish versions of the treaty that can be assigned to one or the other, a view which almost forces to conclude that also two parallel Sunaššura also existed, as shown above (p. 356-357).

Before Wilhelm provided the reading of the name of the Hittite king in KBo 1.5, Beal already proposed arguments for the simplest solution, i.e. that there must be one Sunaššura and that he was contemporary

[949] A summary on the scholarship in Wilhelm 2014a* (*introductio*).
[950] An attribution to Tudḫaliya III (Houwink Ten Cate 1998) seems much less likely; I refer the reader to the observations of Schwemer (2005a, 98) in this respect.

with Tudḫaliya I.[951] Eventually, if one was to accept two Tudḫaliya (*without* Ḫattusili in between) one rather goes with a reign of Sunaššura long enough to be contemporary with both.[952]

The text has been often discussed, and this section deals only with aspects primarily significant for the history of Kizzuwatna. Given the particular complexity of the documentary situation, a brief summary of the philological background is in order. Afterwards, two distinct sections focus on the historical prologue of the treaty and on its normative content, and their political-historical implications.

7.3.1 Documentary overview

Edition.[953] Weidner 1923, 88-11 (ed. princeps); Wilhelm 2014a* (vers. I.1), 2014b* (I.2), 2011* (I.3), 2014c* (I.4) (Akkadian versions); Fuscagni 2011a* (II.2), 2014* (II.1); Kitchen-Lawrence 2012/1, 315-320.
Translations: Beckman 1999, 17-26; Schwemer 2005a, 97-106; Devecchi 2015a, 73-91.
Other literature: (selected) Liverani 1973a, 267-297; Del Monte 1981, 216-217; Beal 1986, 432-435; Wilhelm 1988; Klengel 1999, 106; Kitchen-Lawrence 2012/3, 39-41; Schwemer 2012.

Lang.	Vers.		Tablet ed.	Dating	Provenance
Akk.	I.1		KBo 28.110+ +KBo 28.75	MS/mh.	Building A, room 4-5 (and other fragments from Büyükkale)
Akk.	I.2	A.	KBo 1.5	MS/mh.	Büyükkale E* (“down the slope”)
		B.	KUB 3.4	NS/jh.	-
Akk.	I.3		KBo 19.40	MS/mh.	L/19
Akk.	I.4*		KBo 28.106	MS/mh.	Büyükkale c/17 (Phryg. mauerfüllschutt)
Hitt.	II.1		KUB 8.81+ +KBo 19.39	MS/mh.	Temple 1, alte g.schutt, L/19? (HPM) K/19? (Wilhelm)
Hitt.	II.2		KUB 36.127	MS/mh.	-

This manuscript catalog is based on Wilhelm 2014a* and HPM.

[951] A succinct, yet valuable overview of this problem can be found in the long note of Beal (1986, 434-435 n. 49).
[952] One must note the exception of Kitchen-Lawrence 2012/1, 322 ff. and 2012/3, 39-40. They still consider the attribution to Tudḫaliya doubtful, maintaining Suppiluliuma I as a possibility.
[953] For earlier literature see Schwemer (2005a, 97), Devecchi (2015, 75-76) and the *introductiones* in Wilhelm 2014a* and 2014b*.

*According to Devecchi 2015a (75, n. 1) this tablet may be considered a copy of I.2.A, rather than another version of the treaty. In this respect she disagrees with the manuscript catalog of Wilhelm, and catalog it as I.2.C.

Akkadian versions

I.2.A. KBo 1.5 is the best preserved version; it is a two-columned plano-convex archival tablet. The reference to the seal of the Hittite king suggests that this copy contains the final version of the treaty (Devecchi 2015a, 74). Still, the document seems incomplete, as it lacks the list of divine witnesses and the section with curse formulae; it is unclear whether it lacks part of the normative content as well (namely the end of the section about the borders). If this was the case, however, one must imagine that a second tablet existed, which for this type of document seems unlikely. A short conclusive paragraph cannot be excluded: possible examples are the endings of contracts and treaties from Alalaḫ, such as AlT 2 (*Treaty between Niqmepa and Ir-Teššob of Tunip*; ed. Wiseman 1953, 26-31) or the aforementioned contract AlT 3 (§5.7).

I.1. In this version, the historical prologue and normative sections are compatible with I.2.A. This text, however, was shorter, and significantly lacks the names of the parties. The surviving portion of text refers to the Hittite king with his title and to the king of Kizzuwatna only implicitly, employing chiefly the second person. It also lacks the border descriptions, but features a short list of gods (presented *supra* §6.4) and the curses section. The tablet format is interesting, as this appears to be a narrow and tall one-columned tablet, with no paragraph divisions and which was pre-ruled (*vorliniert*). Wilhelm 2014a* provided a detailed overview of the context differences between the two main Akkadian copies.

Schwemer (2005a, 98) observed that some linguistic peculiarities in the Akkadian of KBo 1.5 suggest the scribes were Hittite native speakers.[954]

[954] See also īd. 2006b, 229-231, for particularities in the spelling conventions, notably for the sibilants.

Hittite versions

The Hittite versions (**II.1** and **II.2**) mention Sunaššura several times, but the relation with the Akkadian manuscripts is difficult to assess. The main problem is that there is no overlap between the two versions in the preserved passages. Notably, the Hittite copies do not feature parts of the historical prologue or the borders' descriptions, but only preserve normative sections. An interesting aspect of the version II.2 is that it refers to Mittani ([KUR] ^{uru}*Mittani*), while the Akkadian version never uses this name, but the form "the land of Ḫurri" (KUR ^{uru}*Ḫurri*), typically employed in the earlier Hittite documents.[955]

Relationship between the various versions

The best-preserved version is the Akkadian one, and this seems to be the definitive form of the text. The clear differences among the tablets have found various explanations. Since most manuscripts have an early date – compatible with the stipulation of the treaty – their differences must reflect a complex editorial history of the treaty itself, of which we own bits of various editorial stages. Also the fact that the Hittite and Akkadian versions have no passages in common suggests some tablets were drafts for the preparation of the final document.

Instead, the possibility that the fragmentary versions mirror different stages in the development of the diplomatic relations during the reigns of Tudḫaliya and Sunaššura – thus indicating that the treaty had been reviewed and subscribed more than once – seems contradicted by the content of KBo 1.5 (likely the last version), which in its introduction does not refer to previous stipulations with Sunaššura (see §7.3.2). Different views on the potential chronological distance among the versions varies according to the general interpretation of the tablets' corpus. Kitchen-Lawrence (2012/2, 39) highlighted that the Hittite versions seem to show a clear paritarian character, if compared with the Akkadian ones.

[955] This could speak against a later date of the Akkadian versions; note, otherwise, that 'Ḫurri' and similar definitions were still employed – instead of 'Mittani' –in other 15th c. documents. On the name Mittani and the other names of the kingdom see Wilhelm 1994b, 289-290 and de Martino 2014a, 63.

For example, see the following passage – one of the few that can be compared among different tablets:

[*mān* LUGAL KUR ^{uru}*Mit*]*tanni=ma ITTI* ⌜LUGAL KUR ^{uru}*ḪATTI*⌝ *kūrur ēpzi* ⌜^{m}*Šun*⌝*aššuraš=ši* [...] *ŪL pāi ANA* KUR-*ŠU=*⌜*wa=an=kan?*⌝ *ištarna arḫa ŪL tarnai nu=za* KUR-*SÚ paḫša* [*nu=šši*(?) (...) *IŠT*]*U*(?) ÉRIN^{meš} ANŠE.KUR.RA$^{ḫi.a}$ *ŪL* [*u*]*izzi ANA* ^{m}*Šunaššura=ma mān āššu n=aš ANA* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* [*šardiya ui*]*zzi mān=ši ŪL=ma āššu n=aš ŪL uizzi*

[*mān* LUGAL KUR ^{ur}]^{u}*Mittanni=ma ANA* K[UR ^{uru}*K*]*izzuwatni kūrur ēpzi ANA* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI-ma* [*mān āšš*]*u n=aš ANA* ^{m}[*Šun*]*aššu*[*ra šar*]*diya paizzi mān=ši ŪL=ma āš*[*šu*] [*n=aš*] *ŪL paizzi*

(Hitt. II.2, 7´-12´; ed. Fuscagni 2011a*)

"[If the king of the land of Mit]tani begins war against ⌜the king of the land of Ḫattuša⌝, ⌜Suna⌝ššura will not provide him [*with auxiliary troops?*], he will not let him (go through) the middle of his country. He will protect his country. [...][956] with troops and chariots he will not come. If Sunaššura wants (lit. "it seems good to Sunaššura), he will come [*in aid?*] to my-Sun. If he does not (want) (lit. "it is not good"), he will not come."

"[If the king of the land of] Mittani begins was against the land of Kizzuwatna, if my-Sun wants, he will go in [aid of S]unaššura, if he does not (want), he will not go."

(II 42-45) *šumma* KUR^{ki} *ajjumma itti* ^{d}UTU-*ši nukurtam iṣṣabbat* KUR^{ki} *annummû ana* ^{m}*Šunaššura ša nīš* DINGIR-*li-šu* [^{d}U]TU-*ši ana* ^{m}*Šunaššura* ÉRIN^{meš} *tillatam irriš* [^{m}*Š*]*unaššura* ÉRIN^{meš} *tillatam inandin-aš-šu* (...)

(II 52-55) *šumma* KUR^{ki} *ajjumma itti* ^{m}*Šunaššura nukurtam iṣṣabbat* KUR^{ki} *annummû ana* ^{d}UTU-*ši ša nīš* DINGIR-*li-šu* ^{m}*Šunaššura ana* ^{d}UTU-*ši* ÉRIN^{meš} *tillata ir*[*r*]*iš* ^{d}UTU-*ši* ÉRIN^{meš} *tillatam inandin-aš-šu*

(Akk. I.2A II 42-45, II 52-55; ed. Wilhelm 2014b*)

"If some country begins hostilities against the Sun, this land for Sunaššura is (covered) by his oath. (If) the Sun requests auxiliary troops from Sunaššura, Sunaššura will provide him an auxiliary troops" (...)

"If some country begins hostilities against Sunaššura, this land for the Sun is (covered) by his oath. (If) Sunaššura requests auxiliary troops from the Sun, the Sun will provide him an auxiliary troops"

In summary, the purely voluntary nature of mutual support in war in the Hittite version (II.2, 7´-12´, ed. Fuscagni 2011a*) diverges from the Akkadian one, where mutual help has become mandatory (I.2.A, col. II 45; 55). For Kitchen and Lawrence this represents "a flagrant and intolerable contradiction" (2012/2, 39), which demands to reconstruct a more complex evolution of relations, with worsening conditions for

[956] See Devecchi 2015a, 90 n. 6 for possible readings of this lacuna.

Kizzuwatna; they suggests a later date of the Akk. version. For these reasons these authors believe that these two versions were created under two different rulers at some chronological distance. Since they apparently consider the attribution to Tudḫaliya uncertain, they maintain that the Akk. version may be attributed even to Suppiluliuma I, while the Hittite one can be dated to Tudḫaliya I.[957] Similarly, Houwink ten Cate (1998, 36-58 and n. 3) and Freu (2001, 2003, 52) distinguish two treaties and two Sunaššura (see *tab. 10*, p. 357); Stavi (2015, 47-48) opts for two treaties, but one Sunaššura with long reign.

Actually, these two passages show underlying differences, and should not be compared as if they were *parallel* sections in two different versions of the treaty: notably, one refers only to Mittani, whereas the other to generic enemies. But even if one wants to compare them, the *reciprocal* nature of their clauses is indeed maintained to all effects, only the specific formulation has changed. As for a supposedly more evident 'paritarian' character of the Hitt. version, one cannot overlook the fact that a long section of strongly reciprocal content is present also in the main Akkadian tablet (I.2.A: KBo 1.5; see §7.3.3_b).

While the mixed paritarian and non-paritarian content of the latter can be explained through the employ of previous diplomatic materials (Schwemer 2005a, 97), this fact does not imply necessarily that two versions of the treaty had existed.[958] Rather, the composition could employ the previous diplomatic repertoire as source. The different forms of the text attested in the various tablets can be thus interpreted as drafts or preparatory materials for the final stipulation, including the Akk. fragment KBo 28.110+. The existence of Hittite fragments suggests that versions in both languages may have been issued.

[957] Note that they refer to him as Tudḫaliya II, since for them the first of his name was an early predecessor of the Old Kingdom (following Beal 2003), not another namesake at the beginning of the New Kingdom.
[958] As originally proposed e.g. Korošeč 1982, 168-172; see also Devecchi 2015a, 74.

7.3.2 The historical prologue and the diplomatic premises to the treaty

The treaty with Sunaššura is the first Hittite diplomatic document featuring a historical introduction, an element distinctive of Hittite treaties within the broader Near Eastern diplomatic corpus.[959] These prologues dealt with previous relations between the two parts, and with other events of interest for the contractual stipulation. Various functions for these historical introductions have been proposed: propagandistic (Liverani 1973a), or strictly juridical (on the basis of the relationship of loyalty, Korošec 1931) or legal (Altman 2004).[960] The prologue was exploited to project a certain historical background on the stipulation and to communicate a specific perspective about it.

The content defines some important premises to the treaty stipulation, namely that Kizzuwatna is now re-instating an alliance with Ḫattuša, after for some time it had been politically tied to Mittani. The precise circumstances of this change of banner are not made explicit, and the prologue is uniquely constructed, if compared with other examples from Hittite treaties: rather than explaining a history of previous relations between the Hittite kingdom and Kizzuwatna, it is based on a parallel employed as *exemplum* (I 8-29).

The story illustrates the beginning of hostilities between Ḫattuša and Išuwa, the 'defection' of Išuwa to Ḫurri (i.e. Mittani) and the consequent diplomatic quarrel between Ḫattuša and Ḫurri. The present

[959] For a discussion on the structure of Hittite treaties I refer to the introduction of Devecchi 2015a (32-53), previously Beckman 2003, 760. On the historical introductions see Altman 2004, Devecchi 2008a, 2008b, Singer 2013, 2014. Some remarks also in van den Hout (2014a, 171-173), particularly on Hittite historical thought. On the origin and function of this "genre" an essential discussion can be found in Singer 2014. While Altman (2010, 480) thinks there are possible precedents in legal media, Singer (2014, 908-914) considers these introductions essentially a Hittite invention; non-Hittite comparanda are scanty and come hardly close to their elaboration.

[960] The volume of Altman (2004) is specifically dedicated to the topic; discussions also in Devecchi 2008a and 2015, 35-39 and Singer 2014, 896-908. Altman basically rejects the purely political/propagandistic function proposed by Liverani (1973a), who saw these sections as works of "political historiography", following the juridical interpretation of Korošec (1931). For him the function is essentially legal: "(...) to present an argument or a set of arguments with legal significance, justifying the imposition of obligations on the subordinate party and depriving it of the chance to contest the validity or legality of the treaty" (Altman 2010, 27). Depending on the interpretation, the goal and audience for the prologue changes: it is either the vassal and his court, the "public opinion" so to say, or, the gods. For a critique of Altman's exclusive legalistic perspectives see some reviews to his volume (de Martino 2005b, Devecchi 2008b).

situation is, essentially, compared to a precedent which is employed as a "historical" justification of the political conduct of Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna against Mittani, and to show the legitimacy of the Hittite claims.[961] Liverani (2004, 74-80) well explained in detail the counterfeited reality of this parallel and its only apparent symmetry.[962] It is very clear that the main preoccupations of this section are: 1) to stress the ancient tradition of positive diplomatic relations with Kizzuwatna; 2) to create a (forceful) comparison with the case of Išuwa; 3) to condemn Mittanian behavior; 4) to suggest that the return of Kizzuwatna in the Hittite alliance is *just* under any possible point of view. One can also highlight the structural qualities of this historical preamble, an element shared with virtually all other prologues. As Zaccagnini (1990, 68-70) noted, they are organized as sequences of historical phases charged with opposite connotations, positive or negative. There is a "model situation" in mind, according to which positive diplomatic antecedents were interrupted by a phase of hostility, which immediately precedes the new stipulation. The treaty represents thus the last – positive – stage, and aims at resolving the conflict, allowing to re-establish the original 'order'.[963] For these characteristics, historical prologues became functional – one could say were designed – for treaties of subordination (the only exception being the later treaty with Egypt); thus, the treaty with Sunaššura stands out clearly within the corpus of the Hittite-Kizzuwatna treaties in this respect.

While the rest of the prologue is dedicated to the quarrel involving Išuwa and Mittani, only the first few lines of the text provide direct information on the earlier diplomatic background with Kizzuwatna in retrospect.

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[961] See also Altman 2004, 406: "The case of Išuwa thus served two purposes: it provided a precedent for Kizzuwatna's right to return to the Hittites (…), and it provided grounds for the invalidation of the Hittite-Hurrian treaty".

[962] Originally published in Italian (Liverani 1973a, 283-296) and republished in English in Liverani 2004, 68-80; this remains one of the most important studies of the historical introduction (I will refer to the English version henceforth). See also the detailed treatment in Altman 2004, 398-438.

[963] This structure is paradigmatic in a number of treaties, usually of subordination, but it well applies also to the treaty with Egypt. It is interesting how the latter, in particular, minimizes the long-lasting hostility between the two countries, which indicates how these historical accounts were manufactured in order to provide an adequate basis for the stipulation of the treaty. These compositions, indeed, can be seen as a literary genre on its own, with Zaccagnini (1990, 71).

KBo 1.5 I 1-7; text after Wilhelm 2014b*.

§1 1. [N]A_4.KIŠIB ˹^{m}*Tu*˺-*u*[*t*]-*ḫ*[*a-li-y*]*a* [ ]

2. ˹*e*˺-*nu-ma* ˹*KI**˺ *it-ti* ^{m}x[ ]

3. *i-na bi-ri-šu-nu ni-i*[*š*$^{?}$ DINGIR^{meš}]

4. *ri-ik-sa*$_x$*-am an-né-*˹*e*˺-[*am*] *i-na* ˹*bi*˺*-ri-šu-nu ir-ku-*˹*su*$_x$˺

§2 5. ***pa-na-nu-um a-na pa-n*[*i a*]*-bi a-bi-ya*** **KUR ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni***

6. ***šа*** **KUR ^{uru}*Ḫa-at-t*[*i i*]*b-bá-ši*** EGIR *ar-kà-nu-um* KUR ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-w*[*a-a*]*t-ni*

7. *a-na* KUR ^{uru}*Ḫa-a*[*t-t*]*i* ***ip-ṭú-ur*** *a-n*[*a* K]UR *ḪUR-RI* ***is-ḫu-ur***

1. [Se]al of Tudh[aliya, *Great King, King of the land of Ḫattuša, hero*$^{?}$]

2. when with [*Sunaššura*$^{?}$ ...], (3) between them an oa[th *they swore*$^{?}$ *and*]

4. they concluded this treaty with one another.

5. **Formerly, in the time of my grandfather the land of Kizzuwatna**

6. **was (on the side) of Ḫattuša.** Afterwards, however, the land of Kizzuwatna **defected/seceded**

7. from Ḫattuša, and **turned to** the land of Hurri.

The few essential information concern the stipulation of a new treaty with Sunaššura (reasonably mentioned in lacuna), and a laconic account on the past diplomatic relations between the two kingdoms. But what is the specific meaning of the lines 5-7?

The translation of the verbal form *ibbaši* (l. 6), literally "had become (that) of the land of Ḫatti" (*bašû* N pret., with inchoative meaning), is not entirely straightforward, ranging from the idea of territorial possession or inclusion to one, more nuanced, of political affiliation or allegiance:[964]

Beal 1986, 433 n. 44:	"was (on the side of) Ḫatti"
Desideri-Jasink 1990, 68:	"era (dalla?) parte del regno di Ḫatti"
Beckman 1999, 18:	"came into the possession of Ḫatti"
Altman 2004, 399	"had become (part) of the land of Ḫatti"
Schwemer 2005a, 99:	"war das Land Kizzuwatna (*Verbündeter*) des Landes Ḫatti geworden"
Kitchen-Lawrence 2012/1, 323:	"became (part of) the Ḫatti-land"
Wilhelm 2014b*:	"wurde das Land Kizzuwatna ein zum Lande Ḫatti gehöriges (Land)"
CAD B 157-158, a:	"Kizzuwatna formerly belong to Ḫatti"

[964] See also Wilhelm 2014b* (translation) n. 1 for additional references to previous readings.

Beal (1986, 433 n. 44) stressed that the use of the verb with gen. predicate means "to belong to" and not "to be part of", and concludes that this belonging means "not that Kizzuwatna had been reduced and incorporated as a province, but that it was an autonomous tributary or allied client state".[965]

Schwemer (2007, 152) found additional clues for suggesting that the sentence means "to be an ally", to "stand on one's side", by comparing this passage with the formulation found in one of the Hittite tablets of the treaty. The passage is very fragmentary, but the clause <*ma-a-na-aš-za Ú-UL-ma ŠA* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI ki-i-ša*> (KUB 36.127, obv. 4′) "if he does *not become* (that) of my Sun (...)" would provide a perfect verbal equivalent of <*ša ... ibbaši*>.[966] Here the meaning of MP *kiš-* "become" can't be personal belonging either, since the clause likely refers to Sunaššura. Schwemer suspects indeed that the Akkadian of this tablet – also in other circumstances (id. 2005, 98-99, 102 n. 16, 104 n. 31, 105 n. 41) – reveals Hittite linguistic interference, which explains this verbal choice as a calque of the Hittite original formulation, more familiar to the composers.[967]

The section, thus, recalls the old alliance between the two kingdoms, rather than a previous status of subordination of Kizzuwatna to Ḫattuša.[968] It provides the additional detail that Kizzuwatna was an ally "at the time of" Tudḫaliya's grandfather (l. 5), while at some point afterwards turned to the Hurrians.

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[965] See also Altman 2004, 415; Schwemer 2007, 152, in reference to the agreement between Idrimi and Palliya king of Kizzuwatna (AlT 3). According to the CAD the N of *bašû* appears to mean "to come into existence," distinct from the G by the emphasis on initiation as something new or newly possible (vs. just "to exist"). It seems that the sentence indicates a point in the past where this had come to be true, not as an enduring reality as far back in time as it could go. This matches with the reference to the specific reference to the "time of my grandfather", but see also next note for this verbal choice.

[966] Ed. of KUB 36.127 in Fuscagni 2011a*. More details on this explanation in Schwemer 2007, 152.

[967] The explanation of Altman (2004, 415) seems less convincing, i.e. that the drafters "deliberately worded this assertion somewhat vaguely", meaning that the authors were trying to avoid to irritate the sensibility of the Kizzuwatnean receiver. In this case, however, the choice of *ibbaši* somewhat fails this goal, since it does not mask or soften particularly well an alleged subordination – underplaying it to friendly terms, – but on the contrary comes closer to express actual 'belonging'.

[968] The only way to read the document in this perspective would be to accept a dating of the treaty to Tudhaliya III (Houwink ten Cate 1998; previously Kestemont 1974). If that was the case, it would be acceptable that Kizzuwatna *belonged* to Hatti at the time of the extensor's "grandfather", presumably Tudhaliya I. However, this creates a logical loop, as it is essentially the attribution of this treaty *to Tudhaliya I* that supports the idea that at his time Kizzuwatna fell de facto into Hittite hands.

This picture is compatible with the documents of the previous age, suggesting that during or after the kingdom of Pilliya Kizzuwatna entertained diplomatic relations with Mittani (AlT 3) and then had become a subordinate (AlT 14). Until that time, Kizzuwatna had been stably – as far as we know – a Hittite ally, the last treaty being that between Pilliya and Zidanza.

A more specific question is whether the indication *ana pāni abi abiya* "at the time of my grandfather" is a precise temporal reference, thus can be taken literally and would hint at a (royal?) ancestor, perhaps Zidanza II himself. [969] While this is certainly possible, I agree with Liverani (2004, 72-73) that there are also reasons to suspect this statement. This is not particularly relevant for the present purpose, but it gives some hints on the nature of the document and its ideological undertones. Liverani underlined the formulary character of the phrase, as well as that of the generic introduction *pānānum* (l. 5, "in the past, once"). More significant, in my view, is the fact that further in the prologue the Hurrian king employs the exact same wording: (§4, ll. 14-19) "The populations of these cities had previously, *in the time of my grandfather*, come to the land of Ḫurri and settled there." This forces to confront the coincidence for which the sentence was appropriate (and historically reliable) in both instances. The implication is that a similar situation, at a similar distance in time – some two generations – builds a perfect parallel between the two "betrayals" of Kizzuwatna and Išuwa. In my view, this shows clearly the formulary nature of the stock phrase: what is significant for the composer is not whether the proposition is accurate,[970] but that it should be the *same* as that pronounced by the Hurrian king.

Elsewhere the king of Ḫatti and the king of Ḫurri speak the same words. A remarkable passage provides the vivid metaphor of the oxen that had recognized their stable (I 17-19; I 30-31). These very words, pronounced *first* by the Hurrian king, now turn against him.

[969] Considering the problem of Tudḫaliya ascendance, there are various possible views; Desideri-Jasink 1990, 69 tentatively suggested Zidanta II.
[970] Similarly Liverani (2004, 73).

(I 17-19) *i-na-an-na-mi ap-pu-na-am-ma* GUD$^{ḫ[i.]ʳaʾ}$ 18. É GUD$^{ḫi.a}$-*šu-nu ú-wa-ad-du-nim-mi ap-pu-na-am-ma* 19. *i-na* KUR-*ya il-li-ku-um-mi*

(I 30-32) *i-na-an-na* KUR ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni ša* ^{uru}*Ḫa-at-ti* GUD$^{ḫi.a}$ 31. *ù* É GUD$^{ḫi.a}$-*šu-nu ú-wa-ad-du-nim it-ti* LÚ *Ḫur-ri* 32. *ip-ṭù-ru a-na* ^{d}UTU-*ši ís-ḫu-ru* (...)

"Now the oxen have chosen/found[971] their stables, and have come into my country." (Hurrian king)

"Now the (people of the) land of Kizzuwatna are the oxen of Ḫattuša, and have chosen/found their stables. They turned away from the Hurrian, and have turned to the Sun." (Hittite king)

Since, from a logical point of view, the formula expressed by Tudḫaliya is a 'quote' of the very words of the Hurrian king in his previous, brazen reply to the Hittite protests concerning Išuwa, this procedure aims at showing the perfect symmetry of the two kings' behavior. One may see a level of irony, especially in the passage about the oxen and their stables. These choices are instrumental for highlighting similar aspects of symmetry (see *infra*) between the historical precedent and the present situation.

The prologue, as these details also indicate, is purposefully polemical towards Mittani, stressing its unfairness and misdeeds – never mind the fact that the Hittite king is now ready to act in the exact same way. Ultimately, the goal of the prologue is to demonstrate that the diplomatic agreement now re-established with Kizzuwatna is not in violation of former stipulations involving the Hurrians, because their precedent transgression in the controversy over Išuwa voided any further claim. Potential future allegations of transgression are thus prevented with historical arguments – at times a 'biased' historiography (Liverani 2004, 78).

Apart from framing and justifying the new stipulation, there is another relevant goal concealed in this prologue. While it appears to re-establish a previous diplomatic balance, this remains only proclaimed, while the document actually communicates, in a subtle way, a change in the power balance between the Hittite kingdom and Kizzuwatna, a reality that emerges clearly in the normative section.

[971] *uwaddûnim-mi* (<*wadû* "choose") or *uwattûnim-mi* (<*watu* "find"); see Schwemer 2005a, 100 n. 6.

7.3.3. The treaty and political history: the new status of Kizzuwatna

It was Korošeč (1931, 6 ff.; also 1982) to first recognize that the treaty with Sunaššura was not strictly paritarian, although both form and content remain very close to previous paritarian models. In more recent years, the political background of this text and the diplomatic strategies deployed in this document were the topic of the ground breaking study of Liverani (1973a).[972] The contribution showed the subtle methods with which the new unbalanced political reality was framed within a formally paritarian diplomatic language, compliant with the long-lasting tradition of treaties previously stipulated between the kingdoms of Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna.

From a formal point of view, this document ideally mirrors the transition from the paritarian traits to a new typology of stipulations, imposed to a subordinate partner and that scholarly literature identifies as "subordination" treaties.

This section aims at defining the new political status of Kizzuwatna in face of the document's content. Some of the arguments made by Liverani in his important analysis will be introduced, before an overview of the components of unbalance in the prologue and especially the normative section. A schematic index of the content is useful for the following discussion (*tab. 11*).

[972] =Liverani 2004, 53-81 (in English).

Table 11. Structure of KBo 1.5 (*Treaty between Tudḫaliya I and Sunaššura of Kizzuwatna*; version I.2.A)

I 1	Title	
I 2-37	Historical prologue	
I 38-44	Prologue/special section: A) Sunaššura before "the Sun"	unilateral
I 45-48	B) Convocation of the king of Kizzuwatna	unilateral
I 49-III 34	Normative section I (cfr. *andurārum*) (single provisions or bundled together)	
I 49-59	mutual non hostility and protection of the dynastic succession	bilateral
I 60-II 15	treatment of rebels; mutual help in case of usurpation of the throne (?)	bilateral
II 16-25	sharing intel on plots and hostile actions against the king	bilateral
II 26-41	military support in case of local rebellions, share of booty	bilateral
II 42-60	military support against foreign enemies, share of booty	bilateral
II 63-III 6	personal intervention in case of grave crisis (foreign invasion)	imperfectly bilateral (1st-2nd)
III 7-17	recap about mutual loyalty and support in actions against hostile forces	bilateral (1st- 2nd p.)
III 18-27	non-interference in internal politics, sharing intel	bilateral
III 28-34	treatment of messengers and visitors to the court	imperfectly bilateral
III 35-36	Recap with formulae of friendship and alliance	
III 37-IV 39	Normative section II: additional provisions (introduced by *šanitam* "furthermore")	
III 37-49	furthermore: fights with the Hurrians, division of conquests	unilateral (1st- 3rd p.)
III 50-IV 18	furthermore: diplomatic regulations Ḫatti-Ḫurri in reference to Kizzuwatna	unilateral (1st, 2nd, 3rd p.)
IV 19-24	furthermore: military support in foreign campaigns (Arzawa, Hurri, others)	unilateral (1st, 2nd, 3rd p.)
IV 25-31	furthermore: abrogation of previous treaties with/diplomatic ban against Mittani	unilateral (1st pl., 3rd s.)
IV 32-39	furthermore: instructions on correspondence sent to Sunaššura	unilateral (1st- 2nd p.)
IV 40-66 [ ]	Border regulations	
	[*small break; Tablet finished.*]	

A significant difference of this document from the rest of the diplomatic corpus (§5.5.5) is the introduction of non-reciprocal clauses and provisions, despite the conception of the document and the typical formal and content structure maintain the paritarian models. The content index shows one can neatly distinguish two sections in the normative part: the first has many similarities – also in content – with previous treaties, although few provisions are modified in an interesting manner (Liverani 2004, 59-61 named them "altered symmetrical clauses"); the second section is entirely new, and is characterized by the unilateral nature of the provisions. These are ultimately impositions of the Hittite king, although there is a skillful

attempt to tone down the implications from a diplomatic point of view. Korošeč (1982, 168-172) explained the two distinct parts through the inclusion in the new, unbalanced treaty, of materials drawn from a previous document, an earlier treaty of parity content. While this may be true, there is good reason to think that the authors of the document had interest, instead, in *purposefully* maintain those traditional forms, which allowed to mask the new aspects of unbalance.

Liverani (2004, 61-62) identified three specific procedures with which the authors of the documents tried to overcome the inherent contradiction between formal symmetrical patterns and substantial diplomatic asymmetries:

1- "suggesting that the newly established condition is more favorable for Kizzuwatna than the earlier one";
2- "suggesting that every obligation brings about a reward (even if not its equivalent);
3- "exempting Kizzuwatna explicitly from obligations that obviously should have been imposed".

These strategies are visible in the altered symmetrical clauses or the entirely asymmetrical clauses (in my index 'imperfectly bilateral' or 'unilateral'). Otherwise, one must note that, when possible, the paritarian framework in this document is pedantically highlighted, and this exaggeration reveals the attempt to cover up the core meaning of an inherently unbalanced contract. While fitting into the diplomatic tradition between the two kingdoms, the treaty has to manage the double purpose of reiterating an old alliance, interrupted for some time, but also to break the paritarian tradition by imposing on Kizzuwatna a new, subordinated status. In a way, this divide is visible in the bi-partition of the normative section: the first (I 45-III 36) reiterates obvious aspects of a pact of alliance, but the second (III 37-IV 39) conforms to new needs.

Liverani (2004, 65-66) saw traces of this double function also in the long section concerning the borders, previously presented in the chapter on geography (§2.4). In fact, he noted that IV 40-52 and IV 52-66 are quite different. The formulation of these parts suggests that the first defines a *new* border, while the second just reaffirms the previous state of things. It means that with the new agreement there was a re-

drawn of at least part of the borders, presumably to the detriment of Kizzuwatna, who must have lost some territories to the west and north. This interpretation is favored by the clauses regarding the fortifications in the first part as well as the acts of "measuring and dividing" the terrain to set the new border, a procedure to establish the new frontier. Linguistically, the two sections are distinguished by verbs defining operations *in fieri* versus a static situation.

a. Signals of unbalance in the prologue

While it is the normative section that provides most details on the political implications of the document, there are some passages of interest in the prologue as well.

1. According to the transcription of Wilhelm (2014b*), who collated the tablet (1988), the title section features a self-standing sign that appears to be <KI> in proximity of an erasure (l. 2). Liverani (2004, 67 n. 18) had previously wondered whether the erasure could be significant from a compositive point of view, i.e. it indicates that the scribes changed the formulation abruptly.[973] While it is impossible to comment on the meaning of the erasure, also for the fragmentary state of the text, it is true that the introduction differs from that of previous paritarian stipulations.[974] Compare it with the language of the treaty between Zidanza and Pilliya:

> "My Sun, the Great King Zidanza, king of the land of Ḫattu[ša and Pilliya], king of the land of Kizzuwatna made a pact". (KUB 36.108 obv. 1-2; see *supra* p. 283-284)

[973] On this line of reasoning, Zaccagnini (1990, 59 n. 92) suggested that this alleged <KI> may be instead part of <^{m}*Tu*->, then cancelled. The idea is that the scribe, following the convention of symmetric incipit, was writing the names of both rulers, then changed in course of writing.
[974] Liverani (2004, 67-68), who also discussed the heading of the composition, brings the example of AlT 3 (ed. Wiseman 1953, 2-5) but also the title of the treaty between Telipinu and Išpudaḫšu, from the tablet catalog KUB 30.42+ (now numbered IV 21-24; ed. Dardano 2006, 29).

The introduction "seal of Tudḫaliya" clearly 'transforms' the treaty from an inter-national document into an intra-state one, styled not dissimilarly from an edict or decree, a unilateral emission. It is the *proclamation* of a pact, rather than the recording of a perfectly bilateral pact.

2. A significant detail – apparently overlooked in literature – is the employ of the term *andurāru* in the last clause of the prologue:

> (KBo 1.5 I 34-37) 34. KUR ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni ma-gal$_9$ dá-an-*^{r}*ni*$^{\neg}$*-iš i-na pí-iṭ-ri-iš* 35. *ir-ti-i-šu i-na-an-na* KUR ^{uru}*Ḫa-at-ti ù* KUR ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni* 36. [*i*]*š-tu ni-iš* DINGIR^{meš} *lu-ú páṭ-ru i-na-an-na* ^{d}UTU-*ši* 37. KUR ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni* ***a-na an-dú-ra-ri ú-ta-aš-še-er-šu-nu-šu*** (after Wilhelm 2014b*)
>
> "The land of Kizzuwatna greatly rejoiced over its secession (from Mittani). Now the land of Ḫattuša and the land of Kizzuwatna are truly released from the oath.[975] Now, the Sun has allowed the land of Kizzuwatna ***to return to its previous condition***".[976]

While the last sentence can be also translated "set free" (e.g. Schwemer 2005a, 100: "in die Freiheit entlassen") the present translation follows Charpin's suggestion (2010b, 85-86) that the specific meaning of *andurāru* in diplomatic context implies the return to a previous status, a meaning which applies also to this case.[977]

The use of this specific phrasing is another strategy to undertone the actual content of the treaty. The sentence declares explicitly that Kizzuwatna, rather than being "set free" from the Mittanian overlords, re-gains its previous status, which means one of an independent ally of the Hittites, a peer kingdom. But this is clearly a euphemism, considering that the reality is quite different, as emerges especially in the normative part afterwards.

The goal of this section is again to create an asymmetry between the Hurrian (negative) and Hittite (positive) attitude, evident from the implied contrast between the *subordinating* nature of the Hurrian

[975] This must be the oath that bound Kizzuwatna to Hurri, mentioned in IV 25-28.
[976] *ūttaššer-šunūšu* "let them free"; the plural refers implicitly to the people of Kizzuwatna.
[977] See also Wilhelm 2014b*, l. 41; Devecchi 2015a, 80 n. 1.

alliance and the *equal* terms – implied in the present *andurāru* – of the re-established diplomatic alliance with Ḫattuša. The same concept is in fact reiterated few lines after (I 38-39): while the Hurrian king made Kizzuwatna a *subject* (ÌR), now the Hittite king "made him (Sunaššura) a legitimate king" (*u inanna* ^{d}UTU-*ši kittam* LUGAL-*am īpus-su*).

In this effort to create a Hittite-Hurrian dichotomy – the main goal of the historical introduction – the propagandistic content of the document becomes most visible. The Hurrian king is always presented in a negative light (see Liverani 2004, 65) while Tudḫaliya, proclaiming the *andurāru* for Kizzuwatna, explicitly presents himself as the *liberator* from the Hurrian despotism. Under this self-righteous mask the Hittite king in reality substitutes himself to the previous Mittanian overlordship.

3. One of the most significant passages in the document is the self-standing section concluding the prologue (I 33-38). Liverani (2004, 62) already noted that this passage combines, paradigmatically, all the three strategies mentioned above (p. 379):

> (I 38-44) LÚ^{meš} *Ḫur-ri* ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu-ra* ÌR-*dám i-ša-as-*^{r}*sú*$^{\neg}$*-šu* $_{39.}$ *ù i-na-an-na* ^{d}UTU-*ši ki-it-ta-am* LUGAL-*am i-pu-us*$^{!}$(*as*)*-sú* $_{40.}$ ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu-ra a-na ma-ḫar* ^{d}UTU-*ši il-la-ak* IGI$^{ḫi.a}$-*šu* $_{41.}$ *ša* ^{d}UTU-*ši im-ma-ar ki-me-e a-na ma-ḫar* ^{d}UTU-*ši il-la-ak* $_{42.}$ LÚ^{meš} GAL.GAL *ša* ^{d}UTU-*ši iš-tu* ^{giš}ŠÚ.A UGU-*šu ma-am-ma* $_{43.}$ *ú-ul uš-ša-ab* (**ki-me-e ar-kà* x *a-na** KUR ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni il-la-ak*) //
>
> "The Hurrians call Sunaššura a servant, but now my-Sun made him a legitimate king. Sunaššura will go in the presence of my-Sun, he will look my-Sun in the eyes.[978] When he will go in the presence of the my-Sun, none of the dignitaries of my-Sun – from their seats – will seat higher than him[979] (*until*? he goes back to the land of Kizzuwatna[980])." (ed. Wilhelm 2014b*, my translation).

[978] On this expression see Devecchi 2015a, 80, n. 2 with bibliography. It can be translated "the face".
[979] Similarly to Schwemer 2005a, 100; Devecchi 2015a, 80; Wilhelm 2014b*, who however take ^{giš}ŠÚ.A as "throne"; i.e. "(starting) from the throne no one...". Differently Beckman (1999, 19): "(...) the noblemen of His Majesty ⟨will rise⟩ from their seats. No one will remain seated above him". Also Kitchen-Lawrence 2012/1, 325.
[980] Thus Wilhelm 2014b*, as if *kīmê* translates Hitt. *kuitmān*. It has been proposed, otherwise, that the paragraph line is mistaken, and the last sentence belongs to the following section (Schwemer 2005a, 100, followed by Devecchi 2015a, 80). Others integrated the clause with a verbal form "as soon as ⟨he wishes⟩, he may go back to the land of Kizzuwatna" (e.g. Beckman 1999, 19).

While the spotlight is on the ceremonial honors granted to the king of Kizzuwatna, this scene can be understood as the request of an act of formal submission to the Hittite king. It is not surprising that the focus lies exclusively on the special treatment granted to the high ranking guest, as if these details are the actual message of the passage. But what the author is clearly trying to do here is to water down the real message, i.e. that the visit to the Hittite king is the request to pay homage to the 'overlord'.

The diplomatic asymmetry also generates from the fact that Sunaššura *must* go in person in front of the Hittite king, while it is clear throughout the document that the king of Ḫattuša, for any reason, can send a representative. The context may suggest that this visit to the king was planned in the occasion of the stipulation of the treaty itself; this is perhaps signaled by the particular formulation of the provision at l. III 28-34 (see *infra*), if the two passages can be read in connection.

4. There is another aim of the historical prologue. Tudḫaliya wants to highlight a merciful attitude towards Kizzuwatna despite its "betrayal". In fact the prologue blames entirely Mittani for the previous defection of Kizzuwatna, at the same time exonerating Kizzuwatna from (some of) the embarrassment to justify not only the former shift of alliance, but also the present change of banner.[981] This is done, again, to highlight the polarization positive-negative between Ḫattuša and Mittani, while covertly ratifying a mutated political balance, and the new, heavier conditions imposed on the partner.

b. Signals of unbalance in the normative section

Having overviewed the details of the prologue that hint at the new status imposed on Kizzuwatna, I will now discuss the provisions that more explicitly show the diplomatic asymmetry.

[981] Signals of this can be found in other details. Altman (2004, 404 and n. 12) for example, notes that different verbal choices in the passages concerning Išuwa and Kizzuwatna "seems to present Kizzuwatna in a more positive light": the use of *ipparšidū* (I 10-11) instead of *iptur,* in particular, strongly connotes the act as illegal. *naparšudu* "flee", has in fact an exclusively negative connotation (e.g. from battle, a net, the hand, etc.; see AHw II, 735).

The first part of the normative section (I 49-III 33) is entirely compatible with the previous diplomatic tradition. Perfectly bilateral provisions recall forms and themes of the earlier documents, and concern the usual, generic topics (succession right, defensive alliance against revolts and external enemies, etc. see §5.5.4). The impression of repetitiveness is, if possible, even stronger here, despite attempts of variation through combination of clauses (two to four); in all cases each provision is repeated verbatim. As Liverani observed: "Emphasis underscores a feeble message, or a non-existent one. This is a typical procedure used in propaganda: it makes the audience concentrate on an 'empty' but pleasant message, and diverts its attention from a 'full' but unpleasant message, which runs parallel or lies underneath" (2004, 59).

Still, in this chiefly paritarian section there are at least two passages whose basically symmetrical clauses were altered (II 63-III 6 and III 28-34). They deal, in particular, with the movements of the Hittite king and his personal involvement in diplomatic matters. Details of the provisions underline the different *status* of the two kings.

(II 63-69) 63. *šum-ma a-na* ^{d}UTU-*ši nu-kúr-tú dá-an-nu i-te-eb-bi* ^{lú}KÚR 64. *i-na* ŠÀ KUR-*šu i-na na-ak-bá-ti-šu ir-ru-ub* 65. *šum-ma i-na* ŠÀ KUR ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu-ra za-ki* ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu-ra* 66. *qa-du* ÉRIN^{meš} *ḫu-u-ra-dì-ka a-na ti-il-lu-ti-ya al-ka*[*m*] 67. *šum-ma a-na pa-ni-ka a-wa-tum mi-im-*^{r}*ma*$^{\urcorner}$ *a-na pa-ni* 68. ÉRIN^{meš} *ḫu-ra-dì-ka* DUMU.NÍTA-^{r}*ka*$^{\urcorner}$ *šu-pur* ^{r}*a*$^{\urcorner}$*-na ti-il-*^{r}*lu-ti-ya*$^{\urcorner}$ 69. *al-kam* //

"If a serious threat arises against My Sun, and the enemy enters his land in force – if the land of Sunaššura is spared, you, Sunaššura, come together with your military levies to my aid. If you are busy with some matter, send your son at the head of your military levies. Come to my aid!" (transl. after Beckman 1999, 21-22).

(III 1-6) 1. **line erased*[982] 2. [*šum-ma a-na*] ^{r}^{m}*Šu*$^{\urcorner}$*-na-aš-šu-ra nu-kúr-*^{r}*tú dá-an-nu*$^{\urcorner}$ *i-t*[*e-eb-bi*] 3. $^{[l]ú}$KÚR *i-na na-ak-bá-ti-*^{r}*šu*$^{\urcorner}$ *i-na* ŠÀ KUR^{ki}*-šu i-*^{r}*il*$^{\urcorner}$*-*[*la-a*]*k* 4. *šum-ma i-na* ŠÀ KUR^{ki} ^{d}UTU-*ši za-ki* ^{d}UTU-*ši iš-tu* ÉRIN^{me}[^{š} *ḫ*]*u-u-*^{r}*ra*$^{\urcorner}$*-dì-ya* 5. *a-na ti-il-lu-ti-ka a-al-*^{r}*la*$^{\urcorner}$*-ak šum-ma a-na pa-*^{r}*ni*$^{\urcorner}$ ^{d}UTU-*ši* 6. *a-wa-tum mi-im-ma a-na pa-ni* ÉRIN^{meš} *ḫu-ra-dì-ya be-lu* GA[L] *a-ša-ap-pár* //

[982] Wilhelm 2014b* partitura §36 n. 27.

"[if] a serious threat [arises against] Sunaššura, and the enemy comes into his land in force – if the land of My Sun is spared, I, My Sun, will come together with my military levies to your aid. If My Sun is busy with some matter, I will send a high nobleman at the head of my military levies". (transl. after Beckman 1999, 22).

In case of military mobilization Sunaššura is expected to go in person in aid of the Hittite king – sooner or later. This obligation is masked by the possibility to send his heir son beforehand, allowing the king to come later at his convenience (II 65-69). Instead, the Hittite king has the privilege to send a high rank "nobleman" (*bēlu* GAL; III 6) but is never compelled to show up in person. Even more revealing is another passage (III 27-33) which shows that in case Sunaššura or a messenger of his go "to the presence of" the Sun, no one should harm them, but it is clear that there is no chance that the Hittite king would ever go in person to meet the king of Kizzuwatna:

(III 28-30) *šum-ma* ^{d}UTU-*ši* DUMU *ši-ip-ri-šu a-na* ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu<-ra> i-ša-ap-pár* $_{29.}$ ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu-ra le-em-mu-tam mi-im-ma la e-ep-pu-uš*$^{!}$ $_{30.}$ *a-na ša-am-mi ki-iš-pí mi-im-ma ú-ul i-ba-'a-ar-šu* //

"If My Sun sends his messenger to Sunaššura, Sunaššura must not harm him in any way. He must not ensnare(?) him by means of a magical plant". (after Beckman 1999, 22).

(III 31-34) ⌜*šum*⌝*-ma a-na ma-ḫar* ^{d}UTU-*ši* ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu-ra lu-ú* DUMU.NITA-*šu* $_{32.}$ *lu-*⌜*ú* DUMU⌝*-ši-ip-ra-šu lu-ú* ^{m}*Šu-na-aš-šu-ra i-il-la-ak* $_{33.}$ ^{d}UTU-*ši le-em-mu-tam mi-*⌜*im*⌝*-ma ú-ul e-ep-pu-uš-šu-nu-ti* $_{34.}$ *i-na* ⌜*ša*⌝*-am-mi ki-iš-pí mi-im-ma ú-ul i-ba-a-ar-šu-nu* //

"If Sunaššura – his son, his messenger or Sunaššura himself – comes in the presence of My Sun, My Sun will not harm them in any way. He must not ensnare (?) them by means of a magical plant" (after Beckman 1999, 22 and Devecchi 2015a, 85).

Already Liverani compared this passage with a parallel section in the treaty with Paddatiššu (§5.5.5, ns. text n. [2]), which shows perfect balance. He showed that the different formulation in the sentences about Sunaššura and the Hittite king – with or without *ana maḫar* – is not simply a variant, but the choice must be deliberate, as this was the stereotypical formula for persons of high dignity, an honor evidently striped from Sunaššura (Liverani 2004, 60-61 in detail). In concrete terms, the king of Kizzuwatna is equal in rank with the Hittite officials, the Hittite king standing at a higher position.

A formula insisting on the equality of relationships summarizes the first part of the normative section, disregarding the deeper content of the small, but fundamental, exceptions discussed hereby:

(III 35-36) KUR ^{uru}*Ḫa-at-ti ù* KUR ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni lu-ú su*$_x$*-u-um-mu-ḫu* ⌜*at*⌝*-te-ru-tam i-na bi-ri-šu-nu lu-ú i-te-né-ep-pu-šu*

"The land of Ḫattuša and the land of Kizzuwatna are truly united, between them they truly maintain friendship."

The second part of the normative section shows more remarkable differences from the previous documents of the Kizzuwatna diplomatic dossier. The scheme (*tab. 11*) underlines that these provisions are in fact all unilaterally imposed – although skillfully underplayed – by the Hittite part, which totally disrupts the symmetric undertone of the document. They are similar to the provisions of an edict, quite different from typical clauses of a bilateral treaty. The clear structural divide is also marked by the introduction of each section with the form *šanitam* "furthermore". While the text pretends that these clauses are "extra" provisions to the regular treaty, in fact they contain the central information of the new pact. These clauses are context specific and concrete, and their content is what critically modifies the otherwise obvious implications of a full parity agreement. In a sense, while the previous normative part explicitly presents the document as the *andurāru* granted to Kizzuwatna – i.e. the return to the previous alliance and the previous status of Kizzuwatna, – the second part actually imposes a new unbalance at the expenses of the Kizzuwatnean side.

One notes the large use of 1st (singular and plural) person, revealing the unilateral content. The tone of the imposition is mitigated through the stratagem that also Sunaššura is allowed to 'speak' in first person, which provides an illusion of reciprocity.

The content of the whole section reveals the core interest of the new stipulation, which is the dissolution of any ambiguous relationship of Kizzuwatna with Mittani, and the Hittite goal to win this ally over its historical enemy. The unbalanced provisions show unmistakably that Kizzuwatna had become *de facto* a

subordinate kingdom, but the new regulations are drawn with a constant attention to not insult or irritate the partner. His high status demands special concessions, including the maintenance of balanced provisions and the formal layout of a paritarian agreement. With due attention, the text highlights especially exemptions from possibly heavier impositions (e.g. "he will not pay tribute" I 48), an insistence that reveals, implicitly, the worsened conditions of the agreement.

It is clear that while asserting the new geo-political situation, the Hittite side aimed at maintaining positive relations with Kizzuwatna, which was probably functional to Tudḫaliya's political plans. Hypotetically, this positive attitude could be connected directly with another significant 'political' decision of Tudḫaliya, the marriage with Nikkal-madi, with all probability a princess of Kizzuwatna and presumably part of the local royal family and/or the religious élites (next section §7.3.2). A similar motive may contribute to explain the diplomatic 'touch' of Tudḫaliya towards Kizzuwatna, as opposed to the largely militaristic strategy adopted throughout his reign.

At any rate, while the treaty shows Tudḫaliya initially tolerated a situation in which Kizzuwatna at least formally maintained his independence – whatever the reasons – this situation proved to be only temporary. Towards the end of his reign, in fact, it appears that Kizzuwatna had already become a territory directly controlled by the Hittite kingdom (§7.6).

7.4 Kizzuwatna and the Hittite Early New Kingdom's dynasty

It was said that Tudḫaliya can't be considered the forefather of a *new* dynasty, since there is a good chance he belonged to the Old Kingdom's dynastic line.[983] Still, beginning with his reign and especially with the reign of his successors, one observes perhaps the most significant turn in the political and cultural history of the Hittite state. Among the novelties of the period the most significant are the introduction of Hurrian names at court, and perhaps Hurrian as a spoken language, and the interest in the Kizzuwatnean cults and religious tradition among the royal elites. For these reasons several scholars saw at least some of these developments in connection with the contemporary annexation of Kizzuwatna to the Hittite kingdom. These novelties remained essential attributes of the Hittite New Kingdom's cultural history (see §7.5).

During the reign of Tudḫaliya, a fact which has been tentatively connected with these developments is his marriage with Nikkal-madi, a woman bearing a Hurrian name and who was very likely a native of Kizzuwatna.[984] Her origin can be inferred only on the basis of secondary evidence, but there are several reasons to consider this a reasonable assumption (see *infra*). It is possible that this personal union was yet another component of the process of political incorporation of Kizzuwatna in the Hittite kingdom, and also provides a context for the far reaching consequences in the cultural and especially religious domain.

This section aims at addressing this topic in better detail, considering the evidence on the Early New Kingdom royal family and the historical and political context in the background of the period developments. The problem for a discussion is that there is virtually no direct evidence on any detail of the union between Tudḫaliya I and Nikkal-madi. For this reason, it must be stressed from the outset that

[983] Contrary to some scholars' opinions, e.g. Taracha 2004 with ref.
[984] Janowski-Wilhelm 1993, 160; Houwink ten Cate 1998; Beal 2002a, 69; Marizza 2007, 2; de Martino 2011, 9 n. 8; 2016, 40; Campbell 2016, 297; Forlanini 2018, 38. For the sources mentioning this queen see Frantz-Szabó 1999.

the following picture must be taken as a working hypothesis, whose goal is to principally collect and discuss the potentially informative evidence and bring it together in a plausible – although necessarily tentative – picture of the period in question.

7.4.1 Tudḫaliya and Nikkal-madi

This section analyzes two significant elements, from a historical point of view, regarding Nikkal-madi and her position as queen. The first is the Hurrian linguistic background of her name. The second is her high status, signaled in documents of various nature. More in general, in the Early New Kingdom one notes a growing number of references to the queens of the dynasty and they are much more present in official documents. This new trend begins clearly with the reign of Tudḫaliya, and is then distinctive of the documentation of the following decades, a change whose meaning is not easy to assess.

Her Hurrian name is the principal reason to suppose Nikkal-madi was in all likelihood a Kizzuwatnean; Hurrian names were hardly in use in central Anatolia previously,[985] and most certainly not among the Ḫattuša elites. While the linguistic background of this name points necessarily south, a Mittanian provenance of the queen can be excluded with some confidence, considering the relations between the two kingdoms at this time were terrible (§7.3). De Martino (2011, 20) also noted that Hurrian theophoric names employing the divine name Nikkal are unusual in all sources of Hurrian context, and that the names of Nikkal-madi and Ažmo-Nikkal make an exception. Some texts confirm, instead, the importance of this goddess in Kizzuwatnean context,[986] suggesting this is compatible with a specific local onomastic tradition.

[985] De Martino 2011, 9-13.
[986] Ningal/Nikkal is notably featured in ENK documents, like the prayer of Kantuzili to the sun-god (KUB 30.10 rev. 8) and in the series *itkalzi-* and *itkaġi-* (see *infra* on these texts §7.5.1), and in a high position among the gods of Kizzuwatna in the later prayer of Muwatalli II to the assembly of gods (CTH 381); on the cult of Ningal in Anatolia see in detail Imparati 1979.

Another element for supposing the Kizzuwatnean origin of the queen is, more indirectly, the remarkable cultural repercussions after the reign of Tudḫaliya, showing increasing connection between Kizzuwatna and Ḫattuša, and the cultural influx coming from that direction, a fact that can be hardly considered a coincidence.

It remains the problem – not insignificant – that this supposed origin of the queen is not explicit in the sources.[987] Note for example that Pudo-Ḫeba,[988] the queen of Ḫattusili III, some centuries later was keen on recalling her Kizzuwatnean origins in her official manifestations.[989] Her titulary provides this information in seals and in the inscription at Fraktın (discussed in §2.7). The local ritual experts were also indicated in later texts as people from Kizzuwatna explicitly (§7.5.2). While this remains a difficulty, a Kizzuwatnean background appears to be still the most straightforward and easiest explanation for the aforementioned facts. Thus, even if it remains only a hypothesis that Nikkal-madi was a Kizzuwatnean, there seem to be some ground to accept this assumption.

It appears that these developments in the Early New Kingdom can be hardly separated from the political dynamics. From a pragmatic and political point of view, it is tempting to see the union of Tudḫaliya with Nikkal-madi in connection with the renewed diplomatic connection with Kizzuwatna (§7.3.1), be it posterior, to sanction the treaty with the strength of the personal bond, or precedent, functional to the stipulation itself. One goal could have been to create an additional advantage in the Syrian front in anti-Mittani function, but also to add stability to the kingdom with the creation of a solid, permanent union with the most important Anatolian ally, just subtracted to the enemy. At the risk of circularity, it makes sense that Nikkal-madi was a princess of the kingdom, belonging to the dynastic line of Sunaššura. Alternatively, one can't exclude that she belonged to other noble families, perhaps holding

[987] See e.g. Miller 2004, 356 n. 501 and 504.
[988] On Pudo-Ḫeba see Bryce 2005, 286-289; Frantz-Szabó – Ünal 2006.
[989] Pudo-Ḫeba was daughter of the priest of Ištar/Šavoška of Lawazantiya in Kizzuwatna, Pendib-šarri, and herself a priestess (de Martino 2011, 14, 65-66).

high religious authority in the state. The appeal of this alternative is based on the subsequent religious influx from Kizzuwatna, which will invest massively the Hittite New Kingdom especially during the next two generations.

The second remarkable aspect concerning Nikkal-madi is the existence of several documents concerning her, some of which unprecedented in nature. The introduction in the Early New Kingdom of a new type of seal employed by the royal couple was already discussed in §5.3.3 and §5.3.4. To the time of Tudḫaliya dates also the adoption of digraphic royal seals, employing the Anatolian Hieroglyphic together with the cuneiform script; this was also unprecedented in the Hittite royal tradition, but not, from a formal point of view, in Kizzuwatna.[990] Whether the southern traditions had or not a role in this choice remains a matter of conjecture, but some specific similarities do exist, as previously pointed out (p. 251 ff.). Certainly less questionable is the fact that in the Early New Kingdom some documents, in particular official documents and seals, present a remarkable novelty in highlighting the authority and role of the royal *couple*.

While this evidence does not say anything per se on the origins of the queen, from one point of view it seems to signal her particularly high status, and/or a high status of the queen's authority alongside that of the king. The documents issued or sanctioned by the royal couple also signal that the queen achieved a more remarkable political relevance than before. It is true that documents certifying the importance of the queen's figure existed in the Old Kingdom as well – especially in the religious sphere, – but queens were rarely mentioned (especially by their name) in *official* documents, and their seals do not appear until a time close to or contemporary with that of Tudḫaliya I.[991] Only in the ENK we own combined seals, beginning with Tudḫaliya and Nikkal-madi and then Arnuwanda and Ažmo-Nikkal, the latter

[990] On the adoption of AH script in the ENK from a historical perspective see the summary of de Martino 2016, 42-44, and more in detail my previous section §5.3.2b.
[991] See §5.3.3; while few exceptional earlier examples may exist, the large majority of seals of queens can be dated on formal basis to around this time.

impressed on a partially-preserved land-grant tablet (*fig. 56*). The unusual formulation in the introduction of the historical text KBo 50.4 (*supra* p. 355) is also an interesting example of the level of involvement of the queen in the matters of the state.

Emphasis on the political relevance of the figure of the queen within the royal family appears to be a purposeful goal of the Hittite authorities in this period. This novelty may reveal two – at least in part new – components, ideological and political. From an ideological point of view, the new attention dedicated to the political status of queens is especially significant, independently from the fact that their status had concretely changed from before. On the other hand, this attention must reflect, at least to some extent, a political reality. A tentative explanation could be that the political importance of the ENK queens did not really derive from a new perception and conceptualization of the queen's authority *per se*, but from the status of the two earliest queens respectively as a member of the royal house of Kizzuwatna (Nikkal-madi), and as the person who in fact transmitted the throne in the following generation (Ažmo-Nikkal; see next section).

While not probative of the present hypothesis, it could be significant that a 'royal couple'-ideology appears to have become significant in the Hittite documentation especially after the time of Tudḫaliya I, while it is far less clear that the same conception, at least with these specifics, existed in the Old Kingdom.

The same impression emerges from the content of the Cruciform Seal (see p. 356; *fig. 82*). First of all, this document lists kings *and queens* of both the Old and Early New kingdom tradition. But the focus is again more precisely on the tradition of the Early New Kingdom, with the memory of the important rulers at the beginning of the 'new' dynasty. What is significant here is that while constructing this particular object, highly political in content, Mursili II located the dynastic authority and its legitimacy in the function of the royal couple, a model most likely following the Early New Kingdom's tradition, and visible in its new ideological expressions, such as combined seals of king and queens.

It is true that the offering lists for the deceased royal ancestors provide names of the early queens as well.[992] However, while these names we know in fact only from those lists in first place (and few in the cruciform seal), the queens of the ENK period, on the contrary, are well-known from several contemporary sources. Since the offering lists were compiled through historical research into the ancient texts at a later time (Gilan 2014b 95-99), it is possible that the centrality of the concept of the royal couple could be at least in part projected back to the Old Kingdom.[993] This idea could apply also to the construction of the Cruciform Seal.

On the basis of these elements, especially the plausible view that Nikkal-madi was a Kizzuwatnean noblewoman, it is a consequence that the matrimonial union with Tudḫaliya had a political relevance. I will try to contextualize this hypothesis within the practice of dynastic marriage in Late Bronze Age Near Eastern context, and their typical political-diplomatic implications.

7.4.2. Excursus: dynastic marriages in the Near Eastern LBA.

Especially from the 14th c. on, there is substantial documentation on the practice of Near Eastern royal houses to establish matrimonial ties, with the goal to solidify bonds of loyalty and alliance. Most sources come from the correspondence of the Amarnian archives.[994] To better frame the hypothesis here

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[992] On these documents see the recent treatment of Gilan 2014b, with bibliography.

[993] For the present discussion, one could consider one list of queens from a ceremony held in Taḫurpa, describing offerings made by the reigning queen to various avatars of the sun-goddess of Arinna, embodied by statues or statuettes, and each connected with one deceased queen (Recently ed. in Torri 2008, 182-183; Gilan 2014b, 92).

> "She (the queen) sacrifices to the sun-goddess of Arinna in this [way]: seven lambs, two of which to the sun-goddess of Arinna of Walan[ni]; one lamb to the sun-goddess of Arinna of Nikka[l-madi]; one lamb to the sun-goddess of Arinna of Ažm[o-Nikkal]. // One lamb to the sun-goddess of Arinna of Dūd[u-Ḫeba]; one lamb to the sun-goddess of Arinna of Ḫentī; one lamb to the sun-goddess of Arinna of Taw[ananna]." (KUB 25.14 I 23-30; translation of Gilan 2014b, 92).

After Walanni (on this queen see *infra* §7.4.3 n. 992), the list regards the queens of the New Kingdom's dynasty, starting with Nikkal-madi. Why only them? Certainly the easiest explanation is that there was a stronger perception of the continuity with the New Kingdom dynasty – also for chronological vicinity – but it is perhaps not coincidental that this rite suggests a tradition of worshipping the queens of the dynasty may go back to the beginning of the period.

[994] The most important study on dynastic marriage in the LBA to date probably remains the excellent volume of Pintore (1978). See also brief overviews in Meier 2000, Liverani 2001, 189-195 and Podany 2010, 217-242.

presented that Tudḫaliya married a princess of Kizzuwatna of royal rank, one can investigate into the possible political meaning of this choice and the diplomatic implications, also at the light of the stipulation of the treaty with the kingdom of Kizzuwatna.

The available evidence for interdynastic marriages is somewhat later.[995] We own substantial evidence of marriages between different Egyptian pharaohs and princesses of other Near Eastern royal families. In these cases, more princesses could be given in marriage to the king, who entered his harem in Egypt. In Anatolia, the Hittite kings traditionally took only one wife and queen; in other words, as a rule queens were not "royal spouses". The question of status is significant as it frames entirely the diplomatic meaning of these unions.

We have here, hypothetically, the case that Tudḫaliya chose a noble woman from Kizzuwatna to become a queen of the Hittite land; as far as we know, it was unprecedented that a Hittite king took a foreign wife. Pintore (1978, 56), who studied the topic of dynastic marriage in detail, observed that, typically, good diplomatic relationships were the *premise* of a dynastic marriage, and not a consequence. One can imagine this was the case also for Tudḫaliya and Nikkal-madi, and that their union eventually ratified the alliance between the two kingdoms stipulated with the treaty with Sunaššura.

One must remember that in these dynastic marriages one of the most significant components was its patrimonial dimension, i.e. the wealth transfers in terms of gifts – easily translated in *payment* in form of precious metal items; the letters deal at much extent with these topics.[996] But there was also a diplomatic

[995] Among the earliest matrimonial 'dossiers', we own the one witnessed in the correspondence between Tarḫuntaradu of Arzawa and Amenhotep III of Egypt. This dates to the first half of 14th c. (see Pintore 1978, 32). For the Hittite context, we know that Suppiluliuma I took a Babylonian princess in spouse, and we are informed on the sorrowful events concerning his son, "Zannanza". A widow of the Egyptian pharaoh (known in the texts as the *taḫamunzu*) Akhenaten or Tutankhamun (discussed in detail in Miller 2007), asked an incredulous Suppiluliuma one of his sons in spouse, but Zannanza was murdered before his arrival in Egypt (discussed in Pintore 1978, 46-50; Podany 2010, 285-289). We are in the late 14th c., while, later on, at the time of Ramses II (13th c.), we know of two daughters of Ḫattusili sent to Egypt from letters written to Ḫattusili himself and to queen Pudo-Ḫeba (see Bryce 2005, 282-283 on these events).

[996] Pintore 1978, 123-126; see also Podany 2010, 219-224, for the case of the marriage between the daughter of Tušratta Tado-Ḫebat and Amenhotep III.

reflection of the marriage: it is useful to frame this point following the scheme in Pintore (1978, 128), who recognized some prerogatives descriptive of the status of the royal spouses, and which obviously had political significance for the two parts. It is here noted which of these prerogatives could apply to the status of Nikkal-madi.

Royal titles or prerogatives	Y
Descendants will inherit the throne	Y
Patrimonial autonomy	N/D – N/A
Direct diplomatic channel with the palace of origin	N/D – N/A

While all other examples of interdynastic marriage denote a strong distinction in status between the Egyptian king and the foreign princesses, a supposed union between Tudḫaliya and Nikkal-madi would have been a parity union at all effects. This can be affirmed on the basis of the treaty with Sunaššura; even if just at formal level, Kizzuwatna is recognized as peer, and this specific point differentiates quite neatly what becomes a possible *dynastic union* from the acquisition, as in the case of the Egyptian pharaoh, of another princess in his harem. Those unions hardly had far-reaching political consequences, apart from the close context of the current diplomatic circumstances, often mutating rapidly. We know, instead, that Nikkal-madi enjoyed a very high status at Ḫattuša, especially because she became the only queen *and* her descendants inherited the throne. A similar juncture would have had significant reflections on the Hittite kingdom's history (but also on Kizzuwatna's).

Considering the queen's high status in Hittite documents, one could suggest that the attention of the diplomats who drafted the treaty to not irritate the Kizzuwatnean partner may have aimed at facilitating the (future?) diplomatic marriage, and shows the interests on the Hittite part to create positive relations. With this explanation, one could find another possible component of the stipulation of the treaty, the goal to create a more consistent union with the local nobility.

It has been observed that, cross-culturally, giving women is usually considered a practice attesting the superiority of a group, with systems in which women "marry down"; this conception was quite different in the LBA Near Eastern context. Egyptians never conceded daughters in marriage to other foreign rulers, indicating that, in their perspective, this would have been a signal of lower status; for internal propaganda, these unions were indeed presented as forms of submission or tribute.[997] The possible case of Tudḫaliya and Nikkal-madi would have been yet different. It would configure as "isogamic",[998] in consideration of the status enjoyed by the queen after their union; while the diplomacy does show elements of asymmetry, the attention upon maintaining the document's formal equality corresponds very well with the goal to recognize the dignity of the Kizzuwatnean authorities and of the new members of the royal family. It is possible that other unions between the Hittite royal house and local noble families happened later on as well (see *infra*), which would suggest continuity in these relations.

No doubts, a marriage of this kind would have brought to the court of Ḫattuša a plethora of assistants and servants accompanying the princess.[999] Even if the number of people who travelled with the new queen to stay at her service was not as notable as in later examples, their presence at the Hittite capital may have been another element for the diffusion of the Hurrian language and the Kizzuwatnean culture.

In respect to the patrimonial component of the contract, one can ultimately figure that, here, the kingdom of Kizzuwatna itself would have been at stake. Independently from this hypothesis, it is clear that the

[997] See Avruch 2000, 163-164 on this aspect, with examples from the Amarna letters. There was an attempt, on the other part, to overturn this reality: the Great Kings presented themselves as "fathers-in-law" (Akk. *ēmu*) of the pharaoh, their "son-in-law" (*ḫatānu*); see also Meier 2000 on this topic.
[998] This terminology is employed in Avruch 2000, 163, vs. hypogamic ("marry down") and hypergamic ("marry up").
[999] EA 25, an inventory of luxury items sent by Tušratta to Amenhotep III, lists for example items for the servants, dowry-women and male attendants (III 55-77). The tablet is presumably the complete list of the dowry of princess Tado-Ḫeba, the daughter of Tušratta, sent in marriage to Egypt (as we know from EA 24, the so called *Mittani letter*). At the end, it sums up "270 women, 30 men, are the dowry-personnel" (IV 64: 2 *me* 70 MUNUS^{meš} 30 LÚ^{meš} *mu-lu-gu*$_5$). See a discussion of this document in Podany 2010, 219-224.

disappearance of Kizzuwatna from the political panorama, in the turn of few generations, shows this had become integral part of the Hittite kingdom.

7.4.3. The successors of Tudḫaliya I: Arnuwanda, Ažmo-Nikkal and Tudḫaliya III

After this digression, we can return on more solid ground. The decades after the death of Tudḫaliya I were fundamental in shaping the essential traits of the Hittite New Kingdom.[1000] The reigns of Arnuwanda and Tudḫaliya III corresponded in fact to substantial cultural developments, contemporary with the factual integration of Kizzuwatna in the Hittite kingdom. Since at this time the two "histories" begin to intersect substantially, it is worth reviewing the most significant political developments of the period, beginning with the peculiar modalities of the succession of Arnuwanda I.

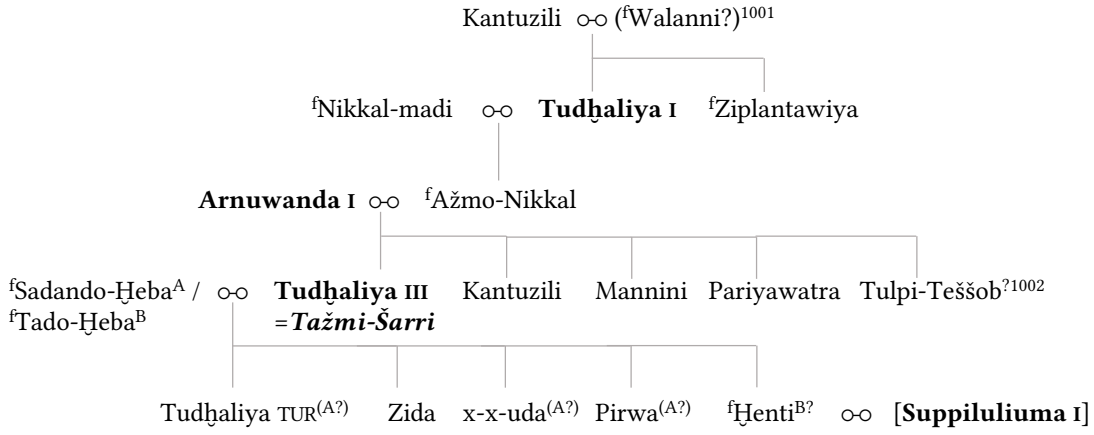

Kantuzili ○○ (fWalanni?)1001
fNikkal-madi ○○ Tudḫaliya I fZiplantawiya
Arnuwanda I ○○ fAžmo-Nikkal
fSadando-ḪebaA / fTado-ḪebaB ○○ Tudḫaliya III =Tažmi-Šarri Kantuzili Mannini Pariyawatra Tulpi-Teššob?1002
Tudḫaliya TUR(A?) Zida x-x-uda(A?) Pirwa(A?) fḪentiB? ○○ [Suppiluliuma I]

Table 12. Genealogy of the Early New Kingdom dynasty (adapted from de Martino 2011, 11 and Cammarosano 2017).

Most scholars believe that Ažmo-Nikkal was the natural daughter of Tudḫaliya and Nikkal-madi, while Arnuwanda succeeded to the throne through the practice of adoption, and by marrying the royal

[1000] The bibliography is vast and several relevant works are quoted throughout this chapter. For a recent overview see de Martino 2016, 45-53.
[1001] Walanni is the first queen listed in the *nuntariyaššaš*-Festival list of deceased queens (before Nikkal-madi, Ažmo-Nikkal, Tado-Ḫeba, Ḫenti and Tawannanna), but her connection with Kantuzili is only tentative; see Wilhelm 2016.
[1002] Uncertain: de Martino (2011, 11) lists Ažmi-Šarruma (?), while Cammarosano (2017) has Tulpi-Teššob; for de Martino the latter could be son of Mannini. On these individuals see the overview of Bilgin 2018, 41-42.

princess.[1003] This is quite clear from the seals and from other documents which explicitly illustrate her genealogy. The fact also explains the high status of Ažmo-Nikkal in those documents. While succession through adoption was not unprecedented, this case posits a specific historical question since one document suggests that Tudḫaliya had more children, some of whom could eventually inherit the throne instead of Arnuwanda (KBo 15.10).[1004] This information, however, remains uncertain; Houwink ten Cate (1998, 44; followed by Hawkins 2011c, 85) alternatively suggested that the children of the royal couple mentioned in KBo 15.10 could be in fact Arnuwanda and Ažmo-Nikkal themselves.[1005]

Whether the choice of Arnuwanda was purposeful or forced, his succession demonstrates that an heir to the throne had to be selected among members of the Ḫattuša elites, or from the extended royal clan. One significant aspect of this succession is that Arnuwanda was apparently associated to the throne while Tudḫaliya was still alive, and the two collaborated in military campaigns as we learn from a historiographical text (KUB 23.21).[1006] This co-regency is unprecedented and so far the only certain case in Hittite history; considering the likeliness of his adoption this decision could have served the goal to consolidate the succession, affirming the prestige (especially military) and the legitimacy of the future king while Tudḫaliya was still alive. The scenario also explains the particular emphasis on the genealogical bond with the predecessor, frequent in the documents concerning Arnuwanda.[1007]

[1003] Beal 1983, 115-122; Beckman 1986, 23 n. 51; Bryce 2005, 128-129; Carruba 2008, 79; de Martino 2016, 45-46. The possibility of succession by adoption of the *antiyant-* "son-in-law" was sanctioned in the Edict of Telipinu (§28).

[1004] Recently de Martino (2016, 45). This is a purification ritual against black magic, with accusations against the sister of Tudḫaliya I (Ziplantawiya) (KBo 15.10; CTH 443, last ed. Görke 2013 with references).

[1005] This explanation may solve the issue pointed out already by Miller (2004, 356 n. 501 and 504), who raised doubts on the possibility that Nikkal-madi was a Kizzuwatnean (for there is no evidence of it) and that Arnuwanda was an adopted son of Tudḫaliya.

[1006] A recent ed. in Carruba 2008, 65-73 with previous literature. The critical passages are II 12′ [*ú-ug-ga-za* LUGAL.]GAL ^{uru}KÙ.BABBAR-*ši at-ti-mi kat-t*[*a kišḫat/ešun* etc.$^{?}$] "I became(/was/sat as) Great King at Ḫattuša together with my father (...)" and especially III 2-3: [*nu* ^{m}*t*]*u-ut-ḫa-li-ia-aš* LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG *ú-u*[*q-qa* ^{m}*Ar-nu-wa-an-da-a*]*š* [LUGAL.GA]L *šar-ku-uš* (...) "Tudḫaliya, the Great King, the hero, and me, Arnuwanda, Great King, the mighty (...)".

[1007] See KUB 23.21, where Arnuwanda calls Tudḫaliya "my father" (II 13′; II 26′), and the royal seals of Arnuwanda (p. 251-252; *fig. 61*). Eventually, the same applies to the introduction of KBo 50.4, if a compatible reconstruction can be suggested (see *supra* p. 355).

Within this framework, the contemporary documents concerning Ažmo-Nikkal also appear to be of interest. One notes frequent references to her ascendance. More in general, the introduction in royal seals of genealogic information is a novelty of the Early New Kingdom: it was discussed (§5.3.3) that genealogies in seals appear in fact with Tudḫaliya I and Arnuwanda. The case of Ažmo-Nikkal is quite distinctive, as there are unusual references to the *maternal* lineage. One specimen is exceptional, as it only highlights her filiation from Nikkal-madi (*fig. 62*):

(SBo I.77 A) ^{munus}*Aš-mu-ni-kal* MUNUS LUGAL.GAL / DUMU MUNUS *Ni-kal-ma-ti* / SIG_5
"^{f}Ažmo-Nikkal, Great Queen, / daughter of Nikkal-madi" / "good"

The fact that this seal is unparalleled led Otten to the explanation that a second ring of inscription could be missing (Hawkins 2011c, 85). While Hawkins follows this suggestion, it seems unlikely in my view that in both prints of two different *versions* of this seal (as they are not identical to one another[1008]) only one ring was preserved, if both originally had a second ring of inscription. There are indeed few other rare examples of seals with a one-ring inscription, belonging to this age and namely to Tudḫaliya I (e.g. ns. *fig. 59-60*), which suggests the explanation of Otten is not necessary. Some other particularities of this seal, which notably find a parallel only in the much earlier seal of Išpudaḫšu of Kizzuwatna, were previously highlighted (p. 251). While the filiation of Arnuwanda from Tudḫaliya I can be explained through adoption, it is hard, on the contrary, to explain this seal if it was not true that Ažmo-Nikkal was the natural daughter of Nikkal-madi (and Tudḫaliya).

Another unicum in the period's documentation is one seal of Arnuwanda and Ažmo-Nikkal as royal couple, which refers to *both* parents:[1009]

[1008] See the hand copies in ns. *fig. 62* (from Beran 1967, 34 n. 152) vis à vis the other print (Bo 90/239), published in Herbordt et al. 2011, n. 3.
[1009] SBo I, 31-32 n. 60; Beran 1967, 34 n. 162; Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 48 n. 13.

Outer ring: [N]A$_4$.KIŠIB *ta-ba-ar-na* ^{m}*Ar-nu-an-ta* LUGAL.GAL DUMU ^{m}*Tù-u*[*t-ḫa-li-ya …*]

Middle ring: [NA$_4$].KIŠIB ^{munus}*ta-wa-na-an-na* ^{munus}*Aš-mu-ni-kal* MUNUS LUGAL.GAL D[UMU.MUNUS ^{munus}*Ni-kal-ma-ti* MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL]

Inner ring: ⌜Ù⌝ DUMU.MUNUS ^{m}*Tù-ut-ḫa-li-y*[*a …*]

Again, the complete genealogy is probably necessary for the status of Arnuwanda as adopted son-in-law, his legitimacy reinforced by the bond with the natural daughter of the king.

It is especially from the time of Arnuwanda and Ažmo-Nikkal that one observes a rapid affirmation of the Kizzuwatnean traditions in Hittite context. Some scholars proposed that the new interest in the Kizzuwatnean culture could originate from the impression of this cultural heritage on the children of Nikkal-madi and Tudḫaliya, (e.g. Campbell 2016, 297), but other explanations focus on the takeover of the cult administration in Kizzuwatna (Gilan 2019), as discussed later in some detail (§7.5.1-2).

It is possible that other members of the royal family after Nikkal-madi could be of Kizzuwatnean origin, although this is also hypotetical. It is the case of the two wives of Tudḫaliya III, both bearing Hurrian names (Šadando-Ḫeba and Tado-Ḫeba).[1010] Unless the Hurrian onomastics had become sufficiently popular among the Ḫattušan nobility – which does not seem to be the case, following de Martino 2011, 25 – this is the most likely explanation, since these can be hardly relatives of the close royal family, i.e. descendants of Tudḫaliya I (first cousins of Tudḫaliya III).

The first wife of Tudḫaliya III was probably Šadando-Ḫeba, whom he married apparently when he was not yet king.[1011] While two seal impressions on letters from Tapikka-Maşat Höyük attest, however, that she had been queen,[1012] later on during his reign Tudḫaliya certainly took a second wife, Tado-Ḫeba. Since it seems clear that Tudḫaliya had a long reign, de Martino (2016, 50-51) is probably correct suggesting that the first wife must have died shortly after he had become king; only later he took a new

[1010] For this possibility see already Campbell 2016, 298.
[1011] Tudḫaliya was still the designated heir (Hitt. *tuḫkanti*); De Martino 2010, 92-93; 2016, 50.
[1012] Alp 1991b, n. 4 and n. 14; Mşt 75/39, 75/10.

wife who remained queen for the rest of his reign to survive him, being still active at the time of Suppiluliuma I.[1013] Tado-Ḫeba maintained a position of high prestige at court also after the death of Tudḫaliya III; most scholars think that she was the mother of Ḫenti, the princess married by Suppiluliuma and who represented his principal tie to the royal family.[1014]

7.4.4. Onomastic evidence

A visible novelty of this period was not yet discussed: the adoption of the Hurrian onomastic tradition in the Hittite royal family, which characterizes the mixed onomastics of the New Kingdom. The beginning of this custom presumably starts with the inclusion of Nikkal-madi in the Hittite royal family (see *tab. 12*). Afterwards, princes and princesses of the dynasty bore sometimes Anatolian and other times Hurrian names, a tradition which continued until the end of the Empire.[1015] The custom later extended to the highest elites of the kingdom, but in the Early New Kingdom Hurrian onomastics appears to be prerogative of the members of the royal family.[1016]

[1013] If Šadando-Ḫeba was the mother of Tudḫaliya 'the young' (TUR), who was the legitimate heir and perhaps king for a short time, this may explain why she was not frequently mentioned in official sources, configuring a sort of *damnatio memoriae* (she is absent from the offering lists for the royal ancestors or the list of queens in the *nuntariyašḫa-* festival; de Martino 2010, 94). Suppiluliuma in fact usurped the throne of Tudḫaliya TUR, as we know from the accounts of the time of Mursili II, and probably aimed at cover up her and her son's memory. Apparently, Šadando-Ḫeba also does not appear on the Cruciform Seal, if Stavi (2011, 236) is correct in his reconstruction (*contra* Miller 2004, 7-9). A different reconstruction was proposed by Taracha (2016), according to whom Tudḫaliya TUR was one of the sons of Tudḫaliya and Tado-Ḫeba, but born after Ḫenti; Šadando-Ḫeba may have been unable to have children, and for this reason Tudḫaliya had to take a second wife.

[1014] Bryce 2005, 159 maintained that Suppiluliuma was the son of Tudḫaliya III and Tado-Ḫeba. More recently other scholars suggested that Ḫenti was their daughter, especially on the basis of a well-preserved seal of Suppiluliuma and Ḫenti (Herbordt et al. 2011, 112 n. 14; ns. *fig. 70*), which would indicate explicitly that her father had been a Great King (de Martino 2013; 2016, 53). A reading of the seal as "great Princess" in place of "daughter of Great King" (Herbordt et al. 2011, 112) seems less likely. The fact that the Babylonian princess later taken by Suppiluliuma as second wife maintained only a secondary role, as long as Ḫenti was still alive (de Martino 2016, 71-75), also corresponds better with the view that Tado-Ḫeba was a member of the dynastic family. For Ḫenti as daughter of Tado-Ḫeba see also Stavi 2011, 236.

[1015] A survey of Anatolian and Hurrian names in the royal family in Beal 2002a, 65-66.

[1016] De Martino 2011, 25. People with Hurrian names in texts were, otherwise, foreigners (see *supra* the possible cases of Šadando-Ḫeba and Tado-Ḫeba).

The daughter of Nikkal-madi and Tudḫaliya, Ažmo-Nikkal, was the first Hittite princess to bear a Hurrian name. Instead, the latter's son Tudḫaliya III was the first Hittite king to bear a double name: one Hittite, following the dynastic tradition, one Hurrian, under the influence of the new culture. The Hurrian name Tažmi-šarri was apparently adopted after he became king, on the basis of the mention of Tudḫaliya as prince and designated heir (*tūḫkanti-*) in a land grant issued by Arnuwanda and Ažmo-Nikkal.[1017] The evidence itself is not consistent regarding the peculiar usage of double names in the New Kingdom, a topic discussed in some detail in Beal 2002a.[1018] The article shows clearly that there is no opposition between a throne name and the king's name at birth, since such distinction fails to explain the distribution of Anatolian or Hurrian onomastic choices, which is not systematic. In the royal family, both Hittite and Hurrian names were employed, but it seems unlikely that two names could be assigned at birth; the evidence rather shows that only one name was given at a time, either Hittite or Hurrian, but by becoming king an individual could adopt an additional name, apparently an honor reserved to kings.[1019] This peculiar tradition was inaugurated with all probability by Tudḫaliya III. The reason of the purposeful adoption of two names of different linguistic background clearly appeals to the two components that, by that time, had come to constitute and identify the Hittite kingdom as a whole: the Hittite and Kizzuwatnean territories and their people and traditions.[1020]

Another aspect of the period's onomastic is the choice of specific names for the members of the dynasty. There may be hints, in this respect, that the Kizzuwatnean roots of the New Kingdom's dynasty were valued in the Hittite royal family and honored through time through the use of specific personal names. Among the children of Arnuwanda, Tudḫaliya and Kantuzili – respectively the future Hittite king

[1017] KBo 5.7, rev. 46; text n. 91 in Rüster-Wilhelm 2012.
[1018] After Tudḫaliya III, double names are known for: Muwatalli II (Šarri-Teššob), Mursili III (Urḫi-Teššob), perhaps Tudḫaliya IV (Tažmi?-Šarruma; see van den Hout 2014b §3,5 on the problem). See also the double name of the first Hittite king of Karkemiš, the son of Suppiluliuma Piyaššili (Šarri-Kužoġ) and possibly Kuruntiya of Tarḫuntašša (Ulmi-Teššob), but the latter equivalence is uncertain (van den Hout 2014c).
[1019] Following the conclusions of Beal 2002a, 69. It can't be shown this was a rule, since for some kings we do not know two names; of course this may be due to the lack of sources.
[1020] Similarly Beal 2002a, 69.

and the SANGA of Kizzuwatna (§7.7) – bore the names of the family's immediate forefathers; another brother was Pariyawatra.[1021] One can only speculate on the fact that this was the name of the father of Išpudaḫšu, the late 16th c. king of Kizzuwatna and a forefather of the old dynasty of Kizzuwatna. But throughout the Empire period, the Early New Kingdom's familial memory remained vivid: it is shown in the Cruciform Seal and the frequent choice of the dynastic names Arnuwanda (II and III) and Tudḫaliya (IV),[1022] although names like Mursili and Ḫattusili at the same time recalled the legendary age of the early Old Kingdom. The name Kantuzili was also employed later on: a general with this name lived in the reign of Mursili II.[1023]

7.4.6 A *dynastic union* of Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna?

There is good reason to think, although this can't be ultimately proved, that several developments at state and dynastic level in the Hittite Early New Kingdom derive from the contemporary strong connection with Kizzuwatna at diplomatic and political level. The appearance in the Hittite royal family of individuals with Hurrian names, the first being Nikkal-madi, can be best explained if this queen was a native of Kizzuwatna, and that a new onomastic tradition was concurrently introduced.

The Kizzuwatnean 'fingerprints', otherwise, are virtually everywhere in the cultural background of the innovations – especially in the religious sphere – that characterize this period. In this domain the impulse of the royal family is universally recognized (already §6.4 and §7.5.2). The first question is whether the decision of Tudḫaliya to take Nikkal-madi as queen could have been the trigger for these developments; a similar view is that suggested by Campbell (2016), while somewhat different was the explanation of Taracha (2004, 2014), for whom the whole dynasty – with Tudḫaliya I – had Kizzuwatnean origins.

[1021] On this prince Pariyawatra see Frantz-Szabó 2004b; Bilgin 2018, 41.
[1022] See in this respect the theory of Taracha (2014, 957), that these names were assigned to the first-born princes.
[1023] Beal 2002a, 58-59.

The other relevant question is whether this decision can be connected with the political course of the reign of Tudḫaliya, with the stipulation of a new alliance treaty with the southern kingdom, and perhaps seen as part of a broader, purposeful political strategy.

The various signals evaluated in this section may suggest that the outcome of this decision, whether this was a purposeful goal or not, was indeed a sort of *dynastic union*.[1024] If the two wives of Tudḫaliya III were also Kizzuwatnean, this would additionally suggest a systematic nature of these unions, which in the turn of few generations led to the factual unification of the royal family of Ḫattuša with the highest Kizzuwatnean nobility.

This process may contribute to explain the rapid political integration of Kizzuwatna and the unique modalities of the process of its annexation to the Hittite kingdom between the end of the 15th and mid-14th c., as well as the conclusion of the local kingship (see §7.7).

7.5 The importation of the Kizzuwatnean religious traditions in Hittite context

7.5.1 Chronology and historical background

As highlighted in the previous chapter (§6.4), aspects of the religion of Kizzuwatna are chiefly treated in Hittite studies, for the significance of this regional tradition in Hittite context. From an historical point of view, the fundamental questions concern the chronology of the introduction of these traditions at Ḫattuša, and the reasons and agency behind the concrete importation of original Kizzuwatnean cults and ritual literature.

[1024] As already proposed Houwink ten Cate 1998, 43-50; recently in particular Campbell 2016, 297.

Scholarly literature recognized with some confidence that the bulk of Hurrianized textual materials from Ḫattuša originated in the reigns of Arnuwanda I and Tudḫaliya III/Tažmi-šarri, in particular the latter.[1025] Concerning the motivations behind this cultural phenomenon, the idea that the political integration of Kizzuwatna in the Hittite kingdom and that the royal family had a critical role in this process was aired in most contribution on Hittite religion. The topic has been addressed more specifically in a short article of Campbell (2016). He suggests that the importation of Hurrian cultural material, in the form of texts, religious traditions, onomastics, as well as the use of the Hurrian language, can be indeed connected with the *dynastic marriage* between members of the Hittite and Kizzuwatna royal houses, initiated with the union of Tudḫaliya and Nikkal-madi. This hypothesis can't be ultimately proved, as previously stressed. More precisely, Campbell (2016, 297) explains that the affection for the Kizzuwatnean culture can originate from the transmission of this cultural heritage to the children of Nikkal-madi, "the first generation of a mixed Hurro-Hittite dynasty".

A relevant characteristic of most of the period's Hurrian ritual materials at Ḫattuša is their dedication to the king, the royal couple and in some instances his family. Apart from rituals series (namely the *itkaḫi* and *itkalzi*)[1026], there are several prayers of Kizzuwatnean background which mention explicitly individual kings of the Early New Kingdom.[1027]

One group of the tablets of the *itkalzi* series (Hurr. *itk=al=zi* "purification/purity") – namely belonging to the "22 Tablet recension" – explicitly mentions Tažmi-Šarri and Tado-Ḫeba as ritual patrons, thus was likely composed at this time; it records perhaps the original ritual.[1028] For de Martino (2017c) the ritual

[1025] The literature is vast; see recently de Martino 2016, 50-51; Campbell 2016, 297-298; Gilan 2019, 181-182, with previous bibliography.
[1026] CTH 777 and 778; ed. ChS I/1 n. 1-4, 5-9.
[1027] See Campbell 2016, 296 for references.
[1028] The *itkalzi-*, rendered in Hittite as *aiš šuppiyaḫḫuwaš* "mouth washing (lit. purification)", was a ritual series of which two versions probably existed, one of ten and the second of presumably twenty-two tablets (with de Martino 2017c, 21), only some of which are preserved, (see Strauss 2006, 149-188; de Martino-Süel 2015, 15-16; an useful and updated summary on the complex manuscript tradition in de Martino 2017c). The other group does not refer to the

was performed for the first time in occasion of their marriage; the goal of the ritual text is to bless the royal couple with well-being and fertility. The series *itkaḫi* (Hitt. *itk=a=ġe*) contains purification rituals of similar content, in which Tažmi-Šarri appears alone.

The personal prayer is another text type which made its appearance in central Anatolia in the Early New Kingdom.[1029] Prayers or invocations composed during the Old Hittite kingdom have in fact distinct features from the body of texts dating after the time of Arnuwanda I.[1030] While those were expanded forms of the shorter spells and benediction formulae embedded in ritual and festival texts,[1031] the ENK prayers are much longer, self-standing texts. The critical innovation lays in their attribution to a king or queen seeking divine help for specific circumstances, and this new type of composition remained in use throughout the Empire. One exception is the prayer of Kantuzili, the only one not 'authored' by a king or queen. Some of these documents show substantial Mesopotamian influx.[1032]

The 'genre' is, indeed, notably connected with the name of Kantuzili, a son of Arnuwanda and the 'priest' of Kizzuwatna (see more in detail §7.7) who composed a Hittite prayer to the Sun-god (KUB 30.10; CTH 373[1033]), but also an invocation in Hurrian for Teššob and Ḫebat (KUB 27.42; CTH 784).[1034] The last document also mentions Tažmi-Šarri and Tado-Ḫeba. The prayer of Arnuwanda and Ažmo-Nikkal (CTH 375[1035]) reveals the difficult time of their reign, and refers to the disastrous ravages of the Kaška tribes in the northern Hittite territories, lamenting in particular the consequent interruption of the worship of the gods and especially the painful loss of the holy city of Nerik. A notable prayer in Hurrian is ChS I/1 n. 41

royal couple, and an important difference is that this series contains long sections in Hittite. De Martino (2017c) suggests that there was at least another *recensio*, which he calls "Great *itkalzi*" series.

[1029] Singer 2002a, 29-46.

[1030] See Singer 2002a, 13-14, 30 and Singer 2002b.

[1031] Popko 1995, 81-83; Singer 2002b, 306: these texts may be appropriately defined *mugawar-* "invocation".

[1032] Singer 2002a, 2002b; Metcalf 2015.

[1033] The composition aims at appeasing an angry god, responsible of a serious illness. It has evident Babylonian models, but integrating Anatolian traditions; ed. Rieken et al. 2017d* (with previous literature); see also Singer 2002a, 30-33 (text n. 4a therein).

[1034] ChS I/1, n. 11; 28´ [INIM ^{m}*Kán*]-^{r}*li*^{1} ^{lú}SANGA DUMU.LUGAL "word of Kan(tuzi)li, the Priest, Prince".

[1035] Several copies; a recent edition of the main tablet (A) in Rieken et al. 2017e* with detailed literature.

(CTH 777.8) a text which remains largely untranslated.[1036] This very long and well-preserved composition is interesting insofar it appears to be a prayer recited by the queen Tado-Ḫeba, written in first person, for the well-being of the husband Tažmi-šarri. As Campbell (2016, 296) observed, we can reasonably expect that the queen was well versed in Hurrian in order to "author" or even just perform the text. In fact this may be an original product of the time, thus to be distinguished from most other Hurrian documents, which appear to be imports of previously existing compositions (ibid. 300).

For these reasons, the Kizzuwatnean cultural background appears to be the most likely point of departure for the development of the new 'literary' form of the personal prayer. It is reasonable to think – although it cannot be proved – that also the mythology of Hurrian origin was also imported from Kizzuwatna.[1037]

Tudḫaliya III and Tado-Ḫeba are by far the most quoted rulers in Hurrian textual materials, which suggests this period was particularly important for the importation of the Kizzuwatna tradition. These texts are invested with the functions and role of the kingship, and include for example rituals connected to the enthronement of the king; it is the case of CTH 700, a ritual for Tažmi-šarri of which both MS tablets and late copies exist.[1038]

As it is evident, the Early New Kingdom's religious "revolution" originates from the impulse of the royal elites. For some scholars, at the basis was the cultural drive of the new members of the dynastic family and their influential role at court.[1039] Recently Gilan (2019) proposed another perspective on the

[1036] ChS I/1, n. 41.
[1037] See §6.2.2 for a possible linguistic approach to the problem.
[1038] Notable fragments are KUB 11.31 (MS) and KBo 10.34 (NS). Discussed in Kümmel 1967, 47-49. The text explicitly deals with the accession of Tudḫaliya to the throne (KBo 10.34 1: [*mā*]*n=šan* LUGAL-*uš* LUGAL-*uizni ešari* "when the king sits himself in kingship"; colophon IV 10-12′: *kuwapi A-NA* ^{giš}ŠÚ.A *A-BI-ŠU ešat* "when (Tudḫaliya, son of Arnuwanda, Great King) sat on the throne of his father"). In the occasion, he had to perform specific rituals, described as *šarrašši*-offer to the Storm-god (Teššob) and *allašši*-offer to Ḫebat.
[1039] E.g. Campbell 2016; also de Martino 2016. Taracha, as previously said, maintains a more radical view according to which the whole dynasty was Kizzuwatnean, thus culturally Hurrian. Note that, starting from this premise, in his comprehensive treatment of Hittite religion he also proposed a neat divide between a state and a dynastic pantheon during the Empire period, the latter being almost entirely Hurrianized (Taracha 2009, 92-95). While there is certainly ground for considering the agency of the royal family as critical factor in the description of the New

motivations at the basis of these transformations; he noted that the period in which many Kizzuwatna rituals were composed and edited (§7.5.2) coincides with the time in which the Hittites came fully in control of Kizzuwatna, and in particular in between the careers of the two "Priests" in Kizzuwatna – Kantuzili son of Arnuwanda I and Telipinu son of Suppiluliuma I, – members of the Hittite royal family appointed by the Hittite kings for this administrative role (§7.7). Gilan concludes that it was the Hittite religious administration of Kizzuwatna, and not necessarily a specific religious demand in the Hittite capital, which provides a context for the textualization of the ritual tradition. After the Hittites took full control of Kizzuwatna – politically integrated by the time of Arnuwanda I[1040] – the Hittite royal patronage extended to the local cults and temple institutions, and the local festivals and ceremonies.

As it is clear, while there are differences in the specific historical explanation of these dynamics, scholars are unanimous in recognizing the central role of the royal patronage in the practice of cult. As the outcome of royal agency, these innovations at state level did not necessarily have equally consistent reflections at the population level. Gilan (2019, 178) well summarizes this point: "the new cult foundations in Samuha (...) were not a result of a religious revelation or an alteration of faith shared by a local religious community. The inhabitants of the towns involved were simply assigned to cater for the new deity by a royal decree".

It seems, indeed, very likely that ritual texts were recorded primarily for administrative reasons, and this seems to be the case also in central Anatolia.[1041] However, the attention dedicated to the cults of Kizzuwatna began exerting its influx in Hittite context very quickly, which is an element independent from the administration of cults *in* Kizzuwatna. In the Early New Kingdom, Hittite scribes begun

Kingdom's religion (as presently showed) such a clear-cut distinction is not unproblematic; the reader can find a critical review of the problem in Miller 2014, 286-288.

[1040] Gilan 2019, 179-180. See in better detail §7.6.

[1041] As argued van den Hout 2005. Gilan (2019, 179) reports that van den Hout is now suggesting a further expansion of this concept: that the Hittite state administration largely coincided with a cult administration. I closely follow this line of interpretation also in respect to the collection and transmission of therapeutic ritual texts, in Trameri *forthcoming*.

composing rituals of mixed character, indicating the interest and the effort in integrating the southern traditions in the center of the kingdom. Additionally, while certainly it was with Arnuwanda and Tudḫaliya III that the interest for the Kizzuwatna traditions became preponderant, in correspondence with the acquisition of socio-political control on the region, there is ground to suggest that the process of adoption of the Kizzuwatna religious traditions at least began already with Tudḫaliya I.

It is true that some of the earliest Hurrian texts can be attributed to the time of Arnuwanda I. Together with the prayer of the royal couple (*supra* p. 406), Campbell lists the fragment KBo 9.137 (CTH 778.1),[1042] a text that seems to refer to the appointment of Tažmi-šarri as high priest, in the interpretation of Houwink ten Cate (1995, 59-60). Another early document, most likely also dating to Arnuwanda, is the fully Hurrian fragment KUB 47.29 (ChS I/8 n. 7) where him and Tudḫaliya (I?) are mentioned.[1043]

Campbell correctly underlines, otherwise, the absence of substantial Hurrian materials for the reign of Tudḫaliya I. One can make the example of the aforementioned purification ritual against black magic (KBo 15.10; CTH 443, last ed. Görke 2013 with references); this composition does not present traces of Hurrian influx, which is the more interesting since at this time Tudḫaliya and Nikkal-madi already had children.[1044]

But there are some documents of the time of Tudḫaliya I that show important developments were already ongoing. The most important evidence is probably the reference to Tudḫaliya (for most scholars the first) in the text about the expansion of the cult of the goddess of the Night of Kizzuwatna in Šamuḫa.[1045]

[1042] ChS I/1 n. 39.

[1043] This may be also Tudḫaliya III, but Campbell (2016, 297) noted that in other Hurrian texts he is always called with his Hurr. name Tažmi-šarri; it is not unlikely here the reference is to the father, whether he was still alive or not.

[1044] Miller 2004, 355. The text was discussed recently in Christiansen 2007. Note that the MS tablet contains two distinct rituals with very similar content but certain distinctions; Christiansen found traces of compilation, thus the philological history of this text appears to be complex (2007, 102).

[1045] See lastly Gilan 2019, 177. The main evidence for an early dating of the adlocation is exposed in Miller 2004, 355-356; the MS oracle KBo 16.97+, which refers to the goddess of the Night of Šamuḫa, is an early tablet dating to either Arnuwanda I or Tudḫaliya I himself. Since the tablet must postdate the transfer of the cult, as a consequence this must have happened earlier, with Tudḫaliya I. Beal (1986, 439) had already observed that the reference to

During the Early New Kingdom, Šamuḫa had become an important political center, in particular during the period of crisis between the reigns of Arnuwanda and Tudḫaliya III. But Tudḫaliya I apparently brought other cults from Kizzuwatna there during his reign;[1046] a ritual for Ištar of Tamininga (KUB 12.5), which can be very likely dated to Tudḫaliya III (Miller 2004, 384 n. 600), contains the following information:

1. ˹*ma-a*˺-*a*[*n-za* MUNUS.LU]GAL ^{d}*IŠTAR* ^{uru}*Ta-mi-ni-in-ga I-*˹*NA*˺ ^{uru}*Ša-mu-u-ḫ*[*a*]
2. I-*NA* É ˹*A*˺-*BI A-BI* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI ša-ra-a-az-zi-ia-aš-ša-an A-NA* É[-*TI*]
3. *še-e-er* MU-*ti me-e-ia-ni-ia-aš i-e-ez-zi nu ki-i* SÍSKUR-*Š*[*U*]

"When the queen celebrates Ištar of Tamininga in Šamuḫa 'during the year', in the house of the grandfather of My Sun, in the 'upper house', this is the ritual (...)" (KUB 12.5 I 1-3; ChS I/3-1, 83-87, text n. 12).

The "house of the grandfather" was definitely the palace of Tudḫaliya I.[1047] In reference to this document, Miller (2004, 384 n. 600) pointed out that a similar text, KUB 45.33 (ChS I/3-1 n. 14), a ritual for the same deity, does not refer, instead, to the "house of the grandfather" of the king, and shows a typical MS ductus: it may be the original text of the time of Tudḫaliya I, from which KBo 12.5 was copied.[1048] De Martino (2009, 2) also maintains that this Ištar of Tamininga was worshiped at Šamuḫa at the time of Tudḫaliya I; since he considers this as a pre-existing local cult, he sees that for this reason Tudḫaliya chose this seat to transfer the cult of the new Ištar-type goddess (the goddess of the Night). But the very fact that Ištar "of Tamininga" was worshipped at Šamuḫa indicates in first place that this cult was transferred here from elsewhere likewise. The fact that this goddess has the profile of the Ištar-Šavoška type suggests this

Tudḫaliya as AB.BA-*IA* "ancestor" suits better this Tudḫaliya, rather than the nephew Tudḫaliya III, "grandfather" of Mursili II (see the text *supra* §6.4).

[1046] On the cults of Šamuḫa see Lebrun 1976, Klinger 2010 and now Soysal 2019, with the publication of some festival tablets there retrieved in 2015 and 2017.

[1047] On the "ancestors'" palace at Šamuḫa see recently Cammarosano 2018, 401-403 and 2019a, 98-100.

[1048] This seems the most likely reconstruction, although Miller pointed out that one can't exclude a dating to Suppiluliuma and a reference to the time of Arnuwanda I. However, this comes at odds with the idea that Suppiluliuma was not a descendant of the dynastic line (see p. 397 ff.).

unlikely belongs to a central Anatolian tradition;[1049] Tudḫaliya himself may be responsible of this transfer as well.

A passage of the Annals of Tudḫaliya I may be also of interest. It lists the gods who "helped" Tudḫaliya in battle against the Kaška in Tiwara (KUB 23.11 III 19-21);[1050] after the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and perhaps the Storm-god and the tutelary god of Ḫattuša (in lacuna: [...^{d}LAMMA ^{u}]^{ru}*ḪA-AT-TI*),[1051] the list includes the three gods ^{d}*ZA-BA$_4$-BA$_4$*, *IŠTAR* and ^{d}30. While the first and last logograms hide the two names of a War-god and a Moon-god that remain obscure, Ištar is evidently Šavoška here. Beckman (1998, 3) already noted that Ištar, under any of her avatars, is absent in the Old Kingdom documents, with the exception of a particular context of use in KUB 8.41 (CTH 733). In this OS fragment some Hattic gods are designated with *different* names by humans and by the other gods, and two equivalences are specified as forms of Ištar.[1052] Otherwise, some importance of the Ištar-type goddesses is visible only since the Early New Kingdom, and these deities are clearly hypostasis of the Syro-Hurrian Šavoška.

One may note that this *sequence* of deities (although in different order) appears in the tablet containing the list of witnesses of the treaty with Sunaššura, but apparently to the Kizzuwatnean side (see the text at p. 344). Even if only for the case of Šavoška – but this may apply to these avatars of the War-god and Moon-god as well, – the document indicates that Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean deities could have been already integrated in the pantheon; an avatar of Šavoška imported in Šamuḫa, in particular, appears to have become an important deity for Tudḫaliya himself.

[1049] See the correlation with the maid goddesses Ninatta and Kulitta (Wilhelm 2012e, 431). Nothing can be said on the possible location of Tamininga.

[1050] Ed. Carruba 2008, 31-47. 18. *ú-ug-ga-aš-ši* ^{m}*Tu-ut-ḫa-li-ia-aš* LUGAL.GAL *za-aḫ-ḫi-i*[*a pa-a-un*] 19. *na-an-mu* DINGR^{meš} *pa-ra pi-i-e-er* ^{d}UTU-*uš* ^{uru}*A-r*[*i-in-na* ^{d}KAL ^{u}]^{ru}*ḪA-AT-TI* 20. ^{d}*ZA-BA$_4$-BA$_4$* ^{d}*IŠTAR* ^{d}30 ^{d}*Li-il-wa-ni-eš* [*nu-kán ša* KUR ^{u}]^{ru}*Ga-aš-ga tu-uz-zi-in ku-e-nu-un* (...)

[1051] Carruba (2008, 45) restores in lacuna the "Storm-god of the sky".

[1052] The fragment is published in Neu 1980, 183 (text n. 109). The equivalences are provided in ll. II 7′-9′ (*Ta-ši-im-me-ti-iš*/ ^{d}*IŠTAR-iš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš:* "Ištar, the queen") and III 10-12 (*Ta-ḫa-ak-ša-zi-*^{r}*ia-ti*^{1}*-iš / a-ra-u-*^{r}*wa*^{1}*-aš* ^{d}*IŠTAR:* "Ištar of Arising?/free?"). Brief discussion in Beckman 1998, 3 and n. 26-27. Note that in one instance the spelling is ^{d}*IŠTAR-iš*, which suggests the underlying name is Anzili/Enzili, an Anatolian goddess (on Anzili see Wilhelm 2010b).

Gilan (2019, 181) mentions a group of other documents that, previously thought to be later, can be dated on paleographic ground to the time of Tudḫaliya I with some confidence. It is the case of two cult inventory fragments (KBo 20.90 and KUB 31.122+) that witness restoration works by a king Tudḫaliya in two centers of Kizzuwatna; he suggests that the attribution to the time of Tudḫaliya I, with Cammarosano (2012, 85-87), is another good reason to think already at this time the Hittite king was involved in patronage activities in Kizzuwatna. The same applies to the small landscape format tablet containing a divinatory text KUB 32.130 (*fig. 79*), which deals with a bird oracular inquiry for "Šavoška of the Field (of Šamuḫa)" (^{d}*IŠTAR ṢE-RI* ^{uru}*Šamūḫa*).[1053] The text informs that an unnamed king, currently away in military campaign, ascertained that the goddess was angry. Through additional bird oracles he attempts at verifying whether the celebration of festivals and other rituals in Šamuḫa would appease the deity, whose support was required in upcoming campaign. The plan included the transport of the simulacrum to him from Šamuḫa after the campaign, so he could worship her in person. Against the traditional dating of this text to Mursili II, arguments have been put forward for an attribution to Tudḫaliya I.[1054] The text would refer to yet another hypostasis of Ištar worshiped in Šamuḫa at this time; one of these can be the *IŠTAR* listed in the *Annals* among the deities supporting Tudḫaliya in Tiwara.

In summary, there is evidence that at least to some extent Tudḫaliya I was actively promoting the import of Kizzuwatnean cults and that he was, presumably, the first Hittite king to do so. This is especially clear from the transfer of the cult of the goddess of the Night in Šamuḫa and perhaps of other deities, as well as from activities of patronage *in* Kizzuwatna; these facts imply that the region was basically under complete Hittite control in the late part of his reign. Even if the possible examples are rare, it is possible that the transmission of rituals from Kizzuwatna also begun at this time (see next section §7.5.2).

[1053] An edition in Klinger 2012; discussed also in Beckman 2010. The text content is treated in some detail in Gilan 2019, 177.
[1054] Klinger 2010, 163; Beckman 2012.

One last aspect of novelty of this period was pointed out in Gilan 2014a. The author observed a significant distinction between the practice of "god-napping", typical of the Hittite Old Kingdom approach to religion, with a completely new policy of integration: "this new imperial policy was founded on the experience of the relatively "peaceful" integration of Kizzuwatna into the Hittite Kingdom, integration that was motivated by the reverence shown by the founders of the New Hittite Empire towards Kizzuwatnian, Hurrian, and Syrian deities". Also in this respect, the Early New Kingdom political and cultural experience shapes yet another trait defining the kingdom's cultural life in the next centuries.

7.5.2. Transmission of the Kizzuwatnean ritual literature in Hittite context

The question of the form and transmission of the 'Kizzuwatna rituals' in Hittite context is the subject of much literature, thus I will only briefly review here the topic for some aspects relevant for the present work.[1055]

There are two main types of rituals connected explicitly with Kizzuwatna: one features extensive incantations in Luwian, embedded in a ritual frame which is written in Hittite. The language of these incantations, as Yakubovich showed, is the dialect of Luwian spoken in Kizzuwatna. The other type of rituals does not feature the long texts in Luwian, but includes Hurrian ritual technical terminology (both in Hurrian original forms and as loanwords into Luwian) and few pure Luwianisms; more rarely, there are Hurrian recitations.[1056]

[1055] Detailed studies are Haas-Wilhelm 1974, Miller 2004, Strauss 2005, 2006, Mouton 2008 (on the birth rituals). A more recent overview in Görke 2010, 269-277. Specifically on their Luwian linguistic content, these documents were re-discussed in Yakubovich 2010a, 276-283, and Melchert 2013b. A catalogue with a basic overview of significant texts of the corpus was recently collected in Kaynar's dissertation (2017, 199-214).

[1056] Notably the ritual of Allaituraḫḫi of Mukiš (CTH 780; ed. Ferrandi 2016) and the tablets of the *itkalzi*-ritual series, with extensive portions in Hurrian (see De Martino-Süel 2015, 15-16). The tablets of the ritual of Šalašu (CTH 788; a recent edition in Kaynar 2017, 52-123) feature bilingual incantations in Hurrian and Hittite (KBo 19.145, in two parallel columns) or with prescriptions in Hittite and recitations in Hurrian (KUB 12.47). The first (KBo 19.145) seems to feature also some fragmentary passages with Luwian terms or recitations.

Note, on the contrary, that those of the first group do not employ the Hurrian terminology or recitations.[1057]

Yakubovich distinguishes more explicitly the Hurrian and the Luwian linguistic content of these rituals. For him, the texts with Luwian passages do not reflect religious practices of the royal court of Kizzuwatna, but have a "private character" (ibid. 277). The lack of evidence of Luwian literacy in Kizzuwatna would indicate that these documents were recorded in Ḫattuša, dictated in person by ritual experts.[1058] Melchert, however, raised doubts on this private character of the Luwian incantations (2013b, 169). Even if he acknowledges that the Luwian passages were most likely recorded from dictation by native speakers, the documents still "underwent considerable redaction" and their collection in the state archives contradicts the very idea that they were not relevant for the royal court (ibid. 169-170). The texts with Hurrian elements, instead, were imported through a model already proposed by Miller (2004, 256), according to which documents first recorded in Kizzuwatna were copied *and* re-used as models in Ḫattuša for the creation of new compositions. Significant proof of this are the many references in texts of this typology to the "tablets of Kizzuwatna".[1059]

The existence of two different kinds of rituals connected with Kizzuwatna reflects to some extent different modes of transfer into the Hittite corpus.[1060] While the latter texts were chiefly a product of

[1057] This distinction broadly corresponds with that proposed in Yakubovich 2010a, 276-283, Melchert 2013b and Miller 2004, 444.

[1058] This scenario would explain mistakes and interference with central Anatolian Luwian, motivated by the unfamiliarity of the scribes with the Kizzuwatna dialect while they tried to copy/write down the incantations in the original language. The goal of linguistic code-shift is ritualistic, the original spells retaining increased efficacy; Yakubovich (281-282) provides various examples of code-shifting in magic practice and explains some specific cases from the Hittite documentation.

[1059] On the tablets from Kizzuwatna see the treatment in Miller 2004, 511-523. Recently Miller (2010; 2012) also discussed a singular group of tablets that may belong to a local scribal tradition. These tablets of ritual content date to the very end of the Empire period, are written with a distinctive minuscule script and have other unique particularities. Since one tablet colophon states that the text was "excerpted in the manner of Arusna" (*appan tarnumaš īwar* $^{[u]ru}$*Arušna*) (2010, 509; 2012, 99-101), this specification may explain at least in part the corpus' peculiarities. Arusna was likely a center in Kizzuwatna, thus these tablets may be the product of a scribal tradition distinct from that of Ḫattuša. This case shows, more in general, that we know yet very little about extra-Ḫattuša scribal traditions in Anatolia.

[1060] Yakubovich 2010a, 275-280; Melchert 2013b, 169.

editorial activity, those of the first type indicate a more direct interaction with ritual practitioners, probably in Ḫattuša.[1061] One can't exclude, otherwise, that different ritual traditions existed *already* in Kizzuwatna, and this distinction mirrors the original characteristics of a tradition that was not necessarily homogenous.[1062] This is suggested by the peculiarities of this corpus, some of which remain problematic aspects for the research. While there is to some extent a merger in the Kizzuwatna texts between ritual correlates deriving from either a Hurrian/north Syrian or a Luwian/Anatolian background (such as specific rites, terminology, etc.), several of these aspects remain indeed separated. For example, it is somewhat striking that Hurrian loanwords arrived chiefly *through* Luwian, but there are no known Luwian loanwords in Hurrian. Is this representative of the Kizzuwatnean local reality, or rather something deriving from the modes of transmission? Similarly, for the ritual texts that show "Luwian" as well as "Hurrian" features, we have to consider whether the co-existence of both elements in one text goes back to Kizzuwatna or is rather due to the Hittite scribal activity. Another intriguing problem is that we do not have, actually, rituals with Hurrian and Luwian incantations together – with perhaps only one exception (Šalašu, see *supra* p. 413 n. 1056). As it is evident, there are several open questions, and probably the current evidence is able to answer only some of them, mostly those germane to the scribal history of the texts, while others can't be addressed until original documents from Kizzuwatna were to be found.

Melchert (2013b, 161-164), reviewing the corpus of texts with Luwian linguistic content, noted that, while none of the 'Kizzuwatna rituals' is earlier than the Early New Kingdom period, a distinction can be drawn on linguistic and palaeographic ground between texts composed at about the time of Tudhaliya I – that were later repeatedly copied, – and ritual compositions that included and re-used old materials, which were composed throughout the ENK and probably also during the reign of Suppiluliuma

[1061] Also Melchert 2013b, 172.
[1062] Strauss 2005, 242. Miller (2004, 444) suggested that the absence of Hurrian/north-Syrian influence in some of the texts attributed to Kizzuwatnean practitioners (those of the first 'type' here) could indicate that "regional and/or cultural/ethnic differences within (...) Kizzuwatna itself" existed.

I.[1063] One can count very few documents of the first kind,[1064] and a much larger number of the second. The latter are those of the type which includes *both* Hurrian and Luwian elements, composed using older materials available at Ḫattuša and in some cases also "Kizzuwatna tablets".[1065] Apart from this distinction, texts of both kinds can be ultimately ascribed to the period of cultural innovations of the Early New Kingdom (ibid. 169).

It is worth making the example of a text whose unique manuscript tradition provides hints on the transmission process, especially of the Hurrian linguistic materials. This is the ritual of Allaiturawḫi of Mukiš (CTH 780), which features extensive incantations and mythological historiolae in Hurrian.[1066] There are two distinct series of tablets belonging to this text's corpus: the standard series consists of originally six or seven tablets (so called *Serienwerk,* only part of tablets n. 1, 5, "6" and possibly 2 are extant), and similar to these is a late version drafted for Suppiluliuma II, attested in three copies. Then, there are two other tablets whose content is clearly connected to the series, but written substantially in Hurrian (so called Hurrian *Vorlagen;* A) KUB 45.21 and B) KBo 23.23+).[1067] These two tablets date to the ENK (MS) and have a one-column layout, unusual for archival copies but a format frequent in tablets of this period. They do not even appear to belong to a structured ritual, and in consideration of the free attitude with which the scribes of the *Serienwerk* employed content drawn therein, they may have rather collected preparatory content, such as incantations and specific rites.[1068] While Miller (2005a, 136-137)

[1063] See in summary the conclusions of Melchert 2013b, 172.
[1064] For Melchert 2013b, 164 these are the Ritual of Maštigga (KBo 39.8), the Ritual of Zarpiya (CTH 757) and those of Ambazzi (CTH 391 and CTH 429).
[1065] A detailed list in Melchert 2013b, 165.
[1066] The text was studied in the recent PhD dissertation of Ferrandi (2016), and I refer to her edition and study for details on the points here made. The text was published and discussed previously in Haas-Thiel 1978 and in ChS I/5 (1988) by Haas and Wegner. On the transmission of the text see also Miller 2005a.
[1067] The Hurrian content remains very obscure, especially in tablet A. Ferrandi could not attempt a translation, which would require a dedicated study (2016, 276). *Vorlage* A is entirely in Hurrian, apart from one line of prescriptions. *Vorlage* B is selectively bilingual, since only formulae and two mythological historiolae are in Hurrian. Other fragments of this ritual probably exist among those listed under CTH 781.
[1068] Ferrandi 2016, 193-194. Tablets 5 and "6" of the *Serienwerk* draw substantially from the *Vorlage* B (resp. col. III and col. I) but the content is employed freely, and without respecting the order of content in the other tablet. Instead, the content of the *Vorlage* A finds no parallel in the series.

highlighted the 'Syrian', rather than Kizzuwatnean character of this composition, he also pointed out evidence for re-elaboration in Kizzuwatna – as the Luwian gods and perhaps few rites in the late series suggest – or in Ḫattuša. Other elements of content suggest that the materials at the basis of the *Vorlage*, presumably drafted in Ḫattuša likewise,[1069] were received from Syria already in Kizzuwatna, and there found in original (Ferrandi 2016, 193-194). Additionally, the fact that fragments of a MS tablet belong to the *Serienwerk* (perhaps of tablet 2) suggest that the series was likewise created already in the Early New Kingdom, approximately at the same time as the *Vorlage*.

This example shows the complex process behind the transmission of ritual literature in Hittite context, that happened through various ways not excluding each other; at any rate, the employ of previous textual materials in various form is quite evident.[1070]

A distinctive aspect of this ritual tradition is the reference in most compositions to their authors and to the provenance of these individuals. Not in all cases a text attributed to one of these ritual experts appears to be performed by the author himself,[1071] and some of these individuals have no religious or professional title either. *Tab. 13* lists the known Kizzuwatna authors with their profession or title, their provenance and the linguistic background of their name:[1072]

[1069] One of the two *Vorlage* tablets in fact has large portions in Hittite and features the title ^{munus}ŠU.GI, typical of the Hittite ritual tradition but unknown in Syria. While Allaiturahḫi was a "woman of Mukiš" – as she is actually addressed in the colophons" – she was hardly a ^{munus}ŠU.GI, the figure which carries out the procedure. The familiar title for women practitioners must have been introduced by the Hittite scribes.
[1070] For a detailed treatment see Miller 2004, 469-532.
[1071] Some examples in Miller 2004, 510.
[1072] I adapted here the lists in Miller 2004, 488-492 and the entries in de Martino 2011, 26 (b); see also Strauss 2005, 231.

^{f}Maštigga	-	Kummani/Kizzuwatna	unclear[1073]
^{f}Šalašu	ŠU.GI	Kizzuwatna	Hurrian
$^{f/(m)}$Kuwanni	MUNUS É.DINGIR-*LIM ŠA* ^{d}*Ḫebat* ^{uru}*Kum*-[*ma*]-*ni*	Kummani	Anatolian
$^{m/(f)}$Ammiḫatna	*purapši*-priest (KBo 23.1+*)[1074] SANGA *ŠA* ^{d}*Išḫāra* (KBo 5.2, KUB 7.52)[1075]	Kummani/Kizzuwatna	West Semitic?
^{m}Tulbi(ya) and	*purapsi*-priest*	Kummani	Hurrian
^{m}Madi	*purapsi*-priest* AZU *ŠA* ^{D}*Ḫebat*? (KUB 9.2)	Kummani	Hurrian
^{m}Papankiri/Paba-nigri	*patili*- (KBo 5.1)	Kummani	Hurrian
^{m}Zarpiya	A.ZU	Kizzuwatna	unclear
^{m}Muwalanni	^{r}IR$_3$ ^{d}10 ^{uru}*Manuziya*$^{?}$ [Ù] GAŠAN[1076]	Manuziya?	Luwian
^{m}Naniyanni	- [1077]	Kummani	Hurrian
^{m}Ammiyatalla	-	Kummani	Anatolian?

The provenance of other individual experts is unknown, but several may be likewise from Kizzuwatna. For example, Madi is probably the same individual listed with two other authors of the ritual KUB 9.2, ^{m}Tagūya and ^{m}Ažnu-Nikkal ($^{lú.meš}$AZU *ŠA* ^{D}*Ḫebat*), but their provenance is not specified in this text. These two names are also Hurrian.

Table 13. Ritual experts from Kizzuwatna according to the Hittite sources.

Most names are Hurrian, but several have an Anatolian background. Ammiḫatna is the only name which may be west Semitic.[1078]

Some of these ritual experts were known – and their compositions copied – until the end of the Empire period. Some may even have become quasi-legendary figures: as J. Miller (2004, 478-479) pointed out, this

[1073] For Frantz-Szabó (1990, 531) the name is Hurrian, but see the reference to I. Gelb therein for a different opinion. De Martino 2011 does not include it in the corpus of Hurrian names.
[1074] This text lists three authors/*purapši*-, including Tulpiya and Madi. These are also mentioned in the tablet catalog KBo 31.8+KUB 30.42 (see ns. §5.5.3). Strangely Miller (2004, 491) lists them as *patili*-.
[1075] Ammiḫatna bears different titles in different documents, which may reflect different moments in his career. It is unknown whether some titles overlap or not, i.e. whether *purapši*- and *patili*- correspond to the sumerograms AZU and SANGA, as the evidence is not clear. See Strauss 2005, 239-240 n. 38.
[1076] KBo 11.2 i 1-2: "Servant of the storm-god of Manuziya and of "the Lady". Manuziya, which was also the name of a sacred mountain, was presumably in Kizzuwatna: see Del Monte-Tischler 1978, 259.
[1077] The catalog entry KBo 31.4+ (V 21´-28) mentions a ritual credited to him and the aforementioned Tulbiya, Madi and Pabanikki (i.e. Papankiri/Papanigri), all from Kummani.
[1078] Strauss 2006, 280; De Martino 2011, 26; but see other opinions for a Hurrian origin (Zehnder 2010, 112).

is suggested by the fact that the later scribes, in several instances, were no longer aware of the gender of those practitioners, as in the case here of Kuwanni and Ammiḫatna. At least six cases of mix-up exist.[1079] For their status of famous ancient experts of rituals it is possible that, through time, other texts were attributed to them fictitiously to exploit their reputation (e.g. Miller 2004, 509-511).

Note that de Martino (2011, 26) mentions Allaiturahḫi of Mukiš and Kiziya of Alalaḫ[1080] among the Kizzuwatnean experts bearing Hurrian names, but their Syrian provenance requires to make a distinction. The reason to include them in the list is that their texts presumably came as well *through* Kizzuwatna, being brought in Anatolia after the time of Tudḫaliya I together with the rest of the materials. It is possible that these people were residents of Kizzuwatna who were interviewed in loco or even at Ḫattuša later on (e.g. Miller 2004, 507), but it can well be, instead, that their original *texts* had been already recorded under their names in Kizzuwatna and there found in the archives. This seems to be the case for at least some of the content of the ritual of Allaiturahḫi (CTH 780), previously discussed. One can also mention the example of the ritual of Aštu (CTH 490), which shows the intricacies of trying establishing the exact mode of transmission of these ritual texts. Attributed to Aštu, a "Hurrian" ŠU.GI ("Old Woman"),[1081] this ritual of composite background has several ties with the Kizzuwatna corpus, but also content of central Anatolian ascendance and isolated elements found only in this text; it was probably composed at Ḫattuša, employing sources of various provenance.[1082]

[1079] Names found with both male and female determinative are Ḫantitaššu (of Ḫurma), Wattiti (of Kunnaššarwa), Kuwatalla, Kuwanni (of Kummani), Ammiḫatna (of Kummani) and Puriyanni; scribal error can't explain so many instances. See Miller 2004, 488 tab. 19.
[1080] On these two see Miller 2004, 506-511.
[1081] The introduction of the ritual indicates her as <^{munus}ŠU.GI ^{uru}*ḫurlaš*>. The title ŠU.GI refers to a category of female ritual experts of the Hittite tradition; see p. 31 and n. 76 for the adjectival interpretation of <^{uru}*ḫurlaš*> as "Hurrian" (a detailed discussion in Görke 2010, 273-277). The name Aštu is linguistically Hurrian; both her name and her purported origin, thus, suggest a southern provenance of this ritual expert. A comprehensive study of the "Old Women" and their texts is the recent Ph.D. dissertation of Marcuson (2016).
[1082] Edition and detailed study in Görke 2010 (on the text tradition in particular pp. 269-300).

One last text must be discussed in this section, the ritual attributed to the king of Kizzuwatna Pilliya (CTH 475).[1083] Of the various copies of this ritual there is a fragment of a MS tablet from Büyükkale Building A (copy C, KBo 35.199), along with other smaller early fragments. The best copies are late (LS) or very late, like tablet A, which preserves the beginning of the text and the colophon (KUB 7.20, LNS).

The ritual describes the re-installation of a statue of Teššob of Kummani, presumably in a temple. The ritual was quite important and lasted at least thirteen days if the second tablet is the last of the series, which seems likely. The statue is the focus of several rites throughout the whole performance, and it is possible that the occasion seems to be either the transfer of the god's statue to a new location, or the inauguration of a new simulacrum in a temple (Ferrandi 2011, 5).[1084] A relevant aspect of this ritual is the explicit attribution of the ritual to king Pilliya. The incipit shows that the ritual was performed by him in person:[1085]

> 1. ^{m}*Pal-li-ya-aš* LUGAL ^{uru}⌜*Ki*⌝*-iz-zu-wa-at-na* (B: ^{uru}*Kum-ma-an-ni*) *ku-wa-pí* 2. ^{d}U ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na* (B: ⟨uru⟩*Kum-ma-an-n*[*i*]) *ša-ra-a ti-it-ta-nu-ut* 3. *na-an ki-iš-ša-an ma-al-ta-*[*aš*] (A I 1-3)
>
> "When Palliya, king of Kizzuwatna, set up the Storm-god of Kizzuwatna/Kummani, thus worshipped? him (in fulfillment of a vow)."[1086]

It is unclear where the ritual takes place. In the first day the king fetches water for the purification from seven springs in Lawazantiya, and this will be used in the second day by the *purapši-* priests to wash the statue. Since it is said that the king and his escort "return" (A I 10-14) from this second location, it may

[1083] The most complete recent edition is Beckman 2013. An excellent edition exists also in the unpublished MA thesis of Ferrandi (2011), who also wrote an addendum in integration to Beckman's edition after his publication (Ferrandi 2015).
[1084] This is clear from the colophon: A iv 5'–8': [(DUB.2.KA)M *QA-T(I)* ^{m}*Pal-li-ya-aš*] *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* LUGAL KUR *Kum-m*[*a*]*-an-ni* [(^{d}IM) ^{uru}*Kum-ma-an-ni* EGIR]*-pa da-a-an ša-ra-*⌜*a*⌝ [*ti*(*-it*)*-ta-nu-ut na-a*]*n e-eš-ḫar-nu-ma-it* [*kēdani=šan ṬUP*]*PI* UD.13.KAM *zi-in-na-*[*a*]*n-te-eš* (...). "Second tablet, [complete(?)]. When [Palliya], King of Kummanni, [set] up again the Storm-god [of Kummanni], for a second time, [and] smeared him with blood. [On this tablet] thirteen days are completed." (After Beckman 2013, 139).
[1085] Tablet A: KUB 7.20, B: KBo 9.115(+). Text and translations (adapted) follow Beckman 2013 and Ferrandi 2011.
[1086] The translation of *mald(a)-* remains problematic, since there are no parallel uses of the verb in transitive with a deity as object (it usually means 1. "to recite/make recitations", or 2. "to make a vow"; discussion in CHD L-N 134 n. 3).

be that the ritual was performed in Kummani, seat of this hypostasis of the Storm-god, but this remains uncertain. The text was still copied in the Empire period[1087] and is also mentioned in two catalog entries (KUB 30.47 and KUB 30.63).

The significance of this text is twofold for this chapter. From one side it is a *descriptive* ritual of a single, specific operation, i.e. an actual event that happened and was recorded, while most rituals in Hittite context appear to be prescriptive texts. Of course the document may have served as an example for carrying out a similar ritual procedure, but it is remarkable that until the end of the scribal tradition at Ḫattuša it remained connected to the name of this early 15th c. king of Kizzuwatna, more than two centuries before some of the latest copies were written. As Beckman noted (2013, 113) this makes it one of the oldest compositions to be imported from Kizzuwatna. A written description of the rite must have existed already in the local archives, perhaps in Hurrian, and this was translated in Hittite with the exception of the rich Hurrian technical terminology.[1088]

The second element of interest is that the text informs on the activity of royal patronage in religious context, and the king's role in ritual practice at state level.[1089] While this role is not dissimilar in Hittite context, as the king was the highest religious authority of the state, one wonders whether evidence such as the specific content of this text – including the long lasting memory of king Pilliya – and the later appointment of political-religious figures in Kizzuwatna under the Hittite supervision, witness a conception of kingship and of political authority distinctive of Kizzuwatna for a strong religious component.

[1087] Perhaps in more than one version (Ferrandi 2015, 194).
[1088] The Hurrian terms are numerous in this ritual, and most can't be translated (see a list in Beckman 2013, 143-145).
[1089] See already the text about the donations of Talzu and Sunaššura (§5.6.2). Similarly Gilan 2019, 184.

7.6 The annexation of Kizzuwatna to the Hittite kingdom

While the details on the actual incorporation of Kizzuwatna in the Hittite kingdom are not explicit in the sources, one finds signals of the process in some documents. It began clearly during the reign of Tudhaliya I/II and was probably already concluded by the reign of his successor, Arnuwanda I.[1090]

The treaty with Sunaššura reveals the diplomatic unbalance between the two kingdoms, although masked under paritarian forms. It was shown, also, that the introduction of cultural elements from Kizzuwatna largely corresponds with the process of political annexation of Kizzuwatna: already at the end of Tudḫaliya's reign, the king was involved locally in cultic provisions, and evidence of the incipient interest in the regional traditions is the "adlocation" of the goddess of the Night from Kizzuwatna to Šamuḫa and the information on the importation of other cults provided in few other documents.

Some scholars have proposed that before the stipulation of the treaty the Hittite kingdom and Kizzuwatna had come to some military confrontation, in particular Carruba (2008, 26-28), on the basis of his interpretation of the annalistic fragment KUB 23.16. Tudḫaliya and the father Kantuzili had to fight the opponents of a faction which had been likely loyal to the old king Muwatalli. Muwa, the GAL $^{lú.meš}$*ME-ŠE-DI* ("chief of the body guard") of Muwatalli, allied himself with the Hurrians (LÚ$^{meš\ uru}$*Ḫurlaš*[1091]) to face the new Hittite ruler, and he captained the faction's troops together with a certain Kartasūra (^{m}*Kar-ta-šu-u-ra-aš(-)*).

This Kartasūra was presumably a Mittanian high ranking military leader, as strongly suggested by his Indo-Aryan name (/*Kṛta-sura*/), akin to the tradition of the Mittanian dynasty. Carruba (2008, 27) proposed, instead, that this could also be a mercenary leader from Kizzuwatna or even a "Hurrian" king of Kizzuwatna, but there is no information in the text about a possible involvement of Kizzuwatna in this

[1090] Beal 1986, 437-439; Marizza 2007, 3-4; Gilan 2019, 180. On this period see also Stavi 2015, 30-34.
[1091] On the usage of similar forms as adjectives see Kryszeń 2019, 9.

conflict. This individual is clearly affiliated to "the Hurrians", i.e. Mittani, and it seems also unlikely that, if Kartasūra was a king of Kizzuwatna, the text would not mention this not insignificant fact.[1092]

Later on, the fragmentary *Annals of Arnuwanda* (KUB 23.21; Carruba 2008, 65-78) suggest that during his coregency with Tudḫaliya, the Hittite kingdom had come *directly* in control of Kizzuwatna, and that this was actually incorporated. Chronologically, there is a good chance that Sunaššura was dead by this time, and we do not have information on his possible successor, if he had any.[1093] The beginning of the fragment refers to (re)construction activities in [Zu]nnaḫara and Adaniya –with a reference to the building of a bridge – and in other cities, among which [Šin]uwanda, Ḫiya-[?][1094] and Zullitta. It also deals with the transit of troops through these Cilician territories, although apparently not engaging in battle.[1095] Immediately after, the text deals with the association of Arnuwanda to the throne and the successful expedition of him and Tudḫaliya I against Arzawa. The two sections are probably disconnected, i.e. the troops did not march through Kizzuwatna in order to reach Arzawa (from south-east?).[1096]

The protocol issued by Arnuwanda I for the Išmerigans (CTH 133, see §2.7) provides another reference point for the annexation of Kizzuwatna.[1097] This document does not only indicate the ability of Arnuwanda to re-locate individuals within Kizzuwatna (transcription of the passage at p. 75-76), showing full prerogatives over its territory, but some other details show more clearly the new status:

[1092] The idea that Kizzuwatna was involved in the conflict is based on the premise that before Tudḫaliya and Sunaššura subscribed a new treaty, Kizzuwatna was allied with Mitanni. Carruba also made the point that that these fights may have taken place in Kizzuwatna (ibid. 28), and wondered whether this Kartasūra may be the person who signed the first version of the treaty with Tudḫaliya – if this was not Sunaššura "I".
[1093] The only possible candidate is Talzu (§5.6.2), but he more likely a predecessor.
[1094] On the possible reading of this toponym as Ḫiyawa see §2.2.1
[1095] $ERIN_2^{meš}$ ANŠE.KUR.RA^{meš} *an-da* [... *ar*]-*nu-nu-un* (Carruba 2008, 66) [*ti-it-ta*]-*nu-nu-un* (Beal 1992b, 301). For the Cilician setting see already Goetze 1940, 56 ff.
[1096] The first paragraph (the one dealing with the bridge and Cilicia; II 2´-11´) is written in first sg. person, while the second (II 12´-22´), in first pl., recounts the expedition of Arnuwanda with the father. The two sections are also spaced out by the passage informing on the co-regency of Arnuwanda.
[1097] Beal 1986, 437–39; Strauß 2006, 7; Gilan 2019, 180.

(KUB 23.68, obv. 21´-24´) "If someone speaks an evil word before you – whether he is a governor of a border province, [or he is a nobleman], or he is one of modest rank; or if *he is a Hittite, or he is a Kizzuwatnean*,[1098] [...] (...) No one shall conceal the one who speaks an (evil) word, but shall rather seize him and make him known." (transl. Beckman 1999, 15).

This provision demonstrates that Kizzuwatna, alongside the Hittite core, is considered a territory integral to the kingdom, as well as its people. In a previous fragmentary paragraph, concerning questions of alliance and loyalty, it is specified that "whenever an enemy [...] into Kizzuwatna, and you [hear] of it, you will (...)" (obv. 7´-8´, following Beckman 1999, 15), again showing clearly Kizzuwatna was, at this point in time, counted within the actual borders of the state.

The annexation is, otherwise, also proved by the appointment of attachés of the reign in Kizzuwatna, extracted from the Hittite royal family and bearing the title of SANGA "(high) priest" (discussed in §7.7). The first was a son of Arnuwanda and brother of Tudḫaliya III, Kantuzili, and later on we know of the appointment of Telipinu, the son of Suppiluliuma. Kantuzili had extensive administrative capacities and political power at regional level; at least by this time the local dynasty must have been interrupted, as the priest clearly embodied the highest territorial authority.

But the documents of the time of Arnuwanda I and Tudḫaliya III reveal that the situation was much more complex than a peaceful, gradual process of integration of the southern region. Texts of the time of Arnuwanda I, in particular prayers, suggest the difficulties faced by the kingdom after the extensive conquests of Tudḫaliya, revealing the inability to maintain a stable control over those vast territories. At about this time Mittani had a comeback after years of crisis: eventually, Sauštatar overcame Assyria and the kingdom was even able to find an alliance with Egypt. Diplomatic correspondence with Egypt began at least by the time of Artadama, who made overtures and parlays, and finally agreed to

[1098] 22´: (...) *na-aš-ma-aš* LÚ KUR ^{uru}*ḪA-AT-*[*TI n*]*a-aš-ma-aš* LÚ KUR ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-*[*ni*?] (Kempinski-Košak 1970, 194).

concede a daughter to the king of Egypt, in order to find a durable agreement on the frontier in Syria.[1099] The detailed chronology of these events and of the whole period is unclear, but this phase likely begun in the last years of the reign of Tudḫaliya or soon afterwards.[1100]

The situation was critical especially in the north, as signaled also by the series of treaties stipulated by Arnuwanda with the local Kaška tribes.[1101] The treaty with the people of Ura in rough Cilicia (CTH 144), previously mentioned, also falls in the same political context.[1102] These years of crisis correspond also with the possible transfer of the royal court at Šapinuwa-Ortaköy, where Tudḫaliya III built a new palace.[1103] The archaeologists excavating the site propose this had been temporarily the capital of the kingdom,[1104] but the information and publications available for this important site are very scarce; it seems thought that the city was apparently destroyed at some point in 14th c. (Mielke 2011, 1037).

Conflicts seem to have also involved Kizzuwatna. A significant document indicates in fact that military actions had to be undertaken locally. It is the fragment of a Hurrian text found in 2005 at Kayalıpınar-Šamuḫa (Kp 05/226= KpT 1.11[1105]). The document is relevant also because this type of text, dealing with military campaigns, was yet unknown within the Hurrian textual corpus. The text appears to describe a campaign in the regions of Kizzuwatna, Mukiš and Mittani (Wilhelm 2019, 197). Towards the beginning of the fragment, Kizzuwatna and Alalaḫ are mentioned (ll. 3´-4´) along with Zunnaḫara (7´) and further Mittani (l. 16´) and Winuwanda (l. 20´), another toponym mentioned in other sources along Kizzuwatnean

[1099] EA 29, 16 ff. Letter of Tušratta.
[1100] The correspondence of Artadama with Egypt dates in the last years of Amenhotep II (ca. 1425-1400) and then Thutmose IV (1400-1390); Bryce 2005, 144-145.
[1101] See the collection of texts in Devecchi 2015a, 111-124 with previous bibliography.
[1102] See also the complicated affair with protagonist Madduwatta in western Anatolia (CTH 147; a treatment in Bryce 2005, 129-138) and the documents about Mita of Paḫḫuwa (CTH 146; see Beckman 1999, 160-166) and Huḫazalma (Devecchi 2015a, 125-126).
[1103] On Šapinuwa-Ortaköy: Süel 2009; Mielke 2011 (with previous bibliography); de Martino 2016, 51; Corti 2017, 12-14.
[1104] E.g. Süel 2009; 2017.
[1105] Preliminarily discussed in Wilhelm 2006, 233-236, and ed. in Rieken 2009, 130-135 (with a translation of G. Wilhelm) and now Wilhelm 2019, 197-200. See also Rieken 2009, 130-133; Wilhelm 2012a, 231-233; Stavi 2015, 69-70.

centers.[1106] Unfortunately the text cannot be fully understood, but campaign seems to have involved Mukiš and Mittani, beyond Kizzuwatna. The leaders of the expedition, Eġli-tenu and Ilī-Šarruma, have Hurrian names. Provided the geographical context of the document, it is possible that these are Kizzuwatnean generals at the dependencies of the Hittite king. If that is the case, while an earlier dating is not impossible, with all likeliness the fragment can be attributed to the time of Tudḫaliya III.[1107]

One can't exclude, however, a different interpretation of the text as a whole. E. von Dassow (personal communication, May 2020) pointed out to me that a similar document, referring to a Kizzuwatnean context and written in Hurrian, may well be authored by someone located in Kizzuwatna: if the addressee is the Hittite king, and a superordinate of the narrator, then the text could be dictated to a scribe well-versed in Hurrian and only *delivered* in Šamuḫa. It does not have to be a letter necessarily, but it can be a report of some sort regarding these military activities, produced by someone in charge in the area of Kizzuwatna, and informing the king on these events. Waiting for the appearance of a more detailed discussion of the author in publication, it is worth keeping an open perspective on this interesting tablet.

The information contained in the document, at any rate, appear to synchronize quite well with the last years of Tudḫaliya III. Aided by the general Suppiluliuma, he had an important comeback after the time of the "concentric attack", when the Hittite kingdom lost Išuwa, Armatana, Tegarama and perhaps most of Kizzuwatna – after its annexation had been already finalized.[1108] This historical reconstruction depends chiefly on the reliability of the historical introduction of the decree of Ḫattusili III and Pudo-Ḫeba concerning the *ḫekur-* of the god Pirwa (CTH 88), which provides these information on the time of the

[1106] Wilhelm 2006, 233.
[1107] Wilhelm 2006, 236; 2019, 197; Rieken 2009, 133-135. In consideration of the mention of Mukiš, Stavi (2015, 69-70, and n. 168-169 with ref.) does not exclude an attribution to Tudḫaliya I, if this military extract can be read in connection with the reference in the treaty of Mursili II with Talmi-Šarruma (*supra* p. 356-357) to his campaign against Aleppo, in which Mukiš/Alalaḫ must be necessarily involved. However, the fact that the document is in Hurrian constitutes the main problem for an early dating of the fragment; note that several documents from Šamuḫa also belong to the time of Tudḫaliya III.
[1108] On the concentric attack and on Tudḫaliya's counteroffensive see a recent treatment in Stavi 2015, 28-66 and 66-77. See also "Years of crisis" in Bryce 2005, 145-148.

concentric attacks, when the enemy "[mad]e Kizzuwatna, the city, [the border]" (discussed already in §2.8 with original text).[1109] Since this document is much later Bryce (2005, 147), for example, is cautious: "very likely our text has telescoped the events it records". This may have recounted incursions and events diluted over a period of years as if it was a massive enemy 'encirclement'.

Some more hints on the process of annexation derive from the definition of Kizzuwatna as a *kuriwana-/kuirwana-* land, a term whose basic meaning is "independent, autonomous", in a document dating to the Early New Kingdom. This is a MS hymn for the Sun-goddess of Arinna (KUB 24.4+ = CTH 376.C, tablet E), a text that was incorporated almost verbatim into a later prayer of Mursili II for the Sun-goddess (CTH 376.A[1110]). The interesting thing about the usage of this terminology is that only the earliest 'version' of this composition includes Kizzuwatna – together with the "land of the Hurrian" and Arzawa – among the *kuriwana-* territories that, in that particular moment in time, were hostile to Ḫattuša.[1111]

E (KUB 24.4) 16′	*nu ku-ri-wa-na-aš* KUR.KUR-*TIM* ⌜*ku-e*⌝ *a-ra-aḫ-za-*an*-d*[*a*] //
E 17′	*Ḫur-la-aš* KUR-⌜*e*⌝ KUR ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni* KUR ^{uru}*Ar-za-u-wa*
A (KUB 24.3+) II 26′/33	KUR ^{uru}*Mi-it-ta-an-ni* KUR ^{uru}*Ar-za-u-wa*
E 18′-19′	*nu* [*ḫ*]*u-u-ma-an-za šu-ul-l*[*e-e-et*] 19′. [*n*]*u-za-an* DINGIR^{meš} *ša-ra-a Ú-UL* ⌜*i*⌝*-en-zi*

"The *kuriwana-* countries that are all around; the land of the Hurrian, the land of Kizzuwatna, the land of Arzawa (A: The land of Mittani, the land of Arzawa) have become arrogant, and do not respect/worship[?] the gods". (Ed. Rieken 2017*, *kola* n. 95-97).

In fact, it appears that in the later prayer (e.g. version A here) the scribes adjusted the list omitting Kizzuwatna.[1112] The expunction of Kizzuwatna from the model text, otherwise followed literally, suggests this could not be considered *kuriwana-* any longer, while it was so at the time in which the composition

[1109] Discussion in Stavi 2013, 133-135; 2015, 38-43.
[1110] See n. 7 and n. 8 in Singer 2002a with references. The main manuscript of the second text is man. A (KUB 24.3+).
[1111] KUB 24.4+ vs. 16-17′: *nu kuriwanaš* KUR.KUR-*TIM* ⌜*ku-e*⌝ *araḫzand*[*a*] 17. *ḫurlaš* KUR-*e* KUR ^{uru}*Kizzuwatni* KUR ^{uru}*Arzaūwa* 18. *nu ḫūmanza šullēt.*
[1112] See Singer 2002a, 52 and 68 n. 6.

was first created. Considering the type of text, this was composed between the time of Arnuwanda I and the early kingdom of Suppiluliuma I.[1113]

While in most instances the term basically means "independent, autonomous", in consideration of the peculiar status of formal autonomy (but factual subordination) of Kizzuwatna at this time, and the later usage in Mursili's prayer, the definition has been translated variably as "independent" (Del Monte 1986, 59), "protectorate" (Singer 2002a, 49), "juridically equal" (Pallavidini 2017), "automome Länder" (Rieken et al. 2017*). For this ambivalent usage, scholars understood *kuriwana-* as the definition of a status in between an independent kingdom and a vassal state, its position being superior to the latter and enjoying some privileges.[1114] This would correspond with some of the concessions granted to Kizzuwatna in the treaty with Sunaššura, such as exemption from tribute and ceremonial prerogatives. Likely for this reason, Beckman (2003, 763) even defined *kuriwana*-treaty a stipulation which "presents a façade allowing a previously powerful polity to retain a modicum of (self-)respect while surrendering most of its independence"; as a matter of fact, the only example can be considered the treaty with Sunaššura.

However, the question arises about how the term applies to Mittani before its conquest with Suppiluliuma I, i.e. how this could be consistently used to indicate both a kingdom (or an individual) with "intermediate" status, and one to all effects independent. This question has been addressed explicitly in Stavi 2015 (53-54): his solution suggests that, at some point in the years of crisis of the kingdom, Mittani actually reasserted its control over Kizzuwatna, and only later on Tudḫaliya III was able to reverse once again the annexation of the region.[1115] Only in this chronological interval in the ENK Kizzuwatna could

[1113] Singer (2002b, 307 n. 35) does not exclude that the original text could be composed before the annexation of Kizzuwatna, precisely in consideration of the information of the discussed passage.
[1114] Bryce 2005, 49; See also Beckman 2006b.
[1115] For Stavi the document must date to a time at the end of Arnuwanda I reign or the beginning of Tudḫaliya III's, "when the annexation was reversed, and Kizzuwatna broke off from Hatti (e.g. CTH 88)" (2015, 54). This reading is combined with his idea that there were indeed two separate treaties with Kizzuwatna in the ENK, one of Tudḫaliya I, the second of Tudḫaliya III.

be, again, *kuriwana-* i.e. independent, and this picture combines well with the situation of crisis that the Hittite kingdom faced after the reign of Tudḫaliya I.

It is true, with Stavi (2015, 53), that neither Mittani nor Arzawa were certainly "vassals" during the Early New Kingdom, but one must note that in his prayer Mursili II still recognizes them as *kuriwana-,* although at this point in time they were certainly provinces of the empire. For this contradiction I find the definition of *kuriwana-* by Puhvel (HED 4, 265) the most appropriate: the term identifies the status of a foreign entity (person, people or country) which is formally independent, but *in relation* to a "superior potentate or power" thus implicitly communicating a hierarchy among referents. In other words, the concept means to all effects "independent", but at the same time highlights the lower status of something being *kuriwana-* in respect to some external superior authority.[1116]

Independently from the precise moment in time in which the hymn to the Sun-god was composed, Kizzuwatna was still seen as an "independent" territory at least to some extent. The real 'oddity' is that the hymn considers Mittani – perhaps in a derogatory manner – inferior to Ḫatti and on the same level of 'minor' kingdoms like Arzawa and Kizzuwatna, for which the label evidently applies much better in concrete political terms. Later on, at the time of Mursili, it was probably still appropriate to define Arzawa and Mittani *kuriwana-,* in reason of their long history of independence, the later date of their conquest, and perhaps to some extent the degree of local autonomy they enjoyed from an administrative point of view. It was clearly no longer the case for Kizzuwatna, which since the ENK had become already integral part of the Hittite kingdom.

After the annexation – eventually re-confirmed after the comeback of Tudḫaliya III, if some territories went lost – the fact that Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna had truly become one unique kingdom may

[1116] See this passage of CTH 147 (obv. 89-90), quoted by Del Monte (1986, 59): *nu* ^{m}*Attaršiyaš* LÚ ^{uru}*Piggaya=ya A-NA* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* $^{lu.meš}$*kurēwaneš kuit* ^{m}*Madduwattaš=ma* IR$_3$ ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* (...) "since Attaršiya and the man of Piggaya (are) *independent* (people) before My Sun, while Madduwatta is a servant of My Sun (...)".

be witnessed in the inclusion of the deities of Kizzuwatna among the Hittite state gods in the diplomatic texts, at least from the time of Suppiluliuma I on:[1117] the earliest example is the fragment of the final part of a treaty stipulated with Mukiš (KBo 13.55; CTH 136).[1118]

7.7 The "priests" of Kizzuwatna

Kantuzili,[1119] son of Arnuwanda and brother of Tudḫaliya III, was appointed as high priest of Teššob and Ḫebat in the annexed province of Kizzuwatna. The evidence shows that the post basically equaled in rank that of an appanage king,[1120] and put to an end the local kingship in Kizzuwatna, but the employ of the sacerdotal title is a peculiar choice.[1121]

One notes that, later on, Hittite kings had no problems in assigning the title of kingship to members of the royal family who acted as deputies of the Hittite kingdom in peripheral regions, or in maintaining local subordinate kings in conquered territories as 'vassals'.[1122] The decision to make Kantuzili a SANGA suggests instead that the Hittites had interest, at least from a formal point of view, to not replace the royal house of Kizzuwatna with a new Hittite royal branch.[1123] Notably, this did not happen even later on. In this sense, Gilan's emphasis on the Hittite interest in the upkeep of the local cults as a critical component for securing control over the region (*supra* §7.5.1) corresponds quite well with the notion of having a SANGA as the highest local authorities.

[1117] Singer 1994, 93-94.
[1118] Ed. Devecchi 2007.
[1119] On the two "priests" of Kizzuwatna (Kantuzili and Telipinu) see the recent overviews of Bilgin 2018, 39-43 and 43-44. Previously Freu 2002.
[1120] Beal 1992b, 320-321, Marizza 2007, 17-18
[1121] See also Gilan 2014a, 201: "The title 'Priest' enabled the Hittite Prince to fulfil the religious duties of the King of Kizzuwtna, whose office was apparently dissolved later in the reign of Tudḫaliya I".
[1122] The first example is the creation of two second-tier kingdoms which Suppiluliuma assigned to his sons, Piyaššili/Šarri-kužoġ in Karkemiš and Telipinu in Aleppo; the latter was, contemporarily, also SANGA in Kizzuwatna, a title maintained even after the elevation to kingship in Aleppo (see *infra*).
[1123] Gilan 2014a, 201-203.

Eventually, this choice allowed to better keep under control possible independence claims, especially in consideration of the century-old royal tradition of Kizzuwatna. More importantly, it probably complied with the local religious tradition, in which the role of the sacred centers and the cultic activities was preponderant. One could speculate that there was also the attempt to adapt to the local ideology of power: in this sense, it is tempting to connect the priestly title with the notion that the rulers in Kizzuwatna had a prominent role in the religious context, as witnessed in Pilliya's ritual (§7.5.2).

Before discussing the case of Kantuzili, one must consider, however, that apart from the obvious religious implications, priesthood had political reflections also in the central Anatolian tradition.[1124] The investiture of members of the royal family to the highest religious offices of the state, in particular, had frequently important political meaning. For example, Tažmi-šarri/Tudḫaliya III may have been appointed priest at Ḫattuša by Arnuwanda and Ažmo-Nikkal, according to Houwink ten Cate's (1995, 59-60) interpretation of a passage of KBo 9.137+ (III 18´ff.).[1125] For de Martino (2010, 93) the conferral of this office corresponded with the designation of the prince as throne heir. In the late Empire, other significant examples are those of Ḫattusili III, who was conferred by the brother Muwatalli II the priesthood of the Storm-god at Nerik (together with the kingship in Ḫakmiš), and that of Tudḫaliya IV, who followed the father's 'cursus honorum'.

There is actually very little evidence of the appointment of Kantuzili, indeed only the colophon of a fragmentary tablet, perhaps contemporary, which belongs to a ritual or festival text (KUB 17.22).[1126]

1´. [DUB x.KAM ... *QA*]-*TI* INIM ^{m}*Kán-tu-zi-li* 2´. [GIM-*an* ... ... *Š*]*A* ^{d}U ^{d}*Ḫé-pat* 3´. [*I-NA* ^{uru}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-a*]*t-ni* ^{lú}SANGA *i-en-zi* (...) (Goetze 1940, 12 n. 52 and Beal 1986, 436 n. 59).

"[Tablet n. *x* (not?) fin]ished. Word of Kantuzili; [when] they make [...] priest [o]f Teššob and Ḫebat [in Kizzuwa]tna (they do the priest-ship ritual as follows)".

[1124] On the political significance of priesthood in Hittite Anatolia see Klinger 2002a, Imparati 2003.
[1125] Followed by de Martino 2010, 93. Ed. in ChS I/1, 209 (n. [39]).
[1126] Goetze 1940, 12 n. 52; discussed in Beal 1986, 436 n. 59, Bilgin 2018, 40.

It was Goetze (1940, 12) who suggested that this passage shows Kantuzili held the office of SANGA. The text is not self-evident, and at first impression it seems even unlikely that the "word" of Kantuzili is employed for his own elevation to priesthood. Despite Beal also showed skepticism (1986, 436 n. 59), he conceded that the ritual could somehow record the very words that Kantuzili recited at his own enthronization; this remains the best interpretation since a variety of other sources strongly suggest the two individuals must be one and the same. In particular, the tablet catalog KUB 30.56 refers to Kantuzili "[chief] priest, prince" as author of rituals,[1127] and the MS Hurrian invocation for Teššob and Ḫebat KUB 27.42 is "word of Kantuzili, the Priest, Prince" (see §7.5.1). Otherwise, the problem remains that many documents refer to either Kantuzili, prince and son of Arnuwanda, or as "the priest" (SANGA) without naming him, which creates some problems in establishing the identity of the "priest" and/or to which of the several Kantuzili the text can be attributed.

Kantuzili as priest in Kizzuwatna was the highest political authority in the region, and his administrative duties are shown in the letter HKM 74 (*fig. 89*), already discussed in the chapter on geography (§2.7, p. 69). More evidence of his administrative activities come from Šapinuwa-Ortaköy; these texts (largely unpublished) include correspondence between the SANGA and the Hittite king, presumably his brother Tudḫaliya III.[1128] These documents suggest a frequency of contacts between the administrator of Kizzuwatna and the court, and his political role at this time. The fact that one of these letters was addressed *by* the king to the priest and, jointly, to Sup[piluliuma][1129] indicates that his office lasted quite long.

[1127] Bilgin 2018, 40; KUB 30.56 III 7: INIM ^{m}*Kán-tu-uz-zi-l*[*i* GAL$^{lú.me}$]^{š} SANGA DUMU.LUGAL (...); ed. Dardano 2006, 212-221.
[1128] E.g. Or.90/1452 was sent by "the priest" to the king and queen (presumably Tudḫaliya III and consort); that this is Kantuzili is quite clear from the title section of Or.90/1181, showing the typical styling <^{lú}SANGA DUMU.LUGAL> and frequent references to Kizzuwatna. For a few remarks on these letters see Süel 2017, 635 ff.
[1129] On this letter see Bilgin 2018, 42, with ref.

Of course the priest was involved in ceremonies, a notable one being KUB 45.47+ (CTH 494.A),[1130] a ritual performed by the Hittite queen and her sons for the goddess Nikkal (Ningal),[1131] and he composed several other ritual texts, in Hittite and Hurrian.[1132]

The most notable text composed by the prince is, however, the prayer to the Sun-god (KUB 30.10; CTH 373[1133]). There are two other versions of this text, one attributed to a king and one to a "mortal" (CTH 374 and 372[1134]). It seems that this and other prayers which Kantuzili composed had been employed by Hittite kings, as in the case of the "prayer of a king", modelled on his own, or that of the Hurrian prayer to Teššob and Ḫebat (ChS I/1 n. 11).

These documents witness another significant innovation of the Early New Kingdom, the introduction in Anatolia of the genre of personal prayer, as already anticipated (§7.5.1). Singer (2002b) suggested that Kantuzili himself presumably had a role in the introduction of this type of composition in Hittite context, since his prayer was supposed to be the earliest composition of this kind. It is now thought more likely that he was son of Arnuwanda, rather than his brother (see *supra* §7.4.3), thus the fact that Arnuwanda and Ažmo-Nikkal authored a prayer may challenge this view. The proposal of Singer remains plausible, since the prayer of the royal couple lists other members of the family among whom "the priest son" (DUMU.NITA SANGA; KBo 51.16+ II 6′[1135]) – most definitly Kantuzili –, Tutḫaliya as *tuḫ(u)kanti* and even the first wife of him Šadando-Ḫeba. Evidently the sons of Arnuwanda and Ažmo-Nikkal were adults when the prayer was composed, leaving the question open on the agency of Kantuzili in the development of the genre.

[1130] Ed. Bawanypeck-Görke 2016*.
[1131] The queen can be safely identified with Ažmo-Nikkal (Singer 2002b, 310; Marizza 2007, 29-30) rather than Nikkal-madi (e.g. Imparati 1979, 299).
[1132] See Singer 2002b, 310 for references.
[1133] Ed. Schwemer 2015; Rieken 2017d*.
[1134] Texts n. [4b] and [4c] in Singer 2002b for ref.; ed. in Schwemer 2015.
[1135] See the whole passage in Bilgin 2018, 41, reconstructed from KBo 53.10 obv. II 22'–25' and KBo 51.16+ II 4′-6′.

While the identification of the Kantuzili mentioned several times in the Annals of Suppiluliuma with "the priest" has been recently put into question,[1136] and consequently also the stature of his political persona in the Early New Kingdom, this individual certainly maintained consistent connections with the royal family at Ḫattuša and had been an important personality in the kingdom.

This is suggested by the fact that his texts were copied throughout the Empire period and, it is worth mentioning, by new information coming from recently published cultic inventories from Šamuḫa-Kayalıpınar.[1137] Cammarosano (2019a, 103-104) edited this corpus of texts and discussed the "Festival of the vow[1138] of Kantuzili", mentioned in a passage of the tablet KpT 1.39 (I 24-25).[1139] The dating of this text, as for the whole group of inventory tablets, can be assigned to the reigns of Ḫattusili III or Tudḫaliya IV,[1140] but the reference must be to the much earlier priest of Kizzuwatna. What is this festival about, and what is this "vow" – from which the celebration takes its name – is obscure; the editor tentatively suggests this vow may be in some way connected with his prayer to the Sun-god (ibid. 103). Whatever the festival refers to, the text shows that the memory of Kantuzili still had echo in Hittite context in the late Empire period, and his "vow" for some reasons deserved to be celebrated with religious ceremonies. Kantuzili the priest must be also the same who had owned/founded a palace in Karaḫna, in the vicinities of Šamuḫa, as we know from another cult inventory from Ḫattuša (É.GAL ^{m}*Kán-tu-zi*-DINGIR-*LIM;* KUB 38.12 IV 8′).[1141]

[1136] See Bilgin 2018; this may be indeed the earlier Kantuzili, father of Tudḫaliya I.
[1137] Cammarosano 2019a.
[1138] Akk. *ikribu* – which equals in Anatolia Hitt. *malteššar* (CHD L-N, 136) – stands in Mesopotamia for "blessing, votive offering, prayer".
[1139] (I 24-25) EZEN$_4$ *IK-RI-BI* ^{m}*Kán-*ʳ*tu-zi*ˀ*-l*[*i* 1-*aš* (?) *ša*]*r-ra-aš i-ia-an-za* ʳ2ˀ*-an šar-ra-aš-ma* ʳ*kar*ˀ*-ša-an-za* "Festival of the Vow of Kantuzili: [one$^{?}$] part has been celebrated, but the ʳsecondˀ part was omitted"; (ed. Cammarosano 2019a, 66-80).
[1140] For the text in question, in consideration of a specific reference to the "father of My Sun", (I 26-27) a dating to Tudḫaliya IV seems preferable (Cammarosano 2019a, 48).
[1141] Ed. Cammarosano 2018, 416-432 (text n. [16]).

Several seals exist, principally from Ḫattuša and Šamuḫa, bearing the name Kantuzili, but the attribution to the various homonymous individuals is quite problematic. Since the topic should be discussed extensively, it cannot be dealt with here.[1142]

While the Empire period falls out of the scope of the present study, it is worth mentioning that a son of Suppiluliuma, Telipinu, was also appointed priest of Kizzuwatna by his father.[1143] Kantuzili could be still active when Suppiluliuma had become king – ca. 1350 or somewhat earlier, – as the aforementioned letter from Ortaköy would prove (note n. 1129). However, he could hardly survive very long through the reign of Suppiluliuma, and the appointment of Telipinu may have happened early in the latter's reign.[1144] Therefore, it remains hard to establish whether another SANGA had existed between the two, but whether the position had been vacant or not, the appointment of Telipinu is at any rate quite significant, as it shows the continuity of this institute in the Empire period.[1145]

The decree of Suppiluliuma for the appointment of Telipinu (CTH 44) is particularly interesting as it is conceived in all respects as a vassal treaty (Hitt. *išḫiul*).[1146] Also considering the later involvement of Telipinu as an army commander on his father's military campaigns, it seems that the duties were also the

[1142] A brief overview of the problem in Marizza 2007, 22-24, but various seals have been found also afterwards. Some may be attributed to the priest, but there are many uncertainties. For example, one seal found in Šamuḫa (Kp 06/13) is remarkable, bearing also a cuneiform inscription (*fig. 69*). According to Müller-Karpe (2009, 112) this Kantuzili is the brother of Tudḫaliya III – thus the priest – but the title here is MAGNUS HASTARIUS, which is equivalent to the cuneiform GAL *MEŠEDI* "commander of the royal bodyguard" (discussed in Müller-Karpe 2009, 112-113). This question involves the identity of the Kantuzili MAGNUS HASTARIUS found on a joint seal with a Tudḫaliya "MAGNUS LITUUS", another seal with cuneiform inscription (Bo78/56, ed. Dinçol 2001). These two may be the two princes sons of Arnuwanda, necessarily before they became *tuḫkanti* and SANGA, but this interpretation also comes with some problems (Marizza 2007, 23).

[1143] On Telipinu (the priest) see Bryce 1992, Taggar-Cohen 2006, 375–77; Bilgin 2018, 43-44. A synthetic list of primary sources in Bryce 1992, 7.

[1144] Telipinu collaborated with the father in the war against Mittani, providing his own troops. Additionally, we know that the decree was issued by Suppiluliuma, Ḫenti and the *tukḫanti-* Arnuwanda jointly. The Babylonian second wife of Suppiluliuma (Tawananna) does not appear, instead, in the document. After all, Ḫenti was certainly the mother of both Arnuwanda and Telipinu. See Bilgin 2018, 43 and previously de Martino 2013, 69 and 2016, 71-75.

[1145] Marizza 2007, 17.

[1146] Ed. Goetze 1940, 12-16.

same as those of other appanage 'kings'.[1147] The appointment perhaps aimed at additionally securing the direct control of Kizzuwatna through the son's direct presence locally, in view of the preparation to confront Mittani.[1148]

While one could presume that the decision, in the Early New Kingdom, to assign direct control of Kizzuwatna to the sole authority of the priest in a way anticipates the policy of creating appanage kingdom under Suppiluliuma, Bilgin (2018, 43) suspects that the prerogatives of Telipinu were broader than those of the predecessor, mostly limited to the cultic domain. In this respect an important difference lays in the apparently permanent character of the investiture of Telipinu as SANGA in Kizzuwatna; the title would have passed on to his heirs, creating a local line.[1149] The subsequent installation of Telipinu as king in Aleppo is another hint of this intention.[1150] Still, Gilan (2014a, 202) points out that the appointment of Telipinu in Aleppo may have had primarily religious motivations likewise, considering the compatibility of his priestly authority in Kizzuwatna with the necessity to manage the local important traditions of cult.[1151] It may be significant in this respect that all contemporary sources identified him simply as SANGA, which suggests the preponderance of this role.

Apart from the information on his military activity, there is indication that Telipinu held quite vast administrative prerogatives in Syria.[1152] Indeed, this is necessarily connected with the expanded dimension of the Empire after the defeat of Mittani, and the fact that local administrations presumably required a higher level of agency: the creation of the two appanage kingdoms at Karkemiš and

[1147] On the role of Telipinu in the Syrian campaigns of Suppiluliuma see Bryce 1992, 10-11.
[1148] Bryce 1992, 9; Gilan 2019, 182.
[1149] Bryce 1992, 8, on the basis of KUB 19.25 (8-9) and the integration of the passage proposed by Goetze 1940, 12-16: "for Telipinu, the priest (and) in an analogous manner [for his son (and) his grandson] – [we have decreed] regulations as follows (...)".
[1150] Although Imparati (2003, 237 n. 32) was skeptical, with Bryce (1992, 17-18) and Beal (1992b, 322 n. 1230) the explicit information from the time of Ḫattusili III on the appointment of Telipinu as king in Aleppo seem reliable (CTH 83; KUB 19.9 I 17 ff.), CTH 88 (KBo 6.28+ obv. 19 ff.; see Beal ibid. for transcription of these passages).
[1151] See also Bryce 1992; Klengel 1992, 128; d'Alfonso 2011, 171; Hawkins 2011b, 36.
[1152] A passage of an arbitration on border conflicts issued by Mursili II (CTH 69; KBo 3.3 III 27-29) indicates he had judicial power in the region. On this topic also d'Alfonso 2007.

Aleppo/Kizzuwatna reflects a new strategy for territorial control. At the same time, the defeat of Mittani and the stabilization of the situation in Syria determined also a loss of strategic relevance of Kizzuwatna. The new macro-regional geo-political layout presumably determined that Kizzuwatna was brought under the direct control of the central administration of Ḫattuša, and this could be now ruled by local governors (previously §2.2, §2.8).[1153] New entities raised in importance, enjoying the status of appanage kingdoms in the imperial era (after Karkemiš and Aleppo, Ḫakmiš and Tarḫuntašša), and Kizzuwatna almost vanished from the historical picture, although maintaining, until the fall of the Hittite empire, its significance as a seat of revered cults and religious traditions.

7.8. Archaeology of the (early) Empire in Cilicia

The previous chapters discussed the increasing influence of northern pottery traditions (NCA-style) in the Cilician archaeological record at the beginning of the LBA. In the second part of the LBA (LB II, from ca. 1400 BCE on) a more substantial change took place.

In Ḫattuša and other major sites of Hittite central Anatolia, 14th c. pottery differs from the previous period for the fact that most of the fine ware types disappears, the repertoire of shapes is less elaborate and production tends to what can be understood as an industrial production.[1154] This pottery belongs to the "late" development phase of Hittite pottery (following Schoop 2011a, 265) and in literature the term *drab ware* has been employed to describe this lower quality production. This development process begun already from the early 15th c., and this phase can be seen as a transitional period (Schoop 2009, 152-153), showing a clear trend of standardization of the shapes' repertoire and the disappearance of the most elaborate forms. But a clear watershed falls around 1400, within the Early New Kindom period: these

[1153] Similarly Bilgin 2018, 44.
[1154] For overviews see Schoop 2009, 2011a; also Glatz 2009,

observations are significant for the interpretation of the Cilician record as well, as these pottery types became widespread at most sites in the final part of the LBA.

Figs. 5-6 and *28* summarize the consistent presence of typical pottery types and forms. While the NCA-style pottery was not uniform throughout Cilicia, with variations from site to site (Jean 2010, 412), and the repertoire remained more limited than in Ḫattuša, there are very clear markers at all sites: Tarsus lv. IX, Mersin VI-V, Kinet 14-13, Sirkeli ZVIII. Plates with stepped rim profile are an invention of the period (Schoop 2006, 231); another typical item are the miniature bowls and juglets, which presumably served ritual purpose, a small number of which were found at Tarsus (Glatz 2009, 131). At this time distinctive imports make their appearance too (although in very limited quantity), notably the RLW-m ware.[1155] This pottery was diffused earlier in central Anatolia and in the Göksu valley (15th c.), but peaks elsewhere in 14th and 13th c. Bulk import of this ware is, indeed, a trait of this period and also corresponds with the complete disappearance of fine NCA-types in central Anatolia (Schoop 2011a, 262). For Cilicia this is quite significant as this was one of the few regions where this particular pottery – attested in the special shapes of the libation arm and the spindle bottle – were entirely absent despite the geographical facility with which Cilicia could import it, being produced most likely in a single source in northern Cyprus or alternatively in the area of the Göksu outlet. It means that this pottery had eventually arrived in the region only through Hittite mediation.

The nature of this new Anatolian connection differs remarkably from the previous diffusion of central Anatolian influx in pottery styles (§4.5.1; §5.8): the diffusion of low-quality, mass-produced pottery types signals a standardized production and/or state control over goods. The distribution approximately coincides with the extent of the Hittite Empire, a fact which "must reflect a deliberate economic system functioning on a large scale" (Gates 2001, 137). The situation indicates territorial hegemony, obvious

[1155] On the RLW-m see Knappet et al. 2005, Mielke 2007, Jean 2010, 239-242, Schoop 2011a, Kozal 2003, 2012, Knapp 2013, 422. The provenience of RLW-m is still not entirely certain, but the most likely source is northern Cyprus; a plausible alternative remains southern Anatolia.

political dominion, and at least partial integration in the Hittite administrative system, as presented in detail by C. Glatz (2009). Glatz examined various patterns of the Hittite imperial relationships in Anatolia and northern Syria observing distribution and characteristics of four material cultural categories (pottery traditions, diachronic settlement developments, administrative technology and landscape monuments). In the 14th and 13th c. one sees a visible, effective integration – to varying degrees – of the regions under Hittite political control, and various modes of reflection in the material culture at regional level.

While these phenomena fall mostly within the Hittite Empire period (ca. 1350-1200), here the main interest is to assess the chronology of these developments and whether the begin of the diffusion of the NCA-style late types happened somewhat earlier in Cilicia than the age after Suppiluliuma I, the Empire period in classical sense. Indeed, Schoop (2009, 155) observed that "the pottery evidence points towards the assumption that in an economical sense the Empire Period begins already at this early date" (i.e. half a century before the accession of Suppiluliuma I).

E. Jean (2010, 485 and ns. *fig. 28*) also proposes a tentative chronology in which the appearance of the LB II *Drab ware* begins already around the latest decades of 15th c., on the basis of the recent pottery sequences at Ḫattuša. The period would correspond chronologically with the annexation of in the ENK. At the key sites, the widespread diffusion of the central Anatolian drab ware and of other typical ceramics of the period, with the disappearance of the fine wares characterized by red polished surface treatments, corresponds to Mersin-Yumuktepe levels VI-V, Tarsus IX (and perhaps already VII-VIII), Kinet C.1 (period 14), and Viransehir "Hittite imperial" level. While one must not disregard elements of continuity, the double line in the scheme corresponds to the most visible change within the longer LBA, and marks indeed the transition from LB I to LB II (Jean 2010, 397).

The Hittite "political" presence, visible through the inclusion of the region in the economic and administrative system can be thus associated with the territorial integration of Kizzuwatna in the Empire, which may change some of the previous views on the period. For example, at Mersin the appearance of

typical Hittite Empire period forms in lv. VI and V, along with other typical characteristics of the period's repertoire – such as the Cypriot imports – were assigned chiefly to the late 14th c., as markers of the final LBA. Jean (2006, 328) suggests that these changes might come about already in the ENK, in the historical context of the new diplomatic and political developments determined by the vicinity of Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna.

For an absolute chronology, some data may help correlating the stratigraphies to the historical context. It appears that at Viranşehir-Soli Höyük the destruction phase of the so called "middle Hittite" level can be dated to the end of 15th c., on the basis of 14C dates from burnt seeds of *Hordeum vulgare* in jars of the casemate occupation, and also confirmed by the dating of ceramic (Jean 2010, 403). A destruction level can be dated, instead, to mid-14th c. at Mersin-Yumuktepe, which ends the level "IX", which begun around the end of 16th c.[1156]

It is tempting to see these episodes in connection with the historical developments, but the ranges for these dates are too broad, and the sampling too small to provide a good statistical basis. The time range would overlap with a period spanning between the annexation of Kizzuwatna towards the end of the reign of Tudḫaliya I, and the years of crisis of Arnuwanda and Tudḫaliya III, for which we also have textual information of military activities in the region.

As concerns the architectures, the major building of the LBA period which was published to some extent is the "Hittite temple" at Tarsus (*fig. 31*).[1157] Exposed for ca. 30 by 40 m., it has large walls of more than 1 m in width. Its foundations were dug into previous stratigraphy for 2 m below the level of flooring, which is the main reason for the poor preservation of the previous levels. While the monumental character of the building is evident, there is no actual indication this was a temple, apart from similarities in plan with Hittite temple structures. No architectural element, nor finds, help defining the building's

[1156] Jean 2006, 327; 2010, 403;
[1157] Goldman 1956, 49-50; re-discussed recently in Jean 2010, 159-162.

function. Outside the temple, a massive wall of 3 m width, with ciclopic stone architecture, was also partially uncovered; this was tentatively interpreted as a fortification structure, but it can be a terrace wall eventually connected with the building's construction. Similarities with boulder works at Ḫattuša have been pointed out (Jean 2010, 161).

As for the dating of the building, it can be only said that it ranges between the 16th and the 13th c., and one can only employ the plan characteristics to narrow down this window. A dating in the period of interest of this chapter, rather than to the later Empire period, is possible, in particular considering that recent studies tend to push back both the chronology of the pottery of the LB I-II and of the temple architectures at Ḫattuša. The discourse is similar to that made for the monumental building at Sirkeli, for which, however, an even earlier dating in the late 16th or 15th c. can't be excluded either. In this case, instead, a low dating in the Empire period can be decisively excluded thanks to the available 14C dates and to stratigraphic considerations (see previously §5.8).

7.9 Conclusions

As shown in this chapter, the annexation of Kizzuwatna was a process of which we are only partially informed, and the modalities and the political details are still largely unclear. The sources are scarce, and somewhat contradictory, indicating that the political and territorial annexation was more complex than a smooth process of progressive integration of the region in the Hittite kingdom.

A timeline with the main information and events, according to rulers, seems useful for a summary (<*> indicates later sources):

Tudḫaliya I	Annals of Tudḫaliya I	KUB 23.16	Tudḫaliya and his father Kantuzili fought against Muwa and Kartasūra. According to Carruba (2008) Kizzuwatna was involved, and/or the conflict happened in its territory (but this is uncertain). > No explicit information on Kizzuwatna.
	Treaty with Sunaššura	CTH 41	Parity treaty showing decreased prestige of Kizzuwatna, and subordination *de facto* to the Hittites. It is the last known treaty of the series. > Kizzuwatna is formally independent and still has a local king, but it appears to be a subordinated kingdom.
	*Adlocation of the DINGIR.GE$_6$ (cult "reform" text of Mursili II)	CTH 482	Information on the transfer of the goddess of the Night from Kizzuwatna to Šamuḫa at the time of Tudḫaliya I. > Presumably, Kizzuwatna is under Hittite control.
(Tudḫaliya I and) Arnuwanda I	Joint Annals of Arnuwanda and Tudḫaliya I	KUB 23.21	Transit of armies through Cilicia, local (re-)construction activities during the co-regency of Tudḫaliya and Arnuwanda > Indicates direct control of Kizzuwatna and full incorporation
	Protocol/oath for the men of Išmirika	KUB 23.68	Re-location of individuals from and to Kizzuwatna; some provisions indicate very clearly that its territory was considered integral part of the Hittite kingdom. > Indicates direct control of Kizzuwatna and full incorporation
Kantuzili	"Appointment" of Kantuzili as SANGA (colophon of ritual fragment)	KUB 17.22	Information on the appointment of Kantuzili as High Priest of Tešob and Ḫebat in Kizzuwatna (probably MS tablet). Various sources indicate the duties of the SANGA corresponds to those of a local governor. > Indicates conclusion of local kingship, full incorporation in Hittite kingdom.
	Letter of Kantuzili to Kaššu	HKM 74	Dispute with Kaššu concerning the restitution of some dependents of the Priest. > Indicates administrative duties and political power of the SANGA. > Kizzuwatna is said *ḫantezziš auriš* ("primary/vanguard watch(post)", a frontier district with special status.

Tudḫaliya III	*ḫekur*-Pirwa decree of Ḫattusili III	KBo 6.28	Information concerning the 'concentric invasions' at the time of Arnuwanda and Tudḫaliya III. Devastations in a broader area: Hittite loss of Išuwa, Armatana, Ḫattuša. "(the enemy) [mad]e Kizzuwatna – the city (i.e. Kummani) – [the border], and the city of [Ḫat]tuša was burned down" (obv. 14-15). > Indicates the Hittites lost territories in the province of Kizzuwatna, and that the enemy even reached into its core in Cilicia (if Kummani is "the city"). At the same time, it appears that Kizzuwatna was not lost entirely even at this time (Beal 1986, 441).
	Hurrian "historical" text from Šamuḫa	Kp 05/226	Text concerning campaigns at the time of Tudḫaliya (likely III) at the command of Eḫli-Tenu and Ilī-Šarruma, targeting Kizzuwatna, along with Mukiš and Mittani. > Indicates military activities were necessary in the region, including Kizzuwatna, after the *concentric invasions.*
	Hymn for the sun-goddess of Arinna	KUB 24.4+	Information on the status of Kizzuwatna as *kuriwana* country, along with Arzawa and Mittani. > The definition *kuriwana* suggests formal independence; chronology of the text uncertain. Stavi (2015): temporary independence within the *concentric invasion* events.
Suppiluliuma I	Appointment of Telipinu as SANGA of Kizzuwatna	CTH 44	> Kizzuwatna had remained under Hittite control throughout – under the rule of the first Priest, Kantuzili – or was re-conquered during the comeback of Tudḫaliya III and the general Suppiluliuma.
	Suppiluliuma's *Res Gestae*	KBo 5.6 (II 10[1158])	The SANGA (Telipinu) provides his own troops for Suppiluliuma's war in Syria. > Kizzuwatna is a province of the Empire.

Table 14. Documentary timeline of the incorporation of Kizzuwatna in the Hittite kingdom.

[1158] Ed. Del Monte 2008, 86 ff.

In the turn of three generations, between Tudḫaliya I and Tudḫaliya III, the history of Kizzuwatna finally becomes part of that of the Hittite kingdom. The archaeological evidence indicates that this incorporation is visible also material-culturally, if it is correct that the innovations in the Cilician assemblages, with standardized pottery productions and the introduction of materials typical of the Empire period, pre-date the reign of Suppiliuliuma.

In this precarious historical background, substantial developments in the cultural and religious domain in Hittite context show unmistakably the significant role of Kizzuwatna. The chapter pointed out elements of interest in the period's evidence, in particular trying to outline a chronology for the introduction of the Kizzuwatnean cults and the religious literature in central Anatolia and to provide a summary of the current state of research on these subjects. It also tried to contextualize these developments within the hypothesis that the union of Tudḫaliya I and Nikkal-madi was an inter-dynastic marriage between the Hittite kingdom and Kizzuwatna, perhaps in connection with the roughly contemporary diplomatic stipulation between him and Sunaššura. While some proposed a broader dynastic union had happened,[1159] this remains difficult to verify in consideration of the absence of explicit evidence in this respect.

Still, the impact caused by the political and diplomatic convergence of Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna – with critical reflections in the domains of language, culture, religion – is a unique phenomenon that requires more than a generic interest of the Ḫattuša elites into the exotic cults of this 'foreign' land. What are the reasons for this Hittite fascination remain very obscure. The administrative needs to regulate and carry out the cults in Kizzuwatna when the region came under Hittite control was presumably a motor of these developments.[1160] The attention to the local cult administration (even if the same applies also to the central Anatolian Hittite tradition[1161]) appears to some extent territorially specific: it suggests these cults

[1159] Campbell 2016.
[1160] Gilan 2019.
[1161] van den Hout 2005.

and the religious institutions were particularly influential or had a role of political leadership in the territory.

However, elements such as the mass importation of ritual literature and of the cult of local deities *in* central Anatolia between the end of the 15th and the first half of 14th c., or the usage of Hurrian in the dynastic onomastic and to some extent as spoken language, are more difficult to reconcile with this administrative urgency in regional context.

The close encounter of the Hittite and Kizzuwatnean élites through high-level diplomatic connections, and the possible presence at the court of Ḫattuša of a number of high-ranking individuals coming from Kizzuwatna would have informed the broader court environment of these tradition, and the influence of these persons contributed to the propagation of the Kizzuwatnean cultural elements among the Ḫattušan elites. This scenario seems to provide a good explanation for these phenomena; historically, it is open to various declensions, but seems particularly compatible with the hypothesis that these Kizzuwatnean connections happened first through the arrival of Nikkal-madi and its entourage at Ḫattuša; the possible role of the queen on the education of the princes and princesses – as previously pointed out – is also an element to be considered.

Afterwards, Kizzuwatna became an essential component of the 'New' Hittite kingdom – as scholars have appropriately called it – although maintaining its regional territorial identity, displayed through prestige enjoyed by the local religious traditions until the end of the Hittite Empire.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

8.1 Research results

This section briefly highlights the principal results and findings of the research by chapter, before a synthetic outline of a history of Kizzuwatna.

Chapter 2 provided an updated overview on the current knowledge on the historical geography of Kizzuwatna, and defined the geographical context for the present research. The main discussion concentrated on some critical problems and open questions. One regards the extension of Kizzuwatna during the time of its independence (15th c.). It appears its territory could extend further to the north-east beyond the plain of Cilicia but, if so, hardly beyond the plain around modern Tufanbeylı.[1162] However, the sources are not explicit on the detailed extension of the kingdom, and some problematic pieces of evidence exist.[1163] The problem is also connected with the location of two important centers of Kizzuwatna, Kummani and Lawazantiya. The 're-location' of these two sacred centers from a more north-eastern area into Cilicia, as suggested by several scholars in the last two decades,[1164] is largely coherent with most available sources. The hypothesis of a Cilician setting for these toponyms and that Kizzuwatna largely corresponded with Cilicia demands, however, that two different centers named Lawazantiya existed. One was located in the Hittite 'Upper Land', in the plateau, and this had nothing to do with Kizzuwatna.[1165]

The present study supports this view, additionally suggesting that, on the basis of the study of the toponym textual distribution, the sources show a rather consistent correlation of two different spellings correlated with two distinct locations. It means that the toponyms were not identical, but very similar to

[1162] Similarly Hawkins-Weeden 2017.
[1163] In particular, CTH 133 and its obscure reference to Waššukkanni, capital of Mittani, in connection with Kizzuwatna.
[1164] After Trémouille 2001.
[1165] This proposal was first made in Forlanini 2004a.

one another. There is also a significant diachronical distribution: the earliest sources virtually always refer to a northern *La/uḫuzatiya*, located in the Anatolian plateau and attested also in the kanišite commercial documents, while Empire period texts refer virtually always to *Lawazantiya*, to be located in Cilicia and a sacred center in Kizzuwatna.

Chapter 3 is an overview of different kinds of evidence on the Middle Bronze Age in Cilicia. Ideally, it shows possible ways of discussion of this poorly known period in the region from a broader historical point of view. The archaeological evidence from the regional key sites was evaluated in the backlight of material traces of long-distance trade networks in the eastern Mediterranean EBA and MBA. For the MBA, there is also important textual evidence on long-distance trade from the Old Assyrian *kārum* at Kaniš-Kültepe: while there is no textual evidence from Cilicia, the Cappadocian texts suggest at least that Cilicia belonged to a different trade network, and this situation well corresponds with the view that Cilicia belonged to a marine-bound network involving the Levant and the Euphratic northern-Syria.[1166] This evidence also suggests relative isolation of the region.

In this context, the hypothesis was put forward that processes involving movements of people during this age can account for the later linguistic situation of the LBA. This is mostly proposed following Yakubovich' reconstruction of the socio-linguistic situation of Kizzuwatna (2010), but with a different view of the migration dynamics at the origin of the regional population characteristics.

The chapter also discussed the proposal that in some Egyptian texts of the Middle Kingdom there is reference to Cilicia and, in particular, to a local polity named *Kawa,* which would be a precursor of later Kizzuwatna;[1167] the basis for the latter proposal is problematic, thus this suggestion can't be upheld.

[1166] Massa-Palmisano 2018.
[1167] According to Schneider 2002.

The aim of **Chapter 4** was, principally, to review the available evidence on Cilicia for the late 17th and 16th c., the period which immediately preceded the emergence of Kizzuwatna as an independent state. While there is relatively scarce evidence of contacts between the Hittite Old Kingdom and Cilicia at this time, a common view in historical studies is that the Hittite Old Kingdom controlled Cilicia relatively stably at this time. In particular, it is often suggested that the campaigns of Ḫattusili and Mursili in Syria required passing through Cilicia, since the *via Tauri* through the pass of the Cilician gates on the Taurus was the main road to reach northern Syria from central Anatolia.

This chapter suggested a different view, based on the detailed analysis of the available textual evidence. Although any reconstruction of this period remains hypothetical, the study showed that the current views are problematic in the face of the evidence and that another reconstruction seems to adjust better to the evidence itself, i.e. that Cilicia remained relatively unaffected by the Hittite Old Kingdom expansion. The few sources indicating early contacts do not suggest stable or long lasting control of the region either. This chapter's discussion, in this sense, integrates the work of A. Ünal, who proposed similar views in two articles (2014 and 2017). There are some important differences, however, between Ünal's and the present study, in terms of interpretation of the evidence and historical conclusions.

A re-evaluation of the archaeological evidence showed that the increasing influx of central Anatolian pottery traditions in Cilicia cannot be correlated, chronologically, with the expansion of the Hittite kingdom under Ḫattusili and Mursili. Rather, it mirrors a slower process of interaction in which increasing connectivity with the north is (presumably) *also* motivated by the emergence of the Hittite kingdom, but only in terms of macro-trends in the broader Anatolian area, and not political hegemony. It was also shown that a phase of more visible north-central Anatolian material cultural influence corresponds to a later moment, when Kizzuwatna emerged as a kingdom and established diplomatic ties with the Hittites (late 16th c.).

An important object was also discussed, a Hittite land grant found at Tarsus. A re-interpretation of the historical value of this tablet – often seen as evidence of Hittite administration in Cilicia during the 16th c. – is based on the proposal that the tablet was emitted at Ḫattuša, considerations on the document chronology and a contextual evaluation which takes into account the archaeological context of the find.

Chapter 5 collects the evidence on the age of the independent kingdom of Kizzuwatna. The chapter yielded several results of interest, in particular for the historical interpretation of individual documents. It provided the first detailed treatment of the seal of Išpudaḫšu in the broader topic of the origins of the Anatolian Hieroglyphic script; the treatment aligns with recent studies on the chronology of early seals[1168] and ultimately excluded that the inscription bears the name of the king. A suggestion was also put forward that the seal impression on the Alalaḫ tablet of Pilliya (AlT3), poorly visible, shows traces compatible with the same AH 'inscription', thus the seal employed had close similarities with the Išpudaḫšu seal, or was perhaps even the very same seal. This combination of signs could be used, thus, as dynastic symbology. The chapter also discussed the implications for the employ of the title Great King in the seal of Išpudaḫšu, which is inconsistent with the titulary of the local kings in the treaties between Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna.

In reference to the diplomatic corpus, the possible significance of the archaeological context of Building A was pointed out. The location hosted a substantial collection of early manuscripts of these treaties. There is reason to think some of them may even be the original tablets sent from Kizzuwatna, but this could be, ultimately, verified only with scientific methods of analysis. It seems significant that in the archival collections of this building, whose textual content characterize it as a library, these documents were valued for their historical significance or for their status of 'antiques'.

[1168] Weeden 2018a.

A comprehensive historical re-assessment of the tablet AlT 3 (a contract between Pilliya of Kizzuwatna and Idrimi of Alalaḫ) aimed at showing that this document does not unmistakably show Pilliya had become, at some point, a subordinate of Mittani, as suggested by a majority of scholars.[1169] The contract was stipulated with Idrimi as a private agreement; however, the latter was a subject of the Mittanian overlord Paratarna, which explains some specifics of the document. Within this discussion, it was also suggested that the content of the Idrimi inscription does not clearly refer to military conquests of Idrimi in Cilicia/Kizzuwatna[1170] in territories east of the Amanus.

Chapter 6 is a brief overview of cultural and population aspects of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna. The discussion involved the scanty indirect evidence on population, language and religions in Kizzuwatna, focusing on the socio-linguistic situation of Cilicia in 15th c. From a socio-linguistic point of view, the chapter evaluated some proposals of Yakubovich (2010a), and suggested a different view, of long term dynamics, for the development of a local multilingual environment, in connection with the hypothesis presented in chapter 3 of early linguistic diffusion of Hurrian and Luwian during the MBA in the region. It also discussed the small onomastic evidence on the dynasty, showing the mixed characteristics of onomastics that, potentially, correlate with the population background. A short overview of the religion of Kizzuwatna, as it can be reconstructed from later Hittite documents, was also presented.

The last chapter **(chapter 7)** discussed the last phase of the history of Kizzuwatna as an independent kingdom, contemporary with the Hittite Early New Kingdom period (1450-1350). This time is characterized by increasing interconnection between Hittite history and the history of Kizzuwatna. The relevant sources for a historical reconstruction of the progressive incorporation of Kizzuwatna in the Hittite kingdom were discussed for a historical overview. The chapter presented the evidence from the treaty with Sunaššura, the most important document for the period, with a comprehensive analysis of

[1169] This was actually the view of Wilhelm 1989, 26, and followed also by Schwemer 2005b, 182-183; 2007, 152; differently from e.g. Beal 1986, 429; Bryce 2005, 117; von Dassow, 2006, 2008.
[1170] As e.g. von Dassow 2008, 37-38.

the text. A whole section of the chapter is dedicated to a complex question, which is the possibility that the queen of Tudḫaliya I, Nikkal-madi, was a Kizzuwatnean native; this configures a potential dynastic union of the two kingdoms, as in various forms has been suggested elsewhere.[1171] The section reviews the potential sources of the period and indicates reasons to accept the hypothesis that Nikkal-madi was a Kizzuwatnean; however, the sources are too limited for suggesting there was a broader dynastic union de facto. At any rate, the presence of an influential Kizzuwatnean component at the Hittite court appears to provide a plausible background for the transmission of the local religious traditions and of the Hurrian language in central Anatolia and among the Hittite elites, although it is also quite clear that other pragmatic reasons, connected with the administration of the new "province" of Kizzuwatna, also determined the Hittite interest in the local cults.

The archaeological evidence of the ENK period in Kizzuwatna suggests that it is possible to date to this age – i.e. somewhat earlier than the Empire period proper, beginning with Suppiluliuma I – the beginning of the Hittite "imperial" age from a material-cultural point of view, and the inclusion of Cilicia in the Hittite economic and administrative sphere of interaction. These material traces correlate with the historical information on the progressive incorporation of the region in the Hittite kingdom after the reign of Tudḫaliya I.

Broadly speaking, a significant result of this work is the treatment itself, which brings together the most significant sources for a history of Kizzuwatna in an updated overview, hopefully useful as reference for future research.

The reader found that this work of research also pointed out the existence of several open questions, as well as reasons for re-analysis of some of the primary evidence and for a re-assessment of some historical views and interpretations available in previous literature. These regard, in particular, some different takes

[1171] Lastly Campbell 2016.

on the origins of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna and on the role of Cilicia throughout the time span included in the study.

The regional, long term research perspective at the basis of this study and its main findings are brought together briefly in the next section as an outline of a history of Kizzuwatna, in conclusion to this work.

8.2 A history of Kizzuwatna: outline

The earliest evidence indicating the existence of an autonomous kingdom of Kizzuwatna in southern Anatolia dates to the end of the 16th c. with the Middle Chronology.[1172] Two documents independently confirm that a king named Išpudaḫšu was the ruler of Kizzuwatna at this time. The treaty of alliance stipulated with the Hittite kingdom (CTH 21) shows this king was a contemporary of the Hittite king Telipinu (ca. 1525-1500).[1173] A seal print found at Tarsus, instead, is one of the few documents existing from Kizzuwatna itself. Its concise cuneiform inscription indicates that Išpudaḫšu styled himself as Great King, and that he was son of a certain Pariyawatri, unknown from any other source (§5.3).

The seal does not indicate Pariyawatri was king. Before this time, there is otherwise no information on the existence of Kizzuwatna, and very scanty information is available on Cilicia – the region which was its core territory. The origins of the kingdom itself remain very obscure. Several scholars have seen in a document issued by the Hittite king Telipinu (the so called *Edict of Telipinu,* CTH 19), roughly contemporary with this evidence, potential information for reconstructing this formative phase. This text, found in Akkadian and Hittite versions, includes a short account of the reigns of Telipinu's predecessors. It indicates that at the time of Ammuna, his immediate predecessor, several territories became hostile

[1172] There are other names, in particular found in the Egyptian Late Bronze Age sources, which may indicate Kizzuwatna. However, several recent studies questioned most of these equivalences (§2.2.1). These sources belong, anyway, mostly to the 14th and 13th c., falling outside the scope of the present work.
[1173] Both an Akkadian and a Hittite version exist of this text, in early and late copies (§5.5.5 n. [1]).

against the Hittite kingdom, including "the land of Adaniya" (*Edict,* §21).[1174] With all probability, this toponym corresponds with modern Adana, and certainly identifies a portion of land that was later part of Kizzuwatna.[1175] The fact that this document does not mention Kizzuwatna seems to suggest that this kingdom did not exist yet as a regional, centralized polity at this time, but this remains uncertain.

In large majority, previous historical literature maintains that this Adaniya was a territory under Hittite control at the time of Ammuna, and presumably a Hittite territory already previously during the early Old Kingdom (ca. 1650-1525). If so, this information marks the point in time in which this territory rebelled against the Hittite dominion to gain its independence. In fact, most scholars suggest that Cilicia was conquered by the Hittites during the early campaigns of Ḫattusili and Mursili, if not earlier.[1176] The *Edict* is hardly explicit in this sense, though, and there is reason to think that Adaniya and the other territories listed in the passage of interest, on the contrary, were countries that surrounded the borders of the Hittite kingdom, none of which was part of its territory at the time. The text means, rather, that all the surrounding lands had become a menace to the kingdom during a situation of crisis; this would show that Adaniya was an independent country. The text seems overall a reliable source for these events, but its strong political and ideological content suggests caution, in any case, to draw conclusions from it (§4.3.3).

Very little can be said on Cilicia before the historical time, which begins with the written sources of the Anatolian Late Bronze Age (ca. 1650-1200). The archaeological evidence suggests that Cilicia was characterized by a tendency towards isolation and regionalization from a material cultural viewpoint. In the local Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000-1550), in particular, interaction with central Anatolia appears to be limited, and more connectivity is visible with the east (Amuq, northern Syria and the Levant; §3.1). The

[1174] One tablet indicates Adaniya as KUR ^{uru}*Adaniya*, thus a center controlling a certain territory.
[1175] That Adaniya was part of Kizzuwatna is clear from the description of the borders of Kizzuwatna in a later treaty (CTH 41), where this is taken as a reference point to describe the location of the frontier with the Hittite kingdom.
[1176] E.g. Beal 1986, 424-426, Desideri-Jasink 1990, 51-53, Bryce 2005, 104 ff. Forlanini (varia), Yakubovich 2010a, 272.

local material cultural evidence and textual information from the Old Assyrian commercial hub at Kaniš-Kültepe suggest that Cilicia was not included in the long-distance trade network that connected Aššur and central Anatolia, and its secondary branches. Instead, Cilicia seems to have belonged to a different network, connected directly with the middle Euphrates, the Levant, and involved in maritime routes in the Mediterranean.[1177] It is significant that continuity in local material culture endured through the 16th c., when the Hittite kingdom grew as a centralized state in the Anatolian plateau to become the dominant polity of the region.

The emergence of the Old Hittite kingdom in central Anatolia (after 1650) corresponded in fact with significant innovations that are distinctive of this new polity throughout the 16th c. There are several material-cultural markers – for example distinctive architectural types and defensive systems, pottery types, sealing techniques, reflecting a centralized administrative and political system.[1178] In Cilicia, the influence of the central Anatolian pottery types is instead only incipient in the 16th c., and its impact became more significant around the end of the century and at the turn of the 15th c., the age in which Kizzuwatna makes its appearance in the sources. While, in other studies, the appearance of material cultural elements of the Old Kingdom was attributed to the campaigns of Ḫattusili and Mursili[1179] – allegedly involving Cilicia – this correlation can be excluded on historical, archaeological and chronological ground.

In this sense, the historical picture presented in most current literature requires a revision. There is no evidence of a Hittite conquest of Cilicia in the late 17th or 16th c., and very scanty information of contacts. The sources indicate that Ḫattusili and Mursili carried out extensive campaigns mostly in central Anatolia and in northern Syria, and only sporadic documents indicate contacts with Cilicia; the fragmentary state of these few sources do not allow one to identify the clear nature of these encounters

[1177] Massa-Palmisano 2018, 83.
[1178] Schachner 2009b, 2017, 2020a.
[1179] E.g. Novák et al. 2017.

(§4.3.2). The general silence of the sources on Cilician connections seems to demonstrate a low degree of contacts, communications, or interest in the area from the Hittite perspective, in contrast with central, northern and south-eastern Anatolia, or the Upper Euphrates region and the north of Syria, involved in extensive military campaigns since the beginning of the Old Kingdom's military campaigns in the late 17th c.

The view that Cilicia had been under Hittite hegemony before the independence of Kizzuwatna is based, chiefly, on the content of the retrospect of the *Edict of Telipinu* (*Edict,* §2-3), which suggests that Labarna, Ḫattusili and Mursili had made extensive conquests incorporating most of Anatolia, since they "made them (i.e. the lands) the borders of the sea". This information implies these kings reached the Mediterranean conquering Cilicia. However, arguments can be put forward to suspect this statement is a formulary topos (§4.3.3 n. 1). Other sources can be excluded from the picture as well. Notably, a Hittite land grant found at Tarsus can't be used as proof of direct control or presence of local Hittite administration in Cilicia during the Old Kingdom. First of all, the study of the land grants' corpus by Rüster and Wilhelm (2012) showed this document is to be dated to the reign of Telipinu, differently from proposals of earlier dating. Then, quite critical for a re-assessment is the fact that this document was, indeed, very likely issued at Ḫattuša, and not at Tarsus (§4.4).[1180]

Another recurrent argument encountered in literature is that the Hittite armies necessitated to cross Cilicia taking a route passing through the Taurus at the pass of the 'Cilician gates' in order to reach the principal theatre of war in northern Syria. Thus, a stable control of the region was a prerequisite for their conquests. However, from one side, there are no sources indicating that this was the path taken by the armies, thus this reconstruction is entirely conjectural.[1181] Then, it seems quite clear from the sources

[1180] Trameri *forthcoming*.
[1181] A passage of the so called *Puḫanu text* (CTH 16), interpreted as a recount of the episode of the crossing of the Taurus, can hardly be employed as source in this respect either. A more likely interpretation of the document as a whole and of the relevant passages suggests that the content has nothing to do with a historical episode, since the background is largely mythological (Gilan 2015, 316; discussed in §4.2.1).

that the military targets of the early Old Kingdom favor a view in which the Hittites travelled to Syria proceeding from an eastern route, eventually through the Anti-Taurus at the Gezbel pass, or even further east.[1182] The geography of the Hittite campaigns – not only in the *Annals of Ḫattusili* (CTH 4) but also in the vast majority of the Old Kingdom literature – indicates an eastern focus of these raids.

It seems that the ideology of the early Old Kingdom expansionism finds an appropriate context in the backlight of the MBA situation, and in a view of continuity from the previous history of interconnections between this area and central Anatolia, notably based on a centuries-old tradition of contacts and trade. But there were also illustrious models of military deeds, such as the Empire of Šamši-Adad or even the crossing of the Euphrates known from the semi-legendary *narû* literature about the kings of Akkad. A view of continuity provides a good context for reading the earliest Hittite written evidence (mostly referring to events of the 16th c.) and illuminates a global historical interpretation of the period. From this picture, Cilicia seems to remain largely excluded. Otherwise, a stable control of Cilicia – but this applies to other territories peripheral to a central Anatolian perspective – can be also excluded in consideration of the predatory nature of warfare at the beginning of the Old Kingdom; the Hittites at least in the 17th and early 16th c. seem hardly able to control stably any territory located at a significant distance from the core regions of their kingdom, in north-central and south-central Anatolia.

In summary, there is very scanty evidence in support of the view that Cilicia was more or less stably under Hittite political hegemony in some form throughout the late 17th and 16th c., a picture which remains largely hypothetical. Therefore, the alternative that Cilicia remained relatively uninvolved by the Old Kingdom's expansion and was an independent region must be considered equally viable. Indeed, the evidence suggests this is the most likely scenario.[1183]

[1182] Similarly de Martino 2002, 81-82; Ullman 2014, 117; Cohen 2017, 296; Ünal 2014, 2017.
[1183] A similar view from a comprehensive historical viewpoint was put forward, previously, by A. Ünal (2014, 2017).

As anticipated, when Kizzuwatna appeared in the Hittite records, we find it stipulating a parity treaty of alliance (*Treaty between Telipinu and Išpudaḫšu*, CTH 21). In the contemporary seal of Išpudaḫšu, the king even employed the title Great King, showing the high political status reached by this kingdom. Even if this may be only a claim for internal propaganda, it seems unlikely that the Hittites would ignore this ideal challenge to their hegemonic role in Anatolia. The diplomatic texts show that the kings of Kizzuwatna later renounced the title, which may suggest that some conflict ensued, placated through the treaty stipulation. While the title Great King, in the treaties exclusively granted to the Hittite king, shows the maintained historical leadership in Anatolia, these stipulations also witness the weakness of the kingdom at this time, as it was forced to secure an important ally acknowledging entirely equal terms from a diplomatic point of view. Until the time of Tudḫaliya I, the Hittites would not be able to proceed with campaigns in Syria and to undertake other extensive military operations. The kingdom shrunk to its core and it may not be coincidental that the resort to a new advanced system of diplomacy appears to be a highlight of 15th c.

While showing elements of political weakness, the stipulations still suggest that the Hittites were very conscious of their historical hegemonic role in Anatolia, and were not yet willing to give it up. While dealing with a "peer" kingdom of Kizzuwatna, signals of unbalance are already inherent in the formalities of titulary accepted by the southern rulers, and it is self-evident that throughout the 15th c. this small kingdom could not compete geo-politically with the two larger powers of the macro-area, the Hittite kingdom and Mittani, with the exception of a window of a few decades of inter-regional political balance.

Whatever the precise historical-political background at the basis of the first stipulation with Išpudaḫšu, for some generations the rulers of Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna renewed the treaty maintaining identical or very similar terms. The documents have standardized content, so that one finds the same recurrent themes, preoccupations and even provisions. There are four other treaties after the first, and

their chronological order is not entirely straightforward.[1184] In the treaty stipulated with Paddatiššu (CTH 26) the name of the Hittite ruler is not preserved, but it is possible that this was Ḫantili II, on the basis of a later entry preserved in a catalog tablet.[1185] If so, this would be earlier than the treaty between Taḫurwaili and Eḫeya (CTH 29) – but the chronology of this ruler is also problematic – and the one between Zidanza II and Pilliya (CTH 25). During the time of its independence, very little can be said about Kizzuwatna's local history or about any significant political events in the region on the basis of the meagre content of these standardized, largely formulaic documents. The provisions discuss generic matters in which the goal is to highlight aspects of parity, and perfect equality of terms in the alliance.

The local political history remains totally obscure, apart from the little information that can be drawn from these diplomatic documents and from a few other texts (§5.6-7). There is equally scanty evidence to discuss aspects of its culture and population, although the documents found in the Hittite archives and informing on the religious traditions of Kizzuwatna may give some hints. The first element of interest one draws from these materials is that some of the 'Kizzuwatna rituals' feature incantations in Luwian embedded in the ritual frame written in Hittite. A compelling hypothesis has been made that the language of these compositions is not the same dialect of Luwian attested in central Anatolia in the Hieroglyphic inscriptions of the LBA (and in the broader Iron Age Hieroglyphic corpus elsewhere), but must be considered a different dialect of Luwian spoken in Kizzuwatna, which developed locally from the Luwic branch.[1186] This seems quite clear for some specific morpho-syntactic characteristics of this dialect, explained as innovations induced by linguistic contact and interference with Hurrian (§3.3.2).[1187] This

[1184] Two fragments of tablets (KUB 3.20 and KBo 12.31) may belong to other treaties of this corpus; however they don't provide any specific information for a chronology or even for securing an attribution to the corpus itself. KBo 12.31 includes a collective reference to the gods of Kizzuwatna in a longer list of gods, presumably part of the divine witnesses' section of a diplomatic document or an oath.
[1185] KBo 19.35 1′-2′ lists an otherwise unknown treaty stipulated by Ḫantili, presumably the 15th c. Hittite king; unfortunately the entry is fragmentary.
[1186] Yakubovich 2010a, 15-73.
[1187] As previously observed also by Stefanini (2002) and Luraghi (2008, 146-148).

falls into place considering the other well visible characteristic of the Kizzuwatna-related documents, the substantial employment of Hurrian technical terminology in the domain of ritual, and – less frequently – more or less extensive sections recited in Hurrian. Several purely or largely Hurrian compositions found at Ḫattuša and at other sites, dating to the Early New Kingdom (ca. 1450-1350), appear to be also connected with the Kizzuwatna cults. It seems very likely that most of these Hurrian texts were imported – chiefly or exclusively – from Kizzuwatna; otherwise, some were certainly composed at this time in Hittite context, under the strong cultural influx coming from the south (see *infra*).

These sources give some evidence that, in Kizzuwatna, both Hurrian and a local dialect of Luwian were spoken.[1188] While the linguistic characteristics of these texts do not inherently mirror aspects of population in Kizzuwatna, it seems likely that a mixed socio-linguistic environment did exist in the region in 15th c. This is suggested also by the local onomastics, indicating use of both Anatolian (in particular Luwian) and Hurrian names (§6.2.1; §7.4.4). It is obscure how this culturally composite society came to be. It is commonly maintained that the Hurrian influx in Kizzuwatna is to be connected especially with the growing political hegemony of Mittani in the macro-area in the 15th c. For example, we know from some documents that Kizzuwatna was subordinate to Mittani at some point in time during the reign of Sauštatar, in the central decades of the 15th c.[1189]

However, there are reasons to think a different explanation is in order. Hurrian began to spread in northern Mesopotamia much earlier than the age of Mittani, as indicates the onomastic evidence from Old Babylonian documents from several centers, the texts of Alalaḫ VII and, to a lesser extent, the kanišite tablets. These documents show that Hurrian speakers had settled west of the Euphrates by the early 18th c.[1190] The kingdom of Ma'ama in north-western Syria probably had an important Hurrian component,

[1188] Although the possibility of a dialectological analysis of Hurrian documents remains limited, it seems clear that the Hurrian in use in Kizzuwatna and imported into central Anatolia is not the diplomatic Hurrian of Mittani; there is reason to think this was instead a dialect closer to that of the eastern Hurrian area (see §6.2.2).
[1189] AlT 14, from Alalaḫ (see *infra*).
[1190] Wilhelm 1996b; 2008, 187; Richter 2003; 2005.

and at Alalaḫ linguistic interference in local Akkadian (lev. VII tablets) suggests that this was spoken to some extent among the population. In consideration of the characteristics of the local religious traditions and the regional mixed socio-linguistic environment at the time of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna, it seems reasonable to suggest that Hurrian could have entered Cilicia much earlier than the 15th c., at the time of the Mittanian apogee (§3.3.1). This scenario would provide a long term background for the development of the distinctive local religious traditions, overwhelmingly based on a Ḫalabite and Syro/Hurrian component, and showing only residual local traits (§6.4). Phenomena of linguistic interference between Hurrian and the Kizzuwatna dialect of Luwian, generated by close linguistic contact, also find a compelling explanation allocating a sufficient time to the process. It is clear that Luwian speakers also arrived in the region quite early, in the MBA, as the phylogeny of the local Luwian dialect demands. Yakubovich (2010a, 273; 2011, 536) proposed that, historically speaking, the arrival of Luwian speakers from central Anatolia could be connected with the military campaigns of Ḫattusili and Mursili as a sort of colonization process. There is, however, small evidence that Cilicia was substantially involved in the early campaigns, as previously stressed. More importantly, it seems unwarranted that, in connection with these military activities, the Hittites ever implemented a purposeful colonization policy. Nothing of the sort happened elsewhere, where we know for certain the Hittites carried out extensive campaigns throughout time. It seems more likely that the diffusion of Luwian in Cilicia can be explained through a migration model different from a relatively quick, one time enterprise, perhaps one of "chain" migrations from south-central Anatolia (§3.3.2).[1191] This hypothetical scenario of long term assimilation of various population components at a local level, alternative to other proposals, provides an overall plausible background for the apparent socio-linguistic situation of 15th c. (§6.2.1).

Rapid developments of the diplomatic relations among Ḫattuša, Kizzuwatna and Mittani characterize the central decades of 15th c. It has been suggested that the treaty between Zidanza and

[1191] For the concept of chain migration see Knapp 2008, 49; on this topic see previously Anthony 1990.

Pilliya (CTH 25) shows incipient signals of political unbalance, in particular for the presence of a clause typical of subordination documents of later periods, referring to the breaking of the oath.[1192] The document is very fragmentary, and it cannot be verified, actually, whether similar contents were also included in the previous record; in fact this is the only one among the aforementioned treaties whose incipit is preserved, a fact which may obscure the real diplomatic weight of this provision. Otherwise, the treaty appears to be compatible with the forms and contents of the previous parity treaties (§5.5.5 n. [4]).

This document is quite important because it provides one of the few synchronisms for the history of Kizzuwatna, significant also for Hittite history. It shows that Pilliya and Zidanza were contemporaries, and thanks to the content of a document from Alalaḫ (AlT 3), a broad synchronism can be established also with the reign of the king of Mittani Paratarna.

This Alalaḫ tablet shows in fact that Pilliya and Idrimi made a pact concerning some questions of borders and fugitives, and mentions Paratarna. It seems an agreement with limited political impact, if compared with the broader scope of the parallel Hittite alliance treaties. In literature, this document is taken as proof that Pilliya had become a subordinate of the Mittanian king, as certainly was Idrimi.[1193] From a long inscription of Idrimi, written on a portrait statue of himself,[1194] we learn that he was subordinated to Paratarna and that he swore an oath of loyalty in order to maintain his kingship in Alalaḫ under this overlord. The agreement mentions Paratarna and the previous oath likewise, but the formulation suggests rather clearly that the subordination oath concerns only Idrimi, as G. Wilhelm initially suggested,[1195] and that otherwise Pilliya acts as an independent ruler in this contract (§5.7). In order to have Pilliya also subordinated to the oath, one must imagine that Idrimi's version of the contract – shipped to Kizzuwatna and lost to us – had an inverted formula referring to the first, rather than to

[1192] Devecchi 2015a, 68.
[1193] Beal 1986, 429; Bryce 2005, 117; von Dassow 2006, 174 and 2008, 37-39.
[1194] Among the many editions, lastly Lauinger 2017.
[1195] Wilhelm 1989, 26; followed by Schwemer 2005b, 182-183 and 2007, 152.

Idrimi himself.[1196] From the text itself, however, the disparity in status between Idrimi and Pilliya emerges within an otherwise carefully mirror-like structure; additionally, there are no actual examples elsewhere of 'inverted' clauses compatible with the specifics required by the diplomatic context, thus this interpretation, although possible, remains conjectural (§5.7).

The document, instead, evidently shows that Kizzuwatna entertained relations with its Syrian neighbors at Alalaḫ under Mittanian hegemony, which makes it possible that diplomatic contacts existed also directly with Mittani.

This fact would require, at least in principle, that the previous alliance with Ḫattuša had been invalidated. From one side, there may be hints to this situation in the historical introduction of the later *Treaty of Tudḫaliya I and Sunaššura of Kizzuwatna* (CTH 41), where it is said that – some two generations earlier – Kizzuwatna stood on the Hittites' side, but later ceased to be a Hittite ally to turn to "Ḫurri" (Mittani). More information comes from a later tablet from Alalaḫ (AlT 14), this time a deliberation of the Mittanian king Sauštatar concerning a quarrel between Sunaššura and the local king Niqmepa. This unilateral arbitration of Sauštatar shows unmistakably that one generation after Pilliya and Idrimi, both local rulers were subordinate to Mittani, thus Kizzuwatna had lost status throughout these decades. The typology of the document (a unidirectional resolution) distinguishes the content of this text neatly from the previous contract, additionally confirming the mutated political conditions for Kizzuwatna.

To Sunaššura dates also the last alliance treaty stipulated by Kizzuwatna with the Hittite kingdom, with Tudḫaliya I (CTH 41).[1197] This treaty shows remarkable innovations in form and content, and differs from the previous documents in many respects. It includes a historical introduction, dealing with the former diplomatic relations between the two countries but also providing other historical information dedicated to the latent conflict with Mittani. This treaty in fact is more about Mittani and its long-lasting hostility

[1196] As suggested Giorgieri (2005, 80 n. 8), followed by von Dassow (2008, 34).
[1197] This study follows the view that there was only one Tudḫaliya at the beginning of the New Kingdom (§7.2.1).

with Ḫattuša than about the role of Kizzuwatna in the political scenario – a subordinated role. The goal of the document, from the Hittite perspective, is to win back this essential ally in the context of the major clash, and to contrast with the enemy's leadership in the northern Mesopotamian macro-area. The documents of this period, as previously discussed, suggest that Kizzuwatna had been for some time an ally (presumably) and then a state subordinate to Waššukkanni; it seems likely that Tudḫaliya could now take advantage of a moment of crisis of Mittani, weakened by the Syrian campaigns of the Egyptian pharaoh Thutmose III in the central years of the 15th c.

This treaty reveals, through unilateral or imperfect parity provisions, that the status of Kizzuwatna had become that of a subordinate kingdom, although still formally maintaining its independence. The particular insistence in this document on the elements of parity – following the previous tradition – conflicts with the overall imbalance of the agreement; the attempt to tone down the diplomatic implications as much as possible reveals a certain attention to not irritate the 'historical' partner.[1198]

It is unknown whether the stipulation came after a previous military confrontation; this is not explicit, which suggests, rather, that the diplomatic effort of Tudḫaliya was part of a well-planned strategy, whose final aim was to incorporate Kizzuwatna in the kingdom through a peaceful transition. For this reason the case of the annexation of Kizzuwatna appears to be rather unique, as otherwise Tudḫaliya was active throughout his reign in an aggressive militaristic policy. He led campaigns to the west, reaching unprecedented distances in western Anatolia, conquered Išuwa in the east and probably reached Syria once again; he was the first Hittite king to do so since a time prior to Telipinu, more than a century earlier (§7.2).

The actual incorporation was achieved with Tudḫaliya's successors; Kizzuwatna appears to be already under direct control around the time in which Arnuwanda was associated to the throne of

[1198] See in particular the study of Liverani 1973a.

Tudḫaliya, probably his adoptive father, as co-regent.[1199] However, it seems that the process did have halts and difficulties, determined by the mutating geo-political situation during the reigns of Arnuwanda and Tudḫaliya III. This phase of Hittite history is very difficult to reconstruct, for the scanty evidence and the problems in attributing and dating some of the sources. It seems rather clear, however, that military actions were necessary also in Kizzuwatna, as a consequence of a generalized crisis of the kingdom beginning with the reign of Arnuwanda and the so called 'concentric invasions' at the time of Tudḫaliya III.[1200] A schematic summary of this complex phase can be found in §7.9.

It appears that the factual annexation of Kizzuwatna to the Hittite kingdom produced some visible effects in the local archaeological record already in this period. It seems in fact that the appearance of the LB II "drab ware", distinctive of the Hittite imperial landscape in the 14th and 13th c., began already in the latest decades of the 15th c. on the basis of the pottery sequences at Ḫattuša. At the key Cilician sites, the widespread diffusion of the central Anatolian pottery types marks a significant break, indicative of the impact of the Hittite political presence, and in recent research these developments have been connected with the ENK phase of progressive integration of Kizzuwatna, rather than to the Empire period proper, after the accession of Suppiluliuma I (ca. 1350) (§7.8).[1201]

A significant moment in this process of annexation was the appointment of a son of Arnuwanda, Kantuzili, as High Priest (SANGA) of Teššob and Ḫebat in Kizzuwatna. There are several documents of the time concerning this important political figure, even if the primary information on his installation is only indirect.[1202] It is clear that, in this role, Kantuzili was the highest political authority in the land, and his appointment meant the conclusion of the local kingship. He is mentioned in texts and seal impressions from all the main Hittite sites, Ḫattuša, Šapinuwa-Ortaköy, Šamuḫa-Kayalıpınar and

[1199] Beal 1983, 115-122; Beckman 1986, 23 n. 51; Bryce 2005, 128-129; Carruba 2008, 79; de Martino 2016, 45-46.
[1200] The main source is the historical account provided in the *ḫekur*-Pirwa decree of Ḫattusili III (KBo 6.28, CTH 88).
[1201] Schoop 2009, 155; Jean 2010, 485.
[1202] Namely the colophon of CTH 17.22, a ritual or festival text presumably containing the procedures for the appointment of the SANGA.

Tapikka-Maşat Höyük; these show that he was in close contact with the Hittite court, in particular his brother Tudḫaliya III, but possibly also the young general Suppiluliuma (§7.7).[1203] Not only active in matters of cult – he was 'author' of prayers and rituals, in Hittite and Hurrian – his political role is highlighted in a letter from Tapikka-Maşat Höyük (HKM 74). This document defines Kizzuwatna a frontier land at the time, again highlighting its strategic geo-political role in the conflict.

It is unknown how the Priest dealt with the crisis of the Hittite kingdom during the concentric invasions, but it is possible that Kizzuwatna was not completely lost.[1204] When Tudḫaliya III, aided by Suppiluliuma, had a military comeback and brought the kingdom out of the political crisis, Kizzuwatna remained or was brought back again under stable control. Then, Suppiluliuma, like the predecessor Arnuwanda, installed his own son (Telipinu) as High Priest in Kizzuwatna. From this time on, and in particular after the final defeat of Mittani, Kizzuwatna had become clearly a province of the larger Empire, terminating the process of incorporation begun by Tudḫaliya few generations before him.

For Kizzuwatna, the Early New Kingdom period did not only mean, however, the annexation process which made it an integral part of the Hittite kingdom. At this time in fact, a remarkable cultural process involved the Hittite kingdom in turn, and the role of Kizzuwatna in these dynamics appears to be preponderant. The most salient aspects of this phenomenon are: 1) the diffusion of the Hurrian language in central Anatolia, which influenced the customs of the Hittite court. This is mirrored for example in the adoption of Hurrian onomastics, but also signaled by the production of texts in Hurrian dedicated to, and for the use of, the royal elites (chiefly rituals and prayers) (§7.4.4); 2) the importation of cults of deities and religious traditions native to Kizzuwatna into central Anatolia, which had already begun with Tudḫaliya I (§7.5.1); 3) the transmission of ritual literature in Hittite context through yet

[1203] The attribution of seal impressions bearing the name Kantuzili, however, is rather problematic, since several individuals with this name had existed throughout Hittite history (see §7.7)
[1204] Beal 1986, 441.

unclear modalities, certainly involving the copy of written materials, their re-elaboration and integration in a local archival context, but also through the agency of ritual experts native to Kizzuwatna (§7.5.2).[1205]

This peculiar phenomenon unmistakably demonstrates deep interaction between Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna. The annexation of the territory certainly meant, for the Hittite rulers, the need to manage the local institutions and their cultic regimes from an administrative point of view.[1206] This is one reason for the growing interest of the Hittite royal elites in the matters of local cults. However, several documents demonstrate – from the time of Tudḫaliya I on – that the influence of the local cults meant *also* a radical transformation of the Hittite elites' own religious world.

With various specific reconstructions, several scholars have aired the possibility that an explanation of these dynamics can be sought in a sort of – more or less extensive – dynastic union of the two royal families of Ḫattuša and Kizzuwatna.[1207] While this is currently impossible to verify, it seems at least very likely that Nikkal-madi, the queen of Tudḫaliya I, was indeed of Kizzuwatnean origin (§7.4.1). It is also possible that other queens of the Early New Kingdom, in particular the two wives of Tudḫaliya III (Šadando-Ḫebat and Tado-Ḫebat), were also Kizzuwatnean, but this remains much more questionable, as by this time the usage of Hurrian onomastics had become customary within the Hittite royal family.

If correct, this hypothesis (in one of its forms[1208]) has implication for the understanding of the annexation itself. In first place, one may see the political strategy of Tudḫaliya concerning Kizzuwatna and the diplomatic efforts displayed in the stipulation of the treaty with Sunaššura in this direction. The goal was to reinstate positive diplomatic relations with this vital ally in the clash with Mittani, and this bond could

[1205] Miller 2004, Strauss 2006, Melchert 2013b.
[1206] Gilan 2019.
[1207] Houwink ten Cate 1998, 43-50; Campbell 2016b; similarly de Martino 2016. With a different perspective Taracha 2004 and 2014, who thinks that the whole dynasty of Tudḫaliya, including the king, was of Kizzuwatnean origin.
[1208] Between an extensive dynastic union of the two royal families (e.g. Campbell 2016) or a single diplomatic marriage, namely that of Tudḫaliya and Nikkal-madi. Both possibilities would have brought to Ḫattuša a number of locals, with the entourage of the queen, as well as presumably influential nobles and diplomats (§7.4.2).

be solidified also through the matrimonial union with representatives of the local nobility. The broader cultural consequences of the introduction of this new Kizzuwatnean component in the Hittite kingdom were probably unexpected, hardly part of the purposeful political strategy of Tudḫaliya; one can't exclude that a specific 'program' was sponsored, instead, by the new Kizzuwatnean component of the royal family. This remains a matter of speculation. At any rate, this Kizzuwatna connection was critical in defining the Early New Kingdom in its intellectual products, for example in the novel text types, the broader expressions in the religious sphere, and perhaps in creations such as the rock reliefs depicting the pantheon of Kizzuwatna at the sanctuary of Yazılıkaya at Ḫattuša, if these can be redated to this period.[1209] For the weight of these phenomena, the incorporation of the southern region configured, historically, the institution of a really transformed 'New' kingdom (as scholars appropriately called it). The outcome is what we actually identify as the Hittite kingdom in broader sense, i.e. the one chiefly represented by the Empire period situation in the 14th-13th c., to which most available sources refer. While the Hittite component remained clearly predominant, and prolonged the centuries-old tradition of the kingdom, the attempt (or the result, if not purposeful) of a deep integration of the new Kizzuwatnean component reshaped its image substantially, at least as reflected in the official expressions and the self-representations of the Hittite elites afterwards.

After Kizzuwatna had become an essential constituent of the (New) Hittite kingdom, but was relegated to the role of province, its regional-territorial identity still survived until the disappearance of the Hittite Empire. This identity was especially displayed through the explicit association with the revered local religious traditions. In the mid-13th c., queen Pudo-Ḫeba maintained a strong link with her Kizzuwatnean origins, and is known for her affection for the traditions of her hometown and homeland.[1210] She was daughter of the priest of Ištar/Šavoška of Lawazantiya in Kizzuwatna, Pendib-

[1209] On this topic recently Corti 2017, 14-15.
[1210] On her attachment to the cults of Lawazantiya and Kizzuwatna see Archi 2016, 24; Gilan 2019, 174-175.

šarri, and herself a priestess. Ḫattusili – at that time king of the Hittite Upper Land, based in Ḫakmiš – met her in Kizzuwatna while he was travelling back to central Anatolia after the battle of Qadeš, where he went with his armies in support of his brother Muwatalli II against Egypt (1274 BCE).[1211] During their reign, extensive scribal works of copy, organization, collection and revision of religious 'literature' (especially festival texts and rituals) were carried out, and this activity left us with the rich tablet collections of the late Empire, a project realized especially under Pudo-Ḫeba's auspices.[1212]

With Pudo-Ḫeba there was a real 'revival' of those old traditions, but also previous Empire period documents show that the prestige of the local religious tradition remained unaltered throughout time, as well as the affection of the royal elites for its cults. While very little was left of its *historical* memory, this was the heritage left behind by this still obscure kingdom of Kizzuwatna.

[1211] *Apology* (CTH 81); KBo 6.29 III 1-2; ed. Otten 1971, 16-17.
[1212] The references to the tablets of Kizzuwatna in the documents of this time indicate the active effort in organizing and preserving the information on the regional cults; in particular, we know – from the colophons of the tablets themselves – that she assigned an important archival and editorial project to the Chief Scribe Walwaziti, to collect and copy all the tablets belonging to the *(ḫ)išuwa-* Festival series (for a concise treatment of the topic see van den Hout 2016).

9. Figures

Fig. 1. Map of Kizzuwatna; possible extension of the kingdom.

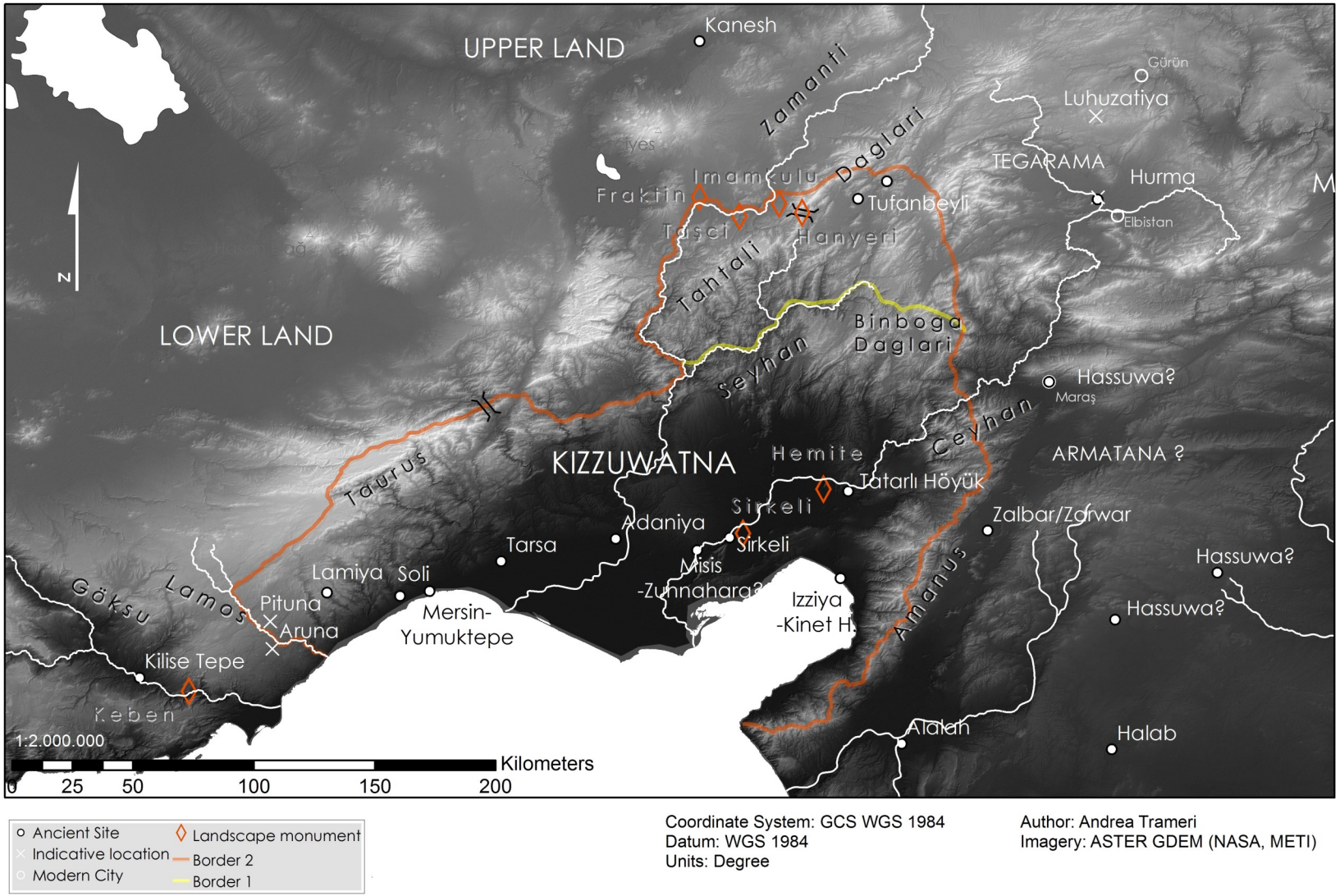


Fig. 2a. Historical regions of Anatolia and northern Syria in the Graeco-Roman period (332 BCE-395 AD). (Image: Wikipedia).

Fig. 2b. MBA-LBA sites in central Anatolia.

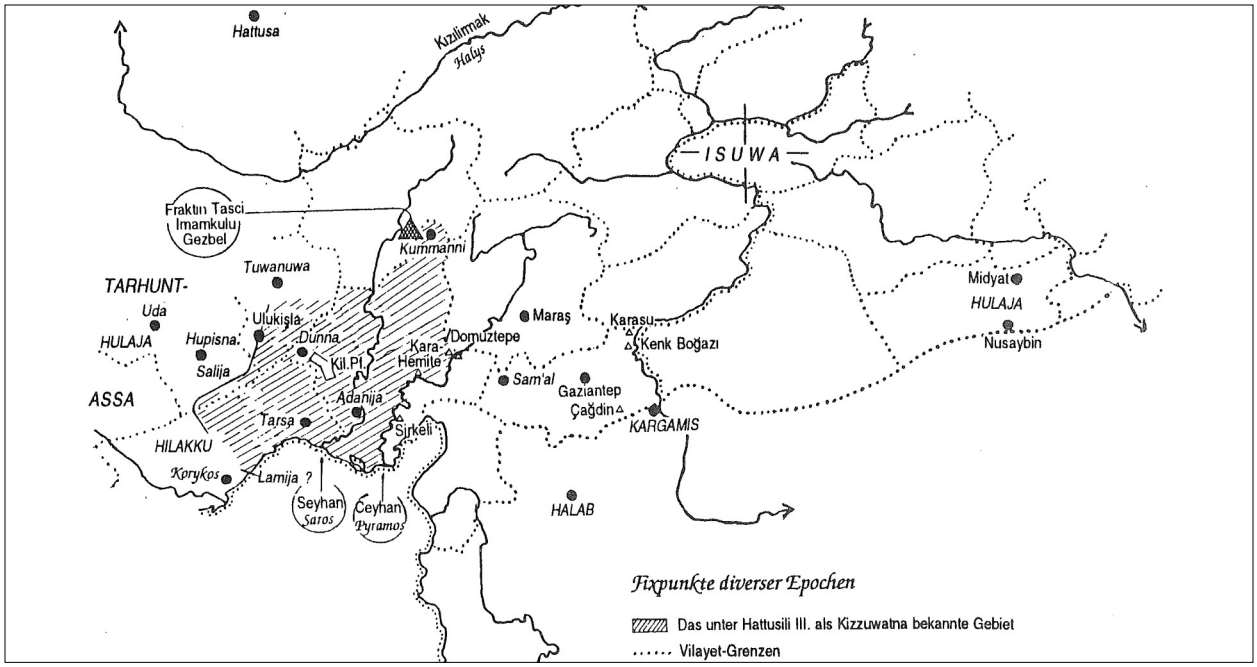


Fig. 3. Territory of Kizzuwatna in the 13th c. according to Börker-Klähn and geographical fix points. (Börker-Klähn 1996, 97 fig. 7).

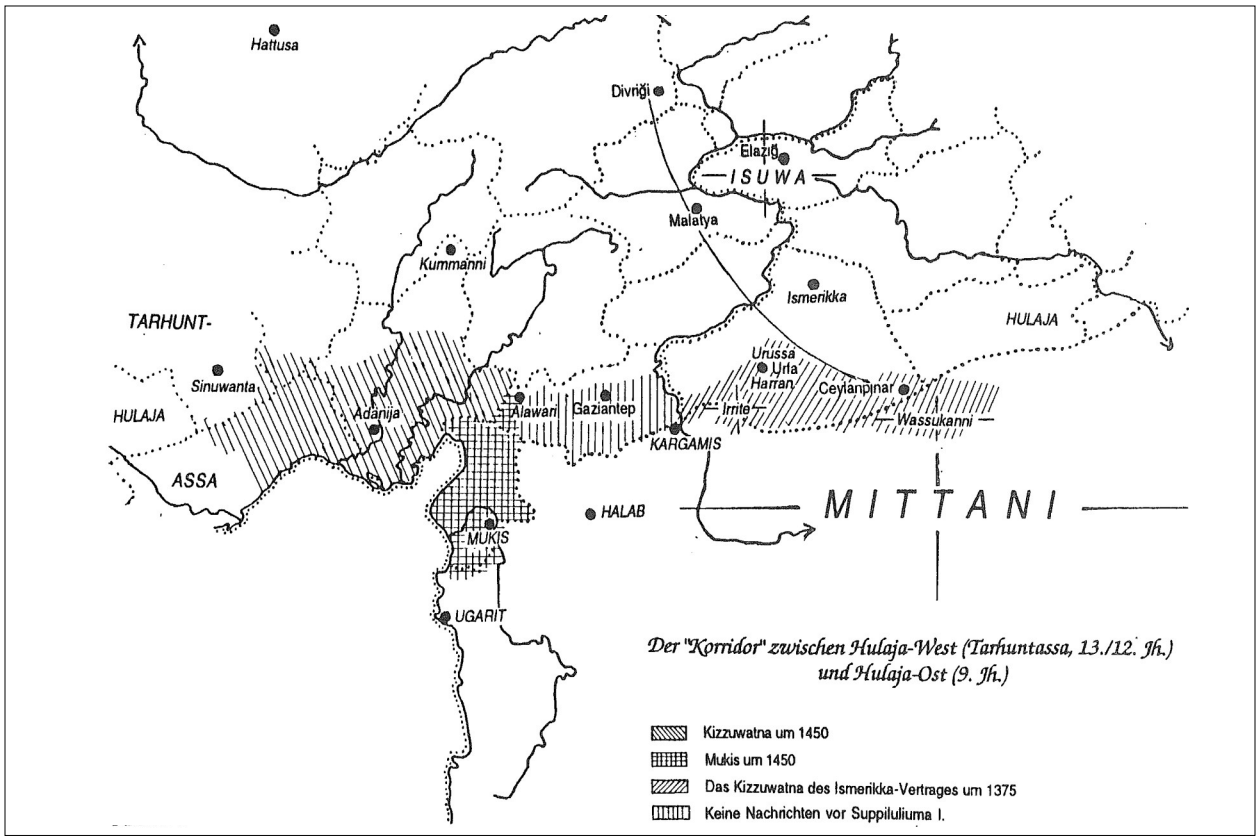


Fig. 4. Territorial extent of Kizzuwatna through time (according to Börker-Klähn 1996, 99 fig. 9).

TARSUS

Goldman	Slane	Jean (MC)	Trameri (MC)		
MB	III	17th c.	MB III		bowl with high pedestal base, handleless bowl; beaked-spout pitchers
--	IV	1600-...	transition MB/LB	architectural break	begin of NCA-style forms in ceramic repertoire
LB I	V (LB Ia)	...-1550	...-1525		jar (**fig. 8a**), jar with basket handle
LB I	VI (LB Ib)	1550-1425 *	1525-...	Consistent Old Hittite repertoire	2-4 handled bowls (fig. **8b**); bowl, high pedestal base (fig. **8c**), lentoid flask (fig. **8d**), large tub (red-slipped burnished; fig. **8e**)
--	VII-VIII (LB IIa?)	late 15th	...-late 15th	largely destroyed from the following construction level	ill represented; miniature plate
LB IIa	IX (LB II)	14th-mid 13th	early 14th-late 13th	Hittite Empire period "temple"	(stepped-rim) plates, miniature vessels RLW-m (libation arms, spindle bottle), potter's marks
LB IIb	X	mid 13th-mid 12th	late 13th-mid 12th c.	resettlement after destruction	"all local wares"

Fig. 5: Stratigraphy at Tarsus.

* After the review of the regional stratigraphies (Novák et al. 2017, 2018), there is now a tendency to re-assign this level VI to the MB II (E. Jean, personal communication, April 2020). However, this decision is affected by the adoption of the Low Chronology and the interpretation which connects the diffusion of NCA-style pottery with the expansion of the Old Kingdom in 16th c. (see ch. 4.5). I maintain here a view closer to the review of the stratigraphy of the site by Slane (1987 and 2006).

MERSIN

Garstang	**Jean**	**Novák et al. (LC)**	**Date**		
-XII		end EB		Anatolian influence	
XI (2000-		(2050-1950) MB I	Karum-MBA-	Eastern influence (XI-IX)	local painted pottery (**figs. 9a-b**)
X		(1700-...	?		
IX		... -1522) MB II	?		
VIII -1500)	"IX" new excav.	(1522-...	late 16th	building, partially excavated	
VII	"IX"	...-1350) LB I*	15th c.	Hittite type fortifications (VII-V) (**fig. 13**)	VIII-VII: local pottery *and* painted-burnished wares close to Old Hittite specimen (**fig. 11**) cfr. Tarsus group C
VI	"VII" new excav.	(1350-...	14th c.	*houses rebuilt*	VI-V: Hittite ceramic assemblage: monochrome burnished, drab ware, lentoid flask, small qt. Cypriote white slip (**figs. 12a-b**) cfr. Tarsus group D: imperial age
V	–before 1200)	...-1190) LB II	-end 13th	*houses rebuilt* destruction of the fortified town and the fortifications	milk bowls (only V) no LHIII C Mycenean pottery (2 sherds)
hiatus					
IV-III					MIA pottery

*"Old excavations" VIII-VII = IX (southern trench)

Fig. 6: Stratigraphy at Mersin-Yumuktepe.

KINET

Arch. Per.	Phase	Site Period	Date		
MB II	V.1	17-16	1750-1550[a]	both periods 17-16 end in destruction (earthquakes)	17: late Cilician Painted Ware 16: CPW, introduction MCIII-LCI Cypriot imports (incl. bichrome ware)
LB I	IV.2	15	1550-1400[b]	large scale architectures period ends in abandonment, follows erosion	Central Anatolian ceramic industry replaces CPW *completely* LCI Cypriot imports: bichrome ware early LCII (Base Ring I, WS I, RLW-m)
LB II	IV.1.1	14-13.1	1400-1200	=Hittite empire period both periods end in destruction	uniform, mass produced Hittite ceramic types; LB "Canaanite" jars (Syro-Palestinian amphorae), LC II imports
LB III	IV.1.2	13.2	1200-1150/1130		sub-Hittite industry local adaptations of LHIIIC (bowls)

Radiocarbon dates (from Novák et al. 2017, 181):

a) Lev. 16
area K building: first phase, seeds 1760-1525 2σ; 1725-1610 1σ
area K buildin: final phase 1700-1410 2σ; 1625-1450 1σ

b) Lev. 15
west slope, mon. building (99J/L) 1670-1485 2σ; 1620-1515 1σ

Fig. 7. Stratigraphy at Kinet Höyük.

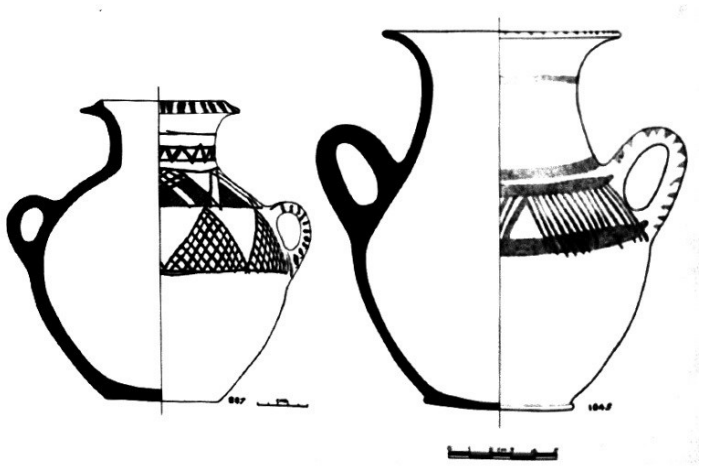


Fig. 8a. Jars, LB Ia (Goldman 1956, n. 887, 1045).

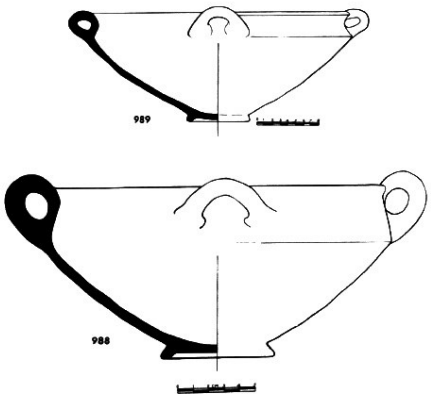


Fig. 8b. 2-4 handled bowls, LB Ib (Goldman 1956, n. 988, 989).

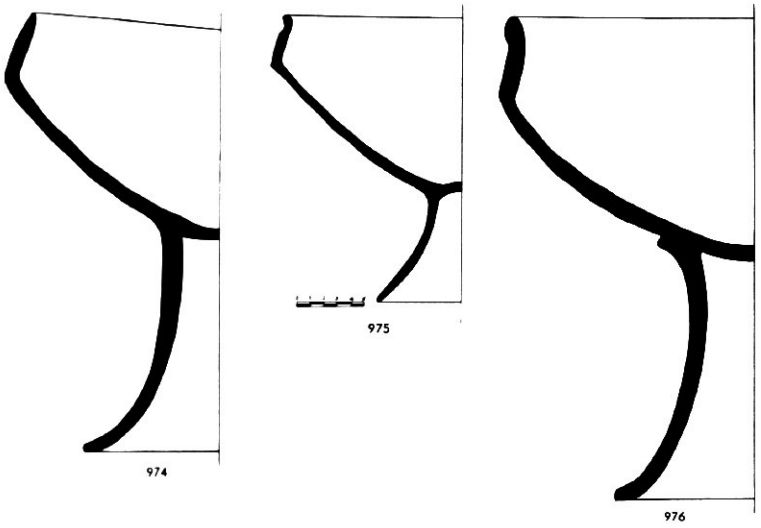


Fig. 8c. High pedestal base bowl, LB Ib (Goldman 1956, n. 974-976).

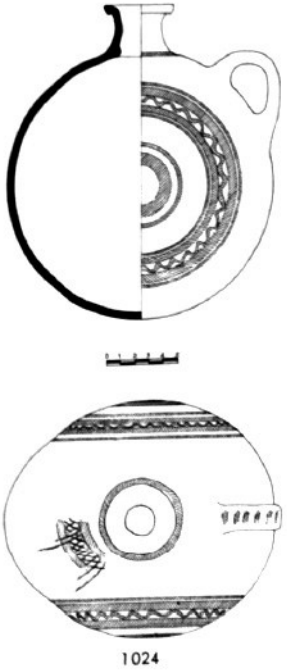


Fig. 8d. lentoid flask, LB Ib (Goldman 1956, n. 1024).

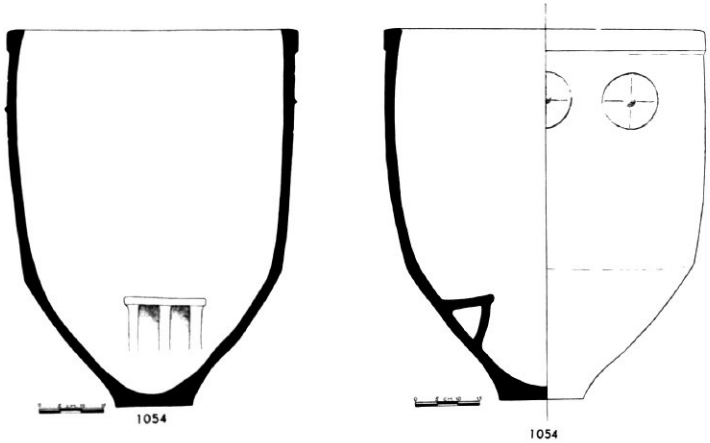


Fig. 8e. Tub, LB Ib (Goldman 1956, n. 1054).

Fig. 8. LB I pottery from Tarsus (from Goldman 1956).

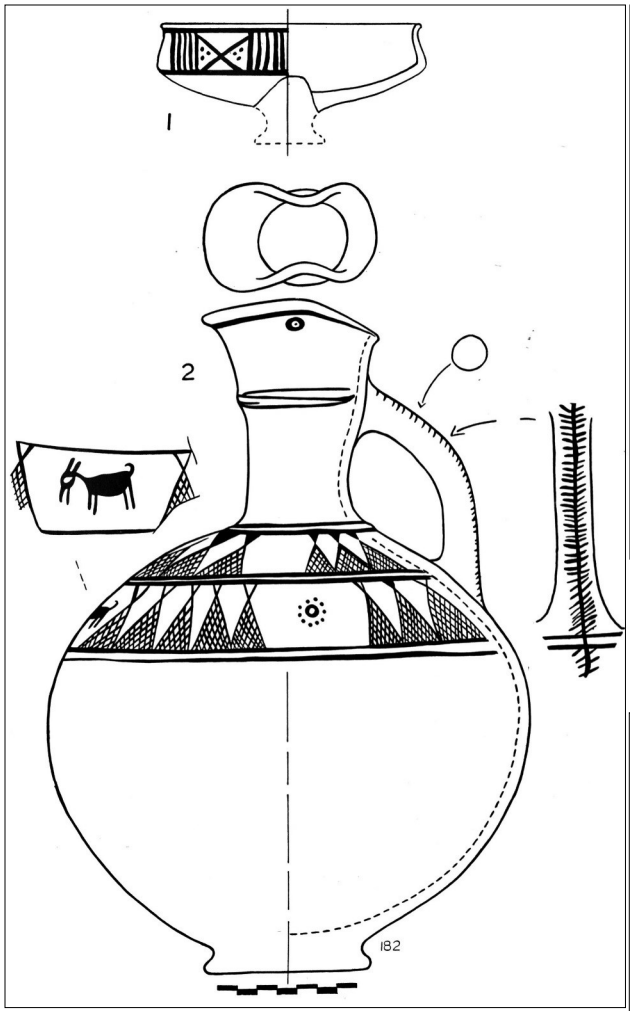


Fig. 9a. Local painted pottery from Mersin, MBA lev. XI. (Adapted from Garstang 1953, fig. 143)

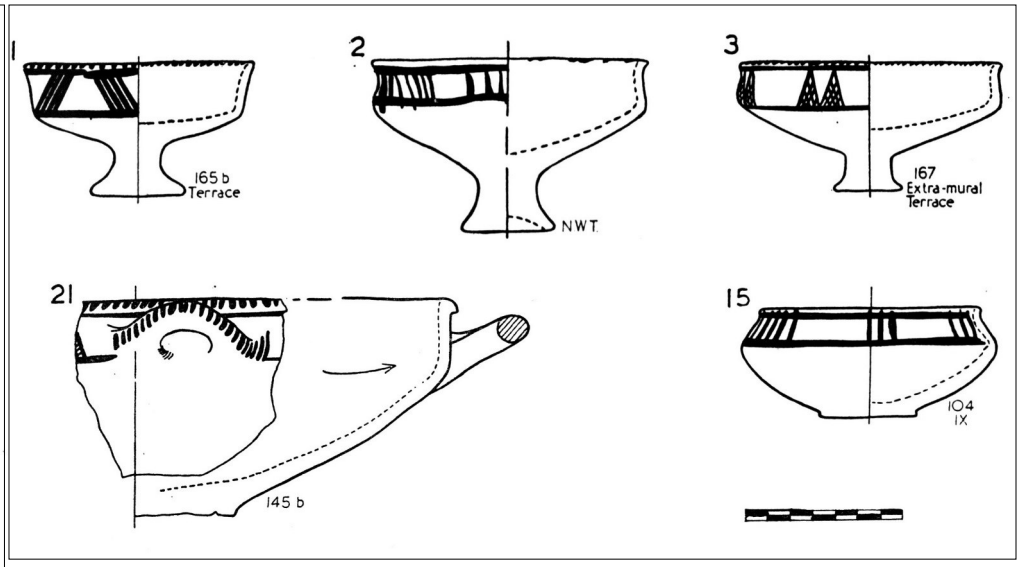


Fig. 9b. Local painted pottery from Mersin, pedestal goblets, MBA lev. XI. (Adapted from Garstang 1953, fig. 144)

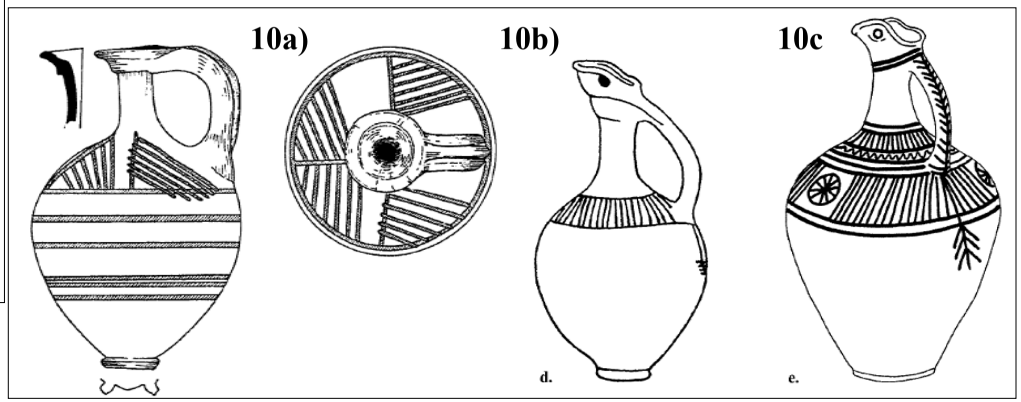


Fig. 10. Examples of Syro-Cilician pottery. **a)** Stepped rim juglet from Tell-el Dab'a, tomb 4; **b-c)** Eye jugs from Qatna, tomb 1, h. ca. 23, 32 cm. (From Bagh 2003, 224 fig. 2c; 226 fig. 3d-e, with ref.)

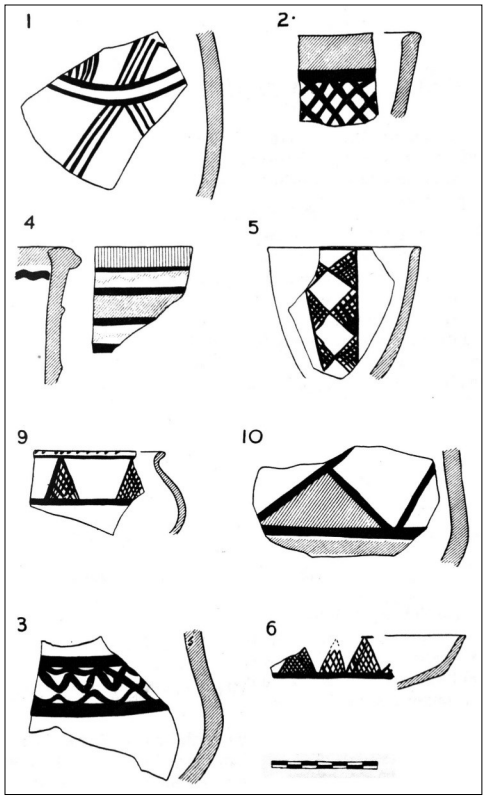


Fig. 11. Painted decorations on pottery from Mersin, Lev. VIII-VII (adapted from Garstang 1953, fig. 155).

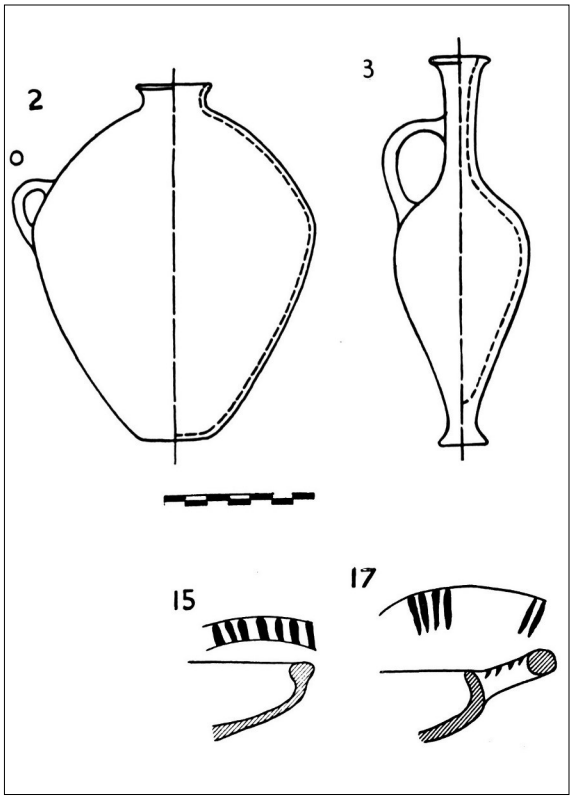


Fig. 12a. Shapes from ceramic assemblage of Lev. VI-V, Mersin (adapted from Garstang 1953, fig. 156).

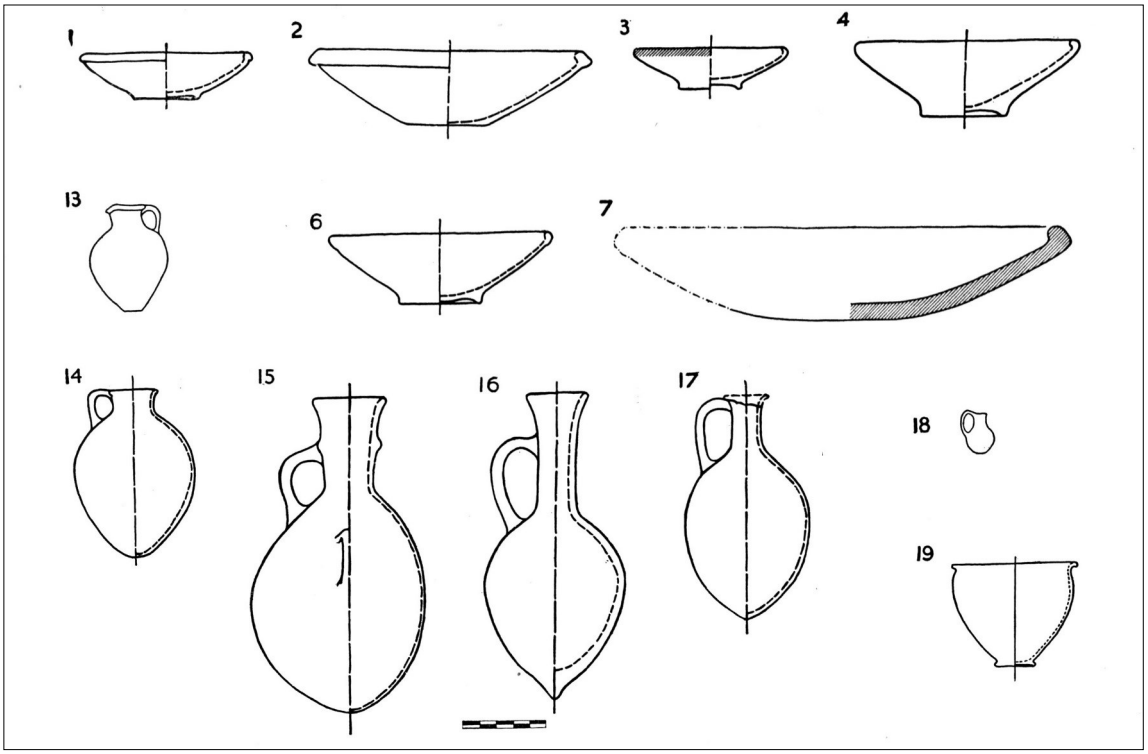


Fig. 12b. Monochrome pottery from lev. V inside "Hittite" fortifications, Mersin (adapted from Garstang 1953, fig. 157).

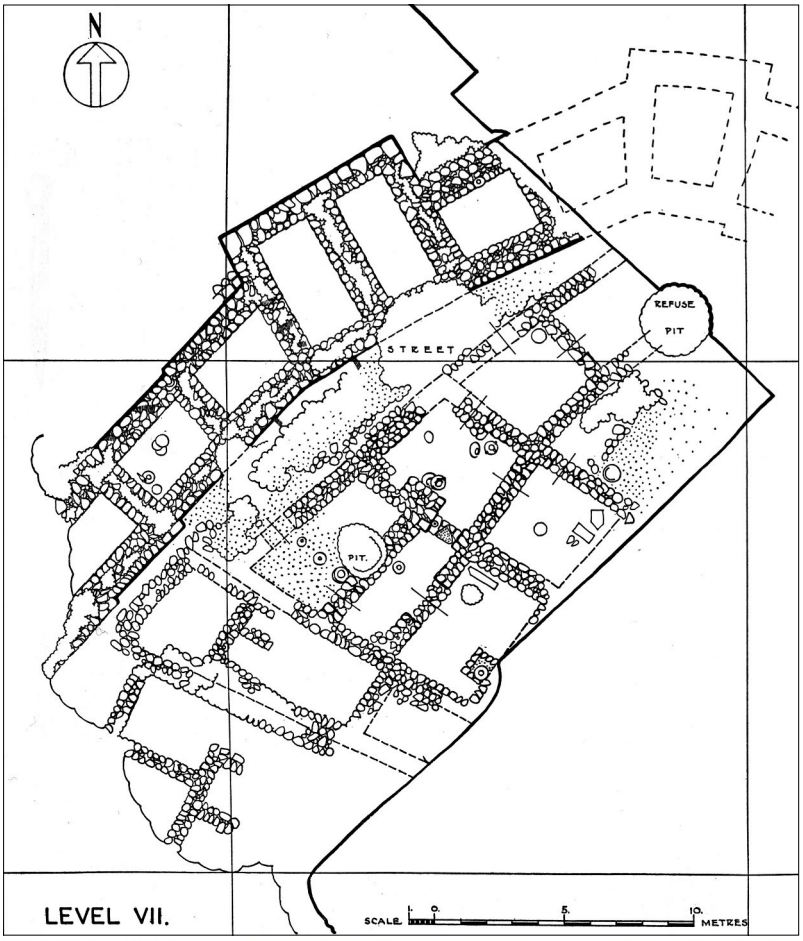


Fig. 13. Mersin-Yumuktepe. Level VII-V fortification walls with buildings of level VIa. (Garstang 1953, fig. 151).

Fig. 14. Old Assyrian trade network in Anatolia (G. Barjamovic, I. d'Hostingue; from Larsen 2015, 18 n.2).

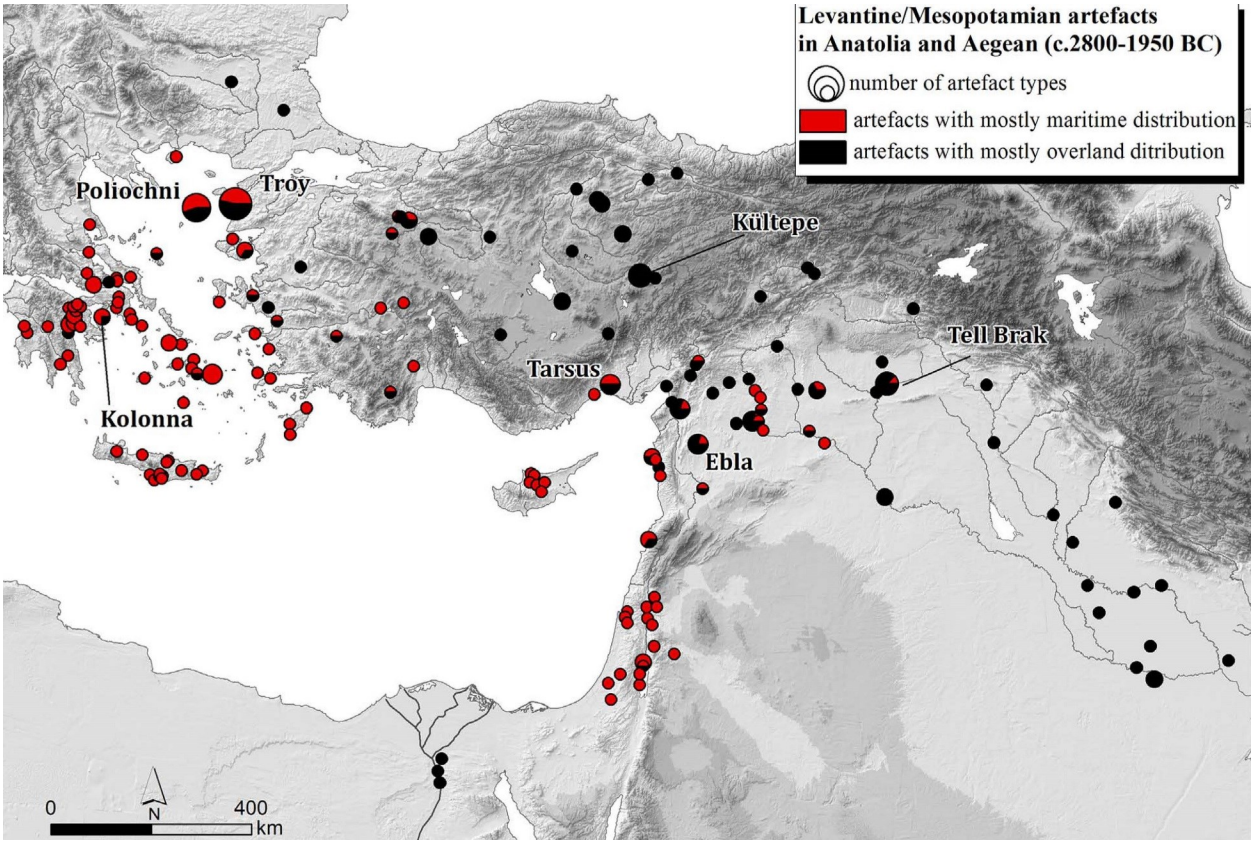


Fig. 15. Sites involved in the Early Bronze Age interregional networks, with at least one artefact type considered as a marker for long-distance trade. (From: Massa-Palmisano 2018, 82 fig. 14, with ref.).

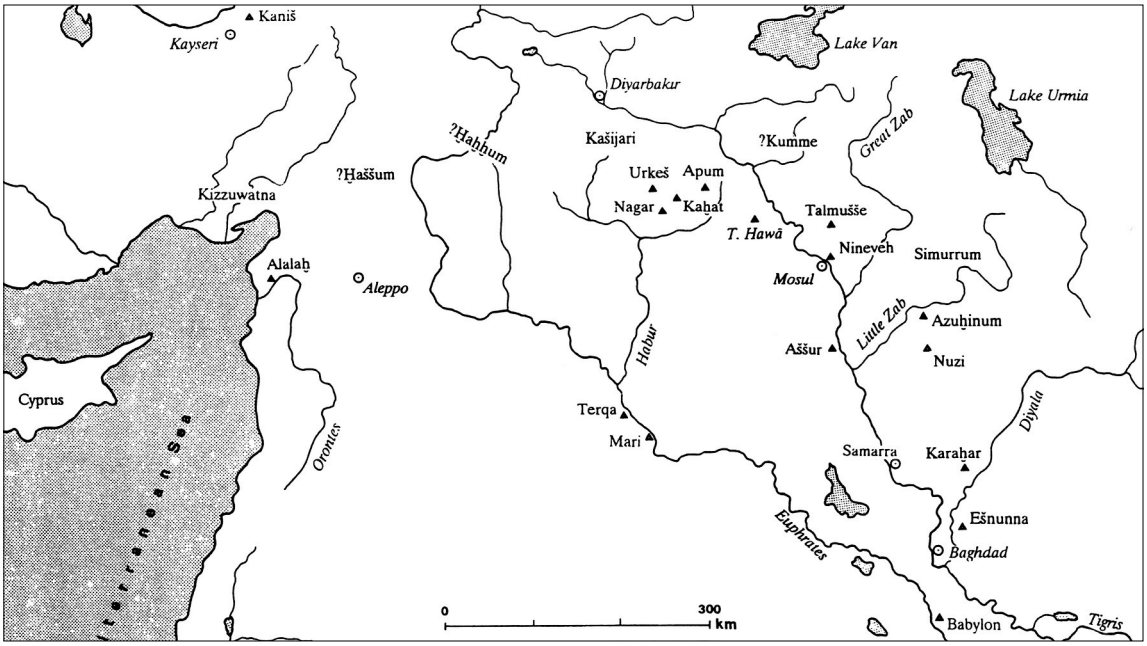


Fig. 16. Evidence for the use of Hurrian in the 3rd and 2nd Millennium BC (Salvini 1998, 101, f. 1).

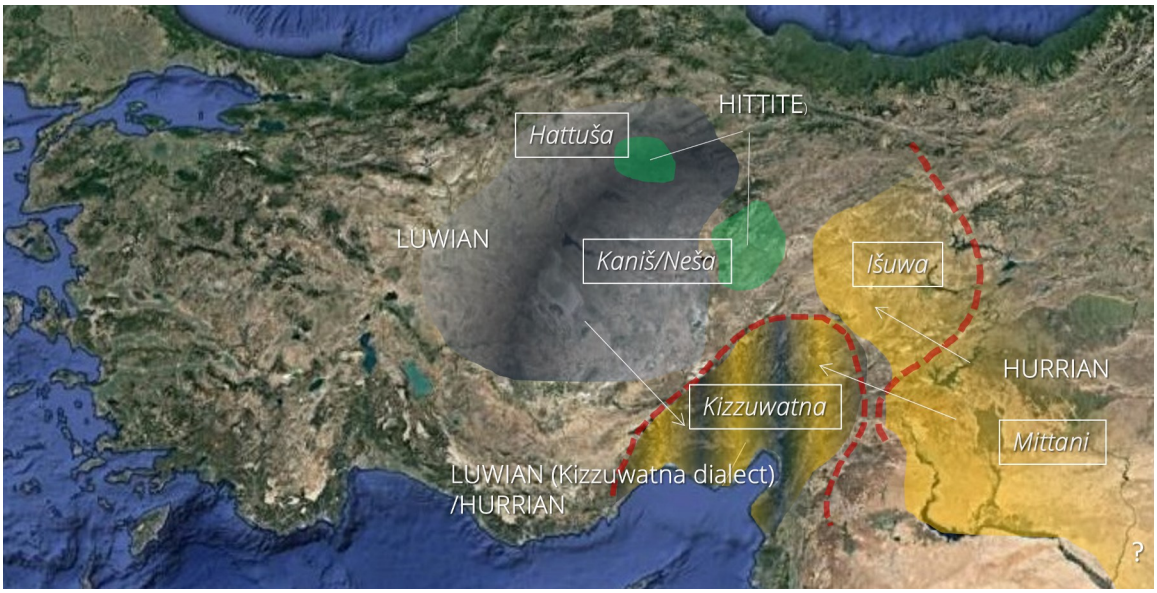


Fig. 17. Languages in Anatolia, ca. 19th-16th c. BCE.

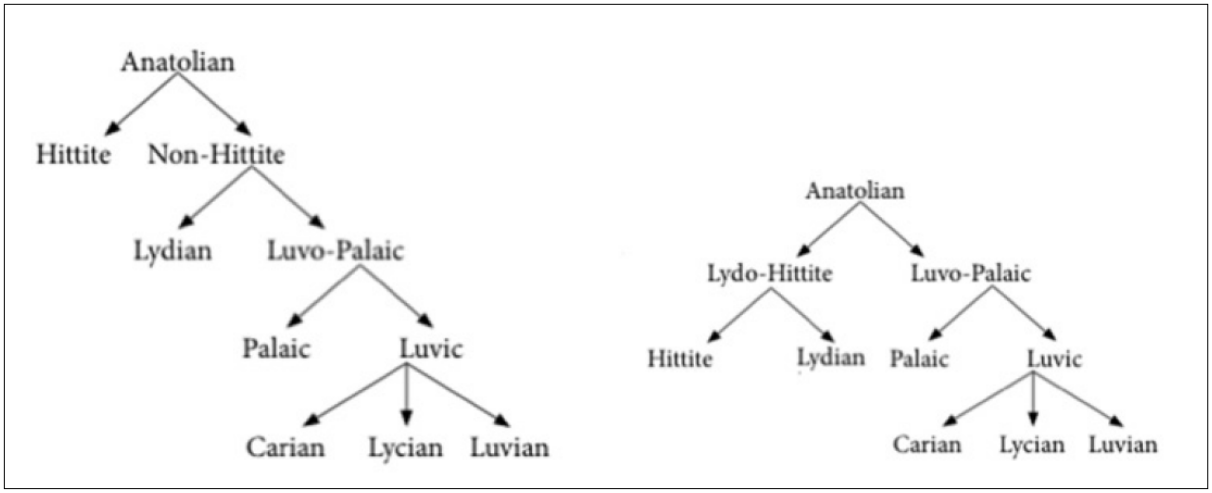


Fig. 18a. Two alternative reconstructions of the filiation of Anatolian (Giusfredi 2015, 79 fig. 2-3).

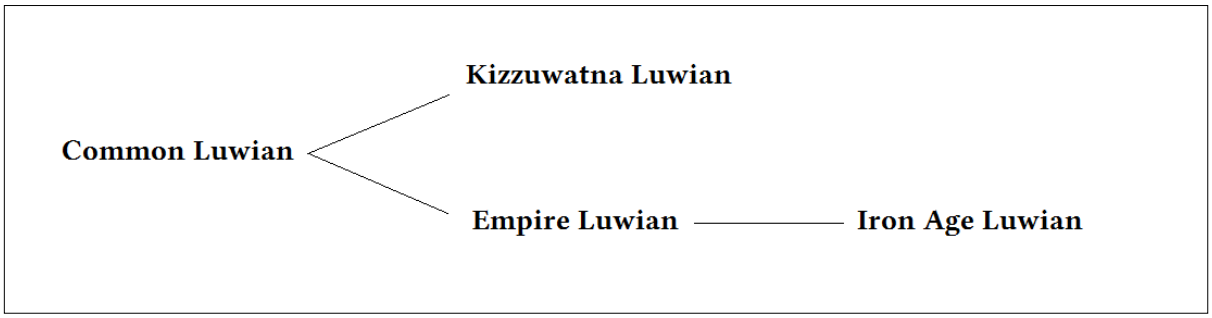


Fig. 18b. Luwian dialectal filiation according to Yakubovich 2010 (69, fig. 2).

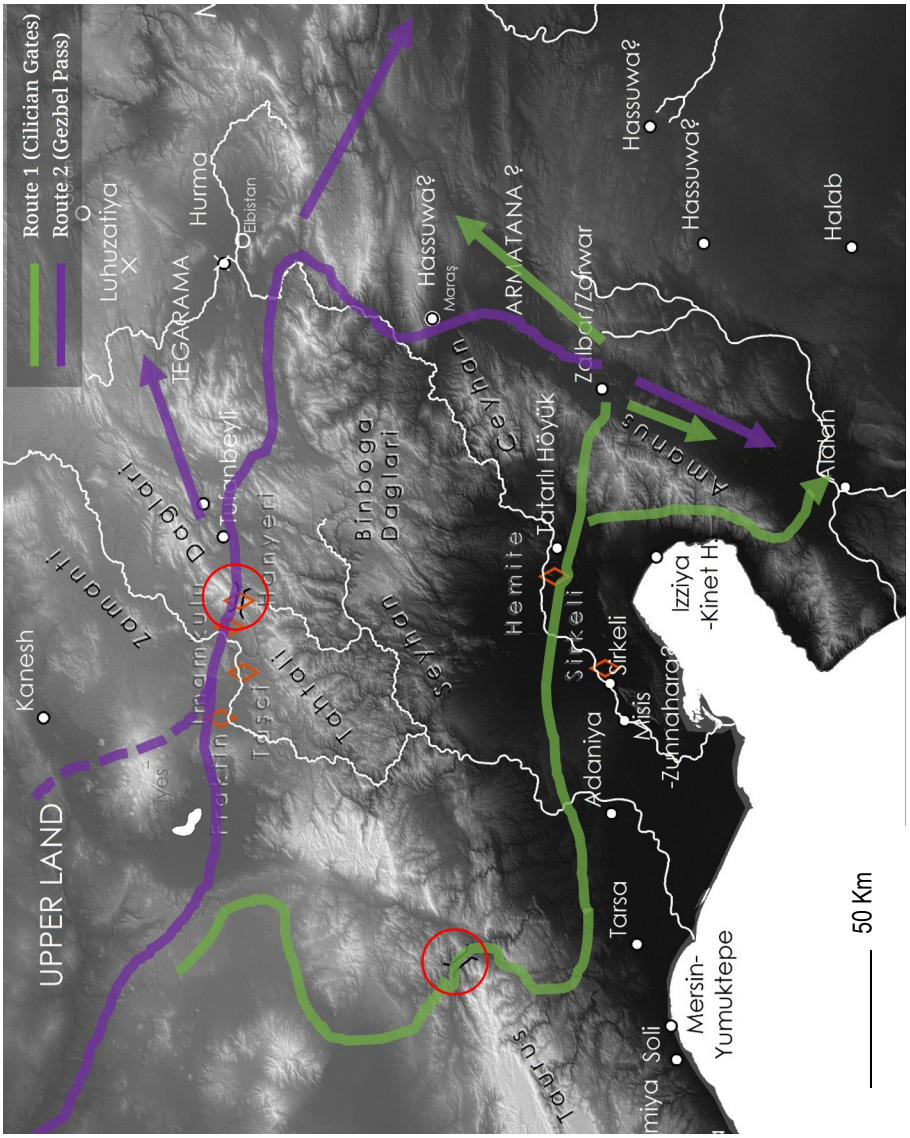


Fig. 19. Alternative itineraries of the Hittite Old Kingdom's campaigns (in particular according to the *Annals of Hattusili I*, CTH 4).

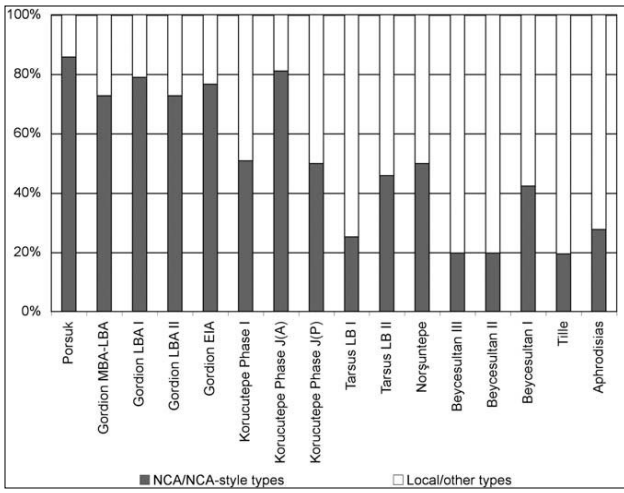


Fig. 20. Proportion of north-central Anatolian pottery types in published assemblages at different Anatolian sites.
Sample sizes:
Porsuk (203),
Gordion (299),
Beycesultan (604),
Aphrodisias (206),
Tarsus (278),
Korucutepe (3564),
Norşuntepe (1273),
Tille Hoyuk (263).

(From: Glatz 2009, 131 fig. 3).

Fig. 21 (Left)
Hittite land grant from Tarsus, found in 1936.
Photo: Goldman 1956, Table 404, 408 n. 64.

Fig. 22 (Bottom left)
Land grant from Tarsus.
Photo: Goldman 1937, 280, fig. 39

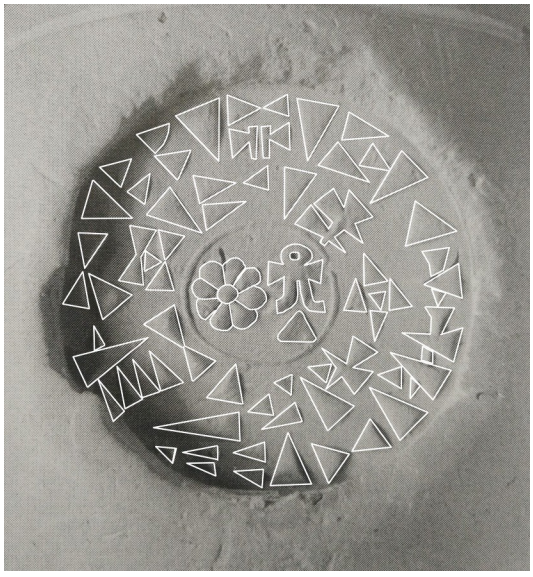
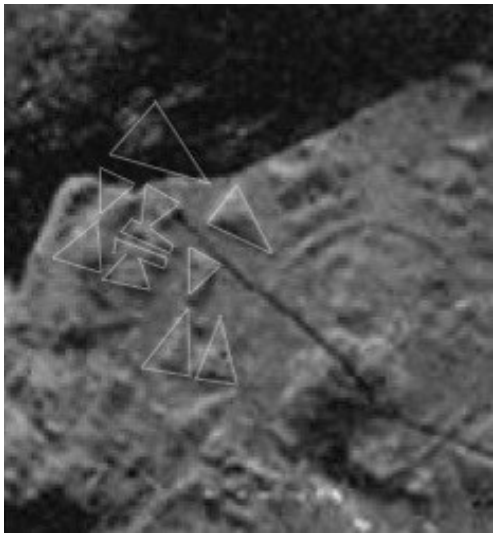


Fig. 23 (Above)
Tracing of seal 3b in Rüster-Wilhelm 2012 (43); text n. 12 (Bo 90/750). Photo: ibid. tafel XI. Tracing of the author.



Left to right, top to bottom:

Fig. 24a: Detail of seal n. 5 on the Tarsus' land grant. Seal 5 in Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 43.

Fig. 24b: Detail of signs <TA> and <UŠ> traced on seal n. 3b and overlapped with seal n. 5. The signs layout and alignments are the same, *pace* Müller-Karpe 1998.

Fig. 24c-24d: 40% and 60% transparency overlap of seal n. 3b over seal n. 5, showing full consistency in sign disposition.

Fig. 25 Tracing of Tabarna seal n. 3b overlapped with n. 5 (Tarsus tablet) 100%, 50%, 25% transparency.

	Mittani	Ḫatti	Aššur	Egypt
~ *1540 BC*	"King of the Hurrians"	Ḫattušili I		
~ *1500 BC*	Kirta (?)	Muršili I		
	Šuttarna I (?)	Ḫantili		Thutmosis I
	Parrattarna	Zidanta		
	Parsatatar			Thutmosis III
~ *1420 BC*	Sauštatar	Ḫattušili II		Amenophis II
	(Parrattarna II ?)			
~ *1400 BC*	Artatama I			Thutmosis IV
	Šuttarna II	Tutḫalia II		
	Artaššumara	Arnuwanda I		Amenophis III
~ *1360 BC*	Tušratta (daneben: Artatama II und Šuttarna III)	Šuppiluliuma I	Aššur-uballiṭ I	Amenophis IV (= Akhetaten)
	Šattiwaza			Tutankhamen
~ *1290 BC*	Šattuara I	Muršili II	Adad-nērārī I	
	Wasašatta			
~ *1240 BC*	Šattuara II	Ḫattušili III	Shalmaneser I	Ramses II
~ *1200 BC*	Atal-Teššub	Tutḫaliya III (IV)	Tukultī-Ninurta I	

Fig. 26. Chronology based on the U-LC of Gasche et al. 2000. (From: Novák 2007, 390 fig. 2).

	Ḫatti	Kizzuwatna	Alalakh/Aleppo	Mittani
~1540	Ḫattušili I			"King of the Hurrians"
	Muršili I		Hammurapi II	
		Pariyawatri		
~1500	Telepinu	Išpudaḫšu		Kirta (?)
	Taḫurwaili	Eḫeya		Šuttarna I (?)
		Paddatiššu		
~1470	Zidanta II	Pilliya	Idrimi[5] (Level Vb)	Parattarna
	Muwattalli I	Talzu		Parsatatar
~1420			Niqmepa (Level IV)	Šauštatar
		Šunaššura		
~1400	Tudḫaliya I		Ilim-ilimma	Artatama I

Fig. 27. Chronology and synchronisms (grey) based on the LC of Mebert 2010. (From: Kozal-Novák 2017, 302 table 19.1).

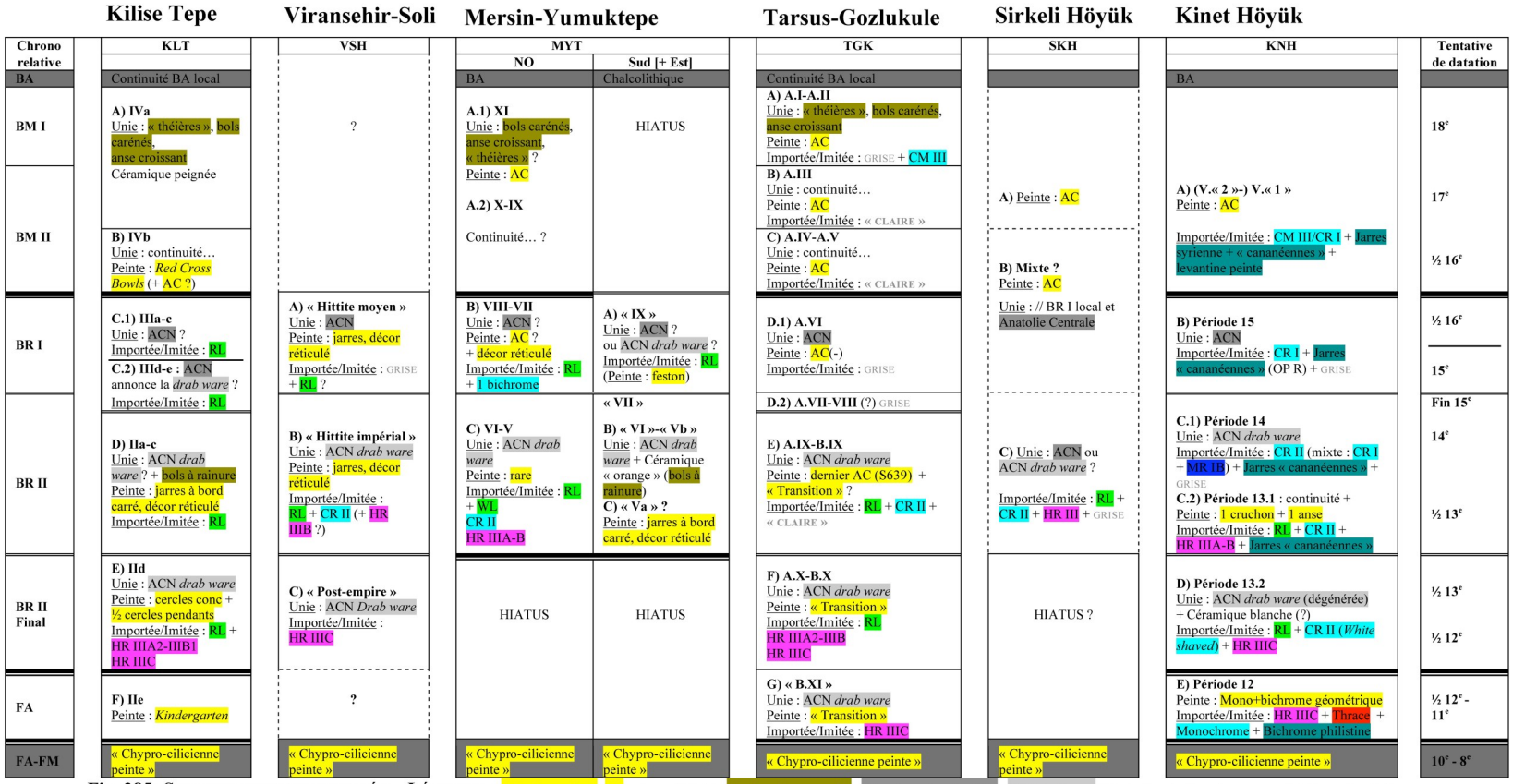

Kilise Tepe
Viransehir-Soli
Mersin-Yumuktepe
Tarsus-Gozlukule
Sirkeli Höyük
Kinet Höyük
Chrono relative
KLT
VSH
MYT
NO
Sud [+ Est]
TGK
SKH
KNH
Tentative de datation
BA
Continuité BA local
BA
Chalcolithique
Continuité BA local
BA
BM I
A) IVa
Unie : « théières », bols carénés, anse croissant
Céramique peignée
?
A.1) XI
Unie : bols carénés, anse croissant, « théières » ?
Peinte : AC
A.2) X-IX
Continuité… ?
HIATUS
A) A.I-A.II
Unie : « théières », bols carénés, anse croissant
Peinte : AC
Importée/Imitée : GRISE + CM III
A) Peinte : AC
A) (V.« 2 »-) V.« 1 »
Peinte : AC
Importée/Imitée : CM III/CR I + Jarres syrienne + « cananéennes » + levantine peinte
18e
17e
½ 16e
BM II
B) IVb
Unie : continuité…
Peinte : Red Cross Bowls (+ AC ?)
B) A.III
Unie : continuité…
Peinte : AC
Importée/Imitée : « CLAIRE »
C) A.IV-A.V
Unie : continuité…
Peinte : AC
Importée/Imitée : « CLAIRE »
B) Mixte ?
Peinte : AC
Unie : // BR I local et Anatolie Centrale
BR I
C.1) IIIa-c
Unie : ACN ?
Importée/Imitée : RL
C.2) IIId-e : ACN annonce la drab ware ?
Importée/Imitée : RL
A) « Hittite moyen »
Unie : ACN
Peinte : jarres, décor réticulé
Importée/Imitée : GRISE + RL ?
B) VIII-VII
Unie : ACN ?
Peinte : AC ?
+ décor réticulé
Importée/Imitée : RL + 1 bichrome
A) « IX »
Unie : ACN ?
ou ACN drab ware ?
Importée/Imitée : RL (Peinte : feston)
D.1) A.VI
Unie : ACN
Peinte : AC(-)
Importée/Imitée : GRISE
B) Période 15
Unie : ACN
Importée/Imitée : CR I + Jarres « cananéennes » (OP R) + GRISE
½ 16e
15e
BR II
D) IIa-c
Unie : ACN drab ware ? + bols à rainure
Peinte : jarres à bord carré, décor réticulé
Importée/Imitée : RL
B) « Hittite impérial »
Unie : ACN drab ware
Peinte : jarres, décor réticulé
Importée/Imitée : RL + CR II (+ HR IIIB ?)
C) VI-V
Unie : ACN drab ware
Peinte : rare
Importée/Imitée : RL + WL
CR II
HR IIIA-B
« VII »
B) « VI »-« Vb »
Unie : ACN drab ware + Céramique « orange » (bols à rainure)
C) « Va » ?
Peinte : jarres à bord carré, décor réticulé
D.2) A.VII-VIII (?) GRISE
E) A.IX-B.IX
Unie : ACN drab ware
Peinte : dernier AC (S639) + « Transition » ?
Importée/Imitée : RL + CR II + « CLAIRE »
C) Unie : ACN ou ACN drab ware ?
Importée/Imitée : RL + CR II + HR III + GRISE
C.1) Période 14
Unie : ACN drab ware
Importée/Imitée : CR II (mixte : CR I + MR IB) + Jarres « cananéennes » + GRISE
C.2) Période 13.1 : continuité + Peinte : 1 cruchon + 1 anse
Importée/Imitée : RL + CR II + HR IIIA-B + Jarres « cananéennes »
Fin 15e
14e
½ 13e
BR II Final
E) IId
Unie : ACN drab ware
Peinte : cercles conc + ½ cercles pendants
Importée/Imitée : RL + HR IIIA2-IIIB1
HR IIIC
C) « Post-empire »
Unie : ACN Drab ware
Importée/Imitée : HR IIIC
HIATUS
HIATUS
F) A.X-B.X
Unie : ACN drab ware
Peinte : « Transition »
Importée/Imitée : RL
HR IIIA2-IIIB
HR IIIC
HIATUS ?
D) Période 13.2
Unie : ACN drab ware (dégénérée) + Céramique blanche (?)
Importée/Imitée : RL + CR II (White shaved) + HR IIIC
½ 13e
½ 12e
FA
F) IIe
Peinte : Kindergarten
?
G) « B.XI »
Unie : ACN drab ware
Peinte : « Transition »
Importée/Imitée : HR IIIC
E) Période 12
Peinte : Mono+bichrome géométrique
Importée/Imitée : HR IIIC + Thrace + Monochrome + Bichrome philistine
½ 12e - 11e
FA-FM
« Chypro-cilicienne peinte »
« Chypro-cilicienne peinte »
« Chypro-cilicienne peinte »
« Chypro-cilicienne peinte »
« Chypro-cilicienne peinte »
« Chypro-cilicienne peinte »
« Chypro-cilicienne peinte »
10e - 8e
Fig. 285: STRATIGRAPHIE COMPARÉE – LÉGENDE : Céramique peinte (AC = Amuq-Cilicie) / Quelques formes unies ; Céramique de sytle ACN ; ACN drab ware (Diminution de l'engobe rouge poli et du nombre de formes ACN) / Céramiques importées ou imitées : Red (et White) Lustrous Wheel-made Ware ; Chypriote ; Minoenne ; Mycénienne ; Syro-levantine ; d'Anatolie du NO ou de Thrace orientale ; GRISE OU « CLAIRE » À DÉCOR INCISÉ OU IMPRIMÉ

Fig. 28. Comparative stratigraphy of Cilician sites (from Jean 2010, fig. 285; reproduced with the permission of the author). Cfr. also *figs. 5-7* for the sites of Tarsus, Mersin-Yumuktepe and Kinet Höyük.

Period	Historical dating BCE	Sample	Phase	Code LARA	uncalibrated. ^{14}C-date (before 1950)	calibrated (BCE)
MCI 1–2	*1560–1350*					
MCI 3–4	*1350–1190*	Si16-D0336 SE-D0281	Z VIII	BE-6014.1.1	*3343±20*	*1689–1536*
		Si16-A0039 SE-A0500	P VI (?)	BE-6020.1.1	*3338±20*	*1687–1536*
		Si16-A0054 SE-A0508	P VI	BE-6022.1.1	*3223±20*	*1528–1439*
		Si13-D0182 SE-D0204	Z VIII	BE-6005.1.1	*3191±20*	*1501–1427*

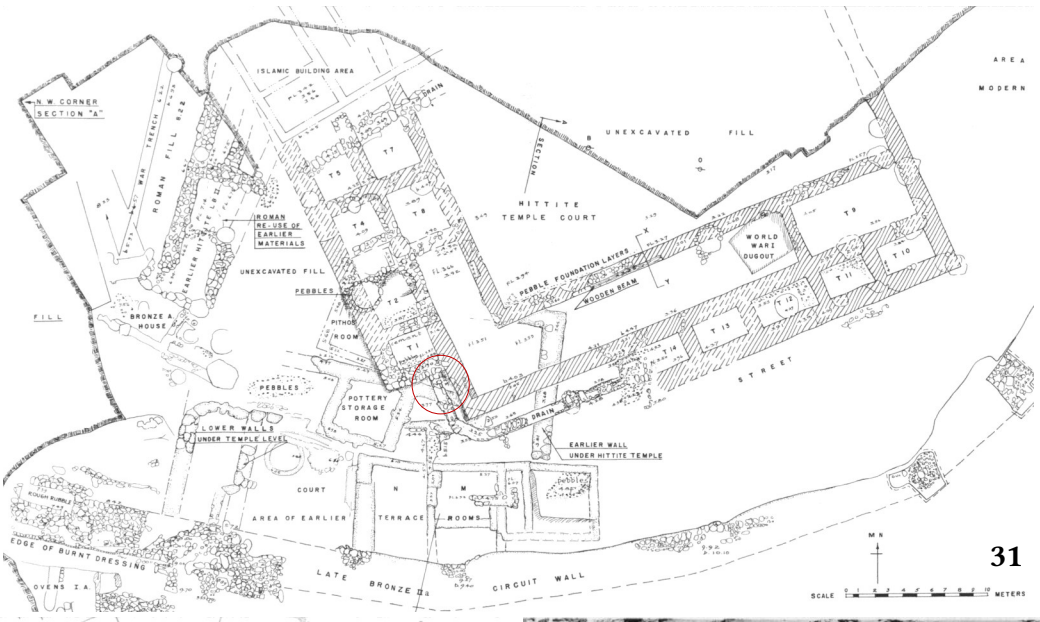
Fig. 29. Radiocarbon dates from Sirkeli Höyük. (From: Novák et al. 2017, 172).

CI-Period[15]	Dates[16]	Conventional	Dates[17]	Novák et al. 2018	Novák et al. 2017
PN	*6800–5300*	Early Neolithic	*7000–6100*	Goldman Neolithic	Goldman Neolithic
		Middle Neolithic	*6100–6000*		
		Late Neolithic	*6000–5800*		
		Final Neolithic	*5800–5500*	Goldman Chalcolithic	Goldman Chalcolithic
EC	*5300–4200*	Early Chalcolithic	*5500–5000*		
		Middle Chalcolithic	*5000–4500*		
LC 1–6	*4200–3000*	Late Chalcolithic	*4500–3300*		
ECI 1	*3000–2900*	EB I	*3300–2900*	Goldman EB Ia	Goldman EB Ia
ECI 2	*2900–2600*	EB II/Ib[18]	*2900–2700*	Goldman EB Ib	Goldman EB Ib
ECI 3	*2600–2420*	EB III[19]/II[18]	*2700–2400*	Goldman EB II	Goldman EB II
ECI 4	*2420–2250*	EB IVa[19]/IIIa[18]	*2400–2200*	Goldman EB IIIa	Goldman EB IIIa
ECI 5	*2250–2050*	EB IVb/IIIb	*2200–2000*	Goldman EB IIIb	Goldman EB IIIb
OCI 1	*2050–1950*	MB I	*2000–1800*	MB I	MB I (Slane A.I–A.III)
OCI 2	*1950–1700*				
OCI 3	*1700–1560*	MB II	*1800–1640*	MB II (Goldman LB I)	MB II (Goldman LB I/ Slane A.IV)
MCI 1	*1560–1522*		*1640–1595*		
MCI 2	*1522–1420*	LB I	*1595–1400*	LB I	LB I (Slane A.V–A.VI)
				(Slane A VII/VIII)	
MCI 3	*1420–1350*			LB IIa	LB IIa (Slane A.VII/VIII)
MCI 4	*1350–1190*	LB II	*1400–1190*		
NCI 1	*1190–1130*	LB III/IA Ia	*1190–1130*	LB IIb	LB IIb (Slane A.IX/B.IX)
NCI 2	*1130–950*	IA Ib	*1130–850*	Early IA	Early IA

Jean 2010

Tentative chronology	Stratigraphy
1800-1700 1700-1600 1600-1550	A.I-II A.III A.IV-V
1550-1425 Late 15th c.	A.VI A.VII-VIII
1400-1250 1250-1150	A.IX B.IX A.X B.X

Fig. 30. Stratigraphy at Tarsus-Gözlükule (Novák et al. 2017; 2018 and Jean 2010 — adapted by the author).



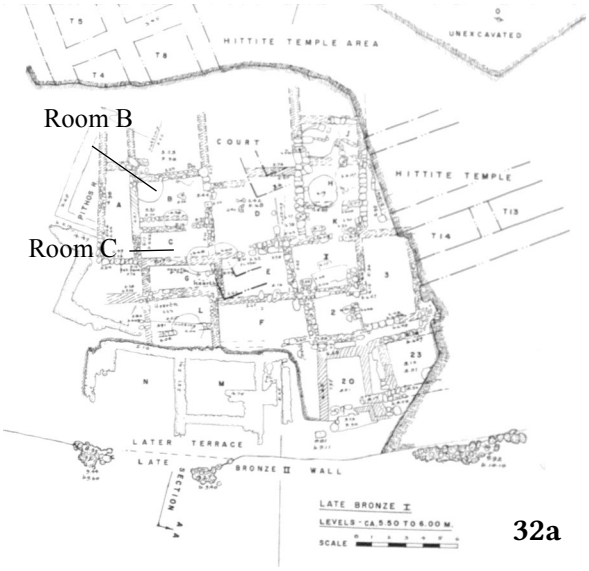


Fig. 31. Tarsus, section A. LB IIa-b levels. Hittite temple (from Goldman 1956 II, plan 22). Find location of the Išpudaḫšu seal, circled in red.

Fig. 32a. Tarsus, section A. LB I level (from Goldman 1956 II, plan 21).

Fig. 32b. Tarsus, bird's eye view of LB I building. The poorly preserved structures were intruded by the construction of the LBII Hittite temple; western temple wall visible to the left (from Goldman 1956 II, fig. 160).

Fig. 33a-b.
Cretula with seal of Great King Išpudaḫšu, ca. late 16th c.
From Tarsus.
(a. Goldman 1956 II, pl. 405 n. 1.
b. Goldman 1956 II, pl. 401 n. 1).

34a

34b

36a

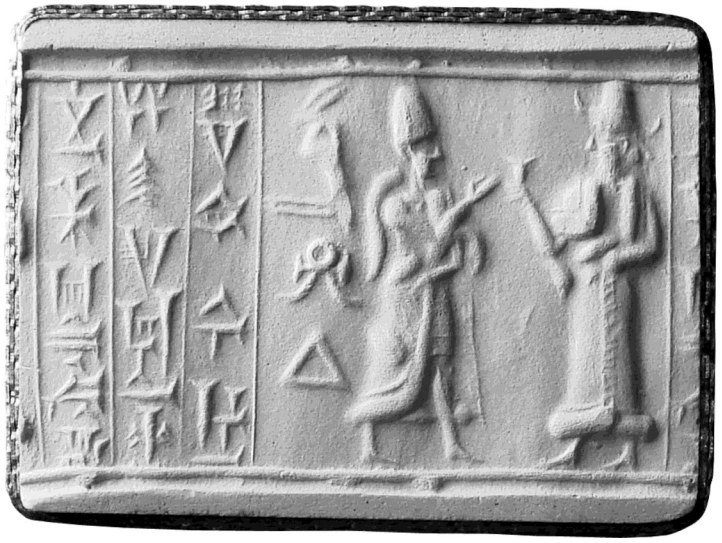
35a

	'lugal'	'dumu'	'at'
Tarsus:			
Boghazkeui (bullae):			
Boghazkeui (cursive):			
Cappadocia:			
Khana:			

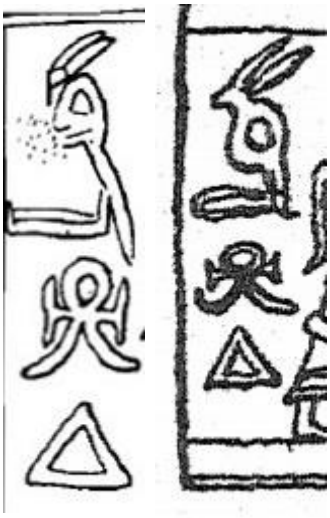
35b

DUMU

Indi-limma Išpudaḫšu Abba-AN



36b

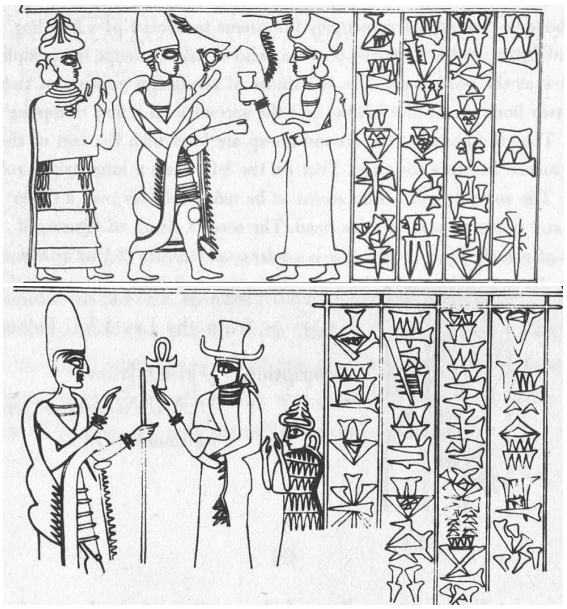


36c-d

Fig. 34. "Tabarna seal", age of Telipinu (late 16th c.). Impression on Land Grant Bo 90/750, text n. 12 in Rüster-Wilhelm 2012 (Image: a) Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, tafel XI; b) ibid. 43 n. 3a).

Fig. 35. a) Comparison of sign shapes in different documents (from Goetze 1936, 211).
b) Tracing of DUMU signs from Indi-limma seal (fig. 6), Išpudaḫšu seal (fig. 3), Abba-AN seal (fig. 7a).

Fig. 36. Seal of Indi-limma of Ebla, early 17th c. **a)** original seal; **b)** modern print (from Archi 2015, 29 tab I); **c-d)** hand copies (from Boehmer 1987, 40, fig. 26a; Ward 1910, 268 n. 797).



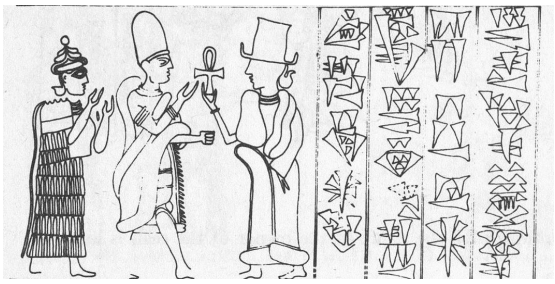
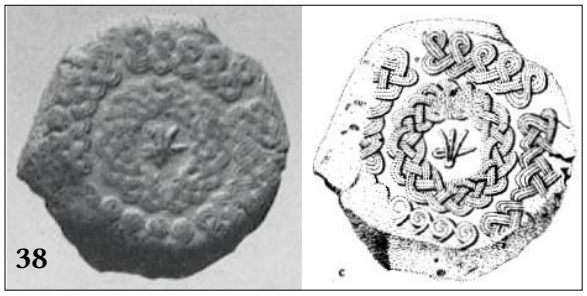


Fig. 37. a) Seal of Abba-AN, from Alalaḫ.
Ab-ba-AN / DUMU *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi* /
LUGAL *Ia-am-ḫa-dum / na-ra-am* ^{d}IM

b) Seal of Yarim-Lim, from Alalaḫ.
Ia-ri-im-li-im / DUMU *Ab-ba*-AN / LUGAL *Ia-am-ḫa-ad / na-ra-am* ^{d}I[M]

a) Seal of Niqmepa, from Alalaḫ.
Ni-iq-mi-e-p[u-uḫ] / DUMU *Ia-ri-im-li-i[m]* /
LUGAL *ia-am-ḫa-a[d] / na-ra-am* ^{d}[IM]
(from Collon 1975, 6-9, n. 3, 5, 6).



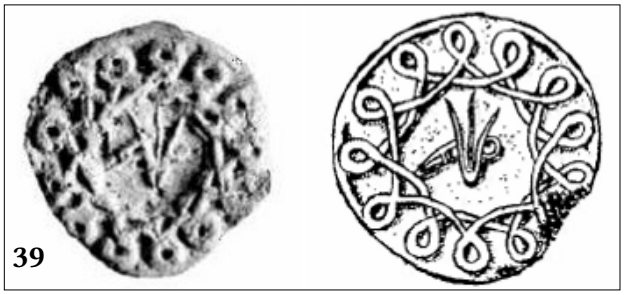
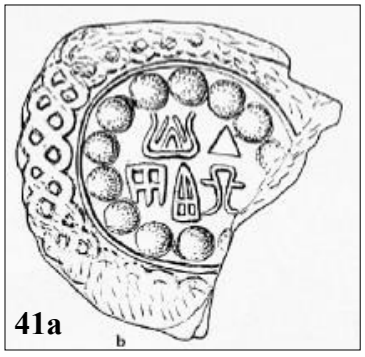
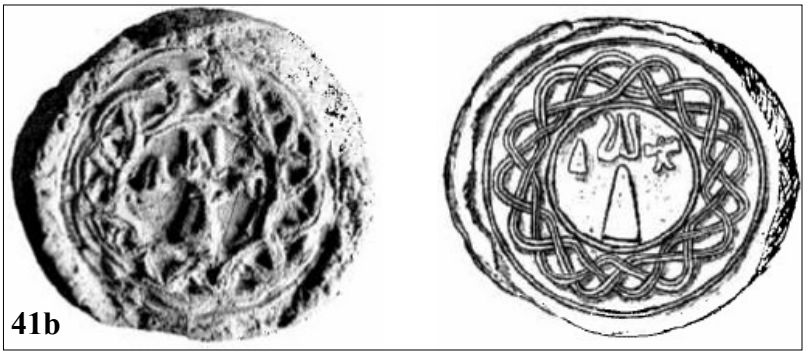
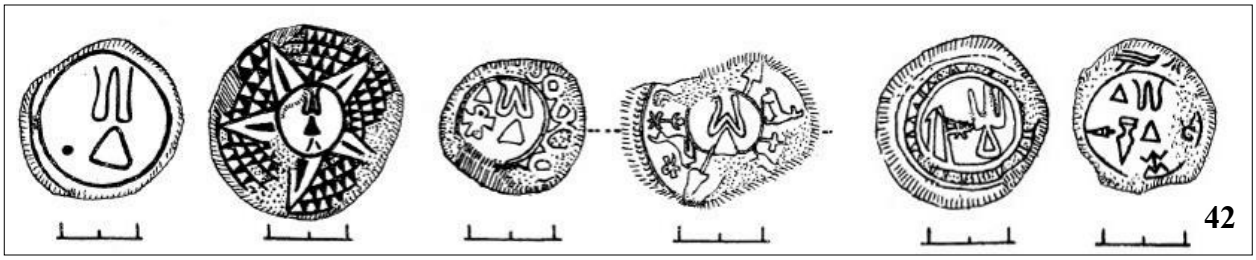
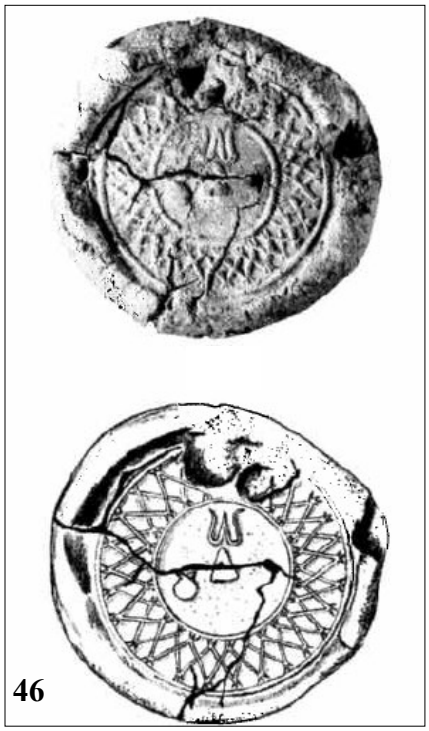


Fig. 38. BKf/14. Cretula of a functionary named Ḫattusili. From Ḫattuša (Beran 1967, 63 fig. 53; Boehmer 1987, 39 fig. 25c).
Fig. 39. Bo85/450. Cretula of a functionary named Ḫattusili, Ḫattuša, Temple 26 (Dinçol-Dinçol 2008 n. 8).
Fig. 40. Ashmolean. Polyhedral hematite Seal. Probably from Cilicia (Hogart 1920, n. 196).
Fig. 41a. Bo 70/6. Sealed cretula, from Ḫattuša, Lower Town, haus 7 (Boehmer 1987, taf. XI n. 111).
Fig. 41b. Bo 84/429. Sealed cretula, from Ḫattuša, Temple 8 (Dinçol-Dinçol 2008 n. 9).









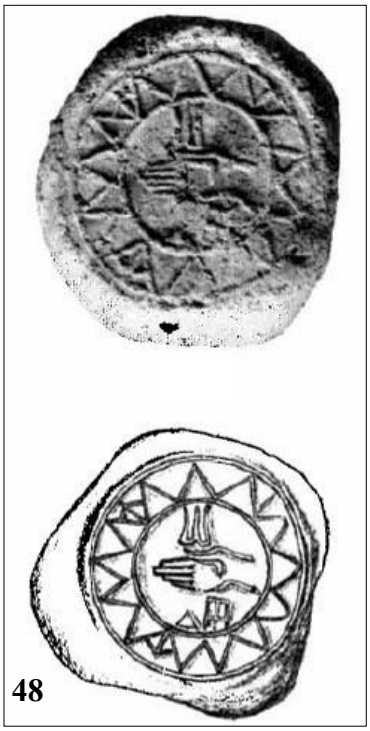


Fig. 42. Sealed cretulae featuring sign combination TONITRUS.BONUS$_2$, from Ḫattuša (SBo II 72, n. 116-121; 77 n. 210).
Fig. 43. Esy 73-82. Stone seal, side B: TONITRUS.BONUS$_2$, from Eskiyapar (Dinçol-Dinçol 1988, 91 n. 2)**.**
Fig. 44. SBo II n. 118**.** TONITRUS.BONUS$_2$ / BONUS$_2$.VITA From Ḫattuša. (Beran 1967, taf. II n. 113).
Fig. 45. Bo 83/885. x.TONITRUS, from Ḫattuša (Temple 12) (Dinçol-Dinçol 2008 n. 32).
Fig. 46. Bo 84/497. TONITRUS.BONUS$_2$ PASTOR, from Ḫattuša (Temple 8) (Dinçol-Dinçol 2008 n. 71).
Fig. 47. Bo 83/15. AH onomastic inscription. From Ḫattuša (Temple 15) (Dinçol-Dinçol 2008 n. 18).
Fig. 48. Bo 84/400. AH onomastic inscription. From Ḫattuša (Temple 8) (Dinçol-Dinçol 2008 n. 29).

49
(a-e)

Fig. 49. Louvre A1029. Hematite seal, unknown provenance (Delaporte 1923, 201 tav. 101 4e).

Fig. 50. 16th c. seal impressions: a) Büyükkale, Bo2000/02 (Herbordt 2006c, 97) b) BoHa 14.123. Image reproduced from Weeden 2018a, 63 figs. 9a -b.

50 a b

51

52

53

Fig. 51. Bo 91/1215. Sealed cretula; royal seal of Muwatalli II; early 13th c. From Ḫattuša (Herbordt et al. 2011, taf. 14, n. 41.2).
Fig. 52. Bo 90/359. Cretula with seal of Muwatalli II; early 13th c. From Ḫattuša (ibid. taf. 10, n. 39.11).
Fig. 53. Seal impr. of Ḫantili II on Land grant Bo 90/758, 15th c. (Rüster-Wilhelm 2012 n. 30, cover image).

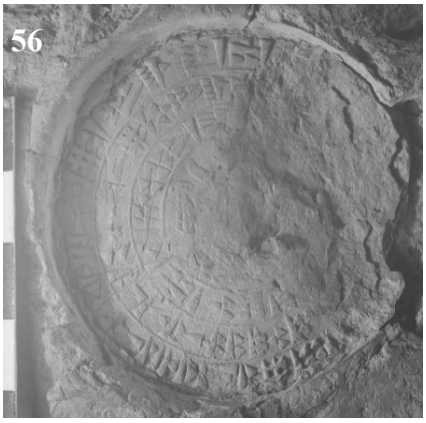
54

Fig. 54. Bo 99/69. Seal of Great King Tudḫaliya, probably Tudḫaliya I; late 15th c. From Ḫattuša (Otten 2000, 375).

Cuneiform inscription:
^{na4}KIŠIB ^{m}*Tù-ut-ḫa-li-ya*
LUGAL.GAL /
DUMU ^{m}*Kán-tu-zi-li.*

AH inscription:
MAGNUS.REX MONS.*TU*

Fig. 55. AlT 3. Contract tablet between Pilliya and Idrimi; 15th c. From Alalaḫ. **b)** Detail; comparison with sign TONITRUS from the seal of Išpudaḫšu (ns. fig. 33).
British Museum, courtesy: ©Trustees of the British Museum.



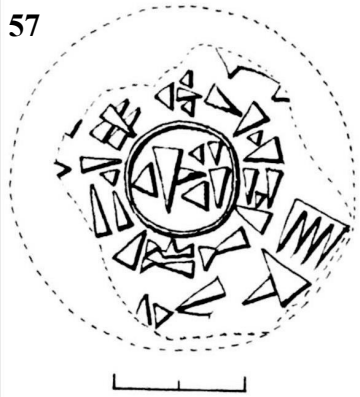


Fig. 56. Detail: seal of Arnuwanda I and Ažmo-Nikkal on land grant Bo 2004 (text n. 91 in Rüster-Wilhelm 2012); early 14th c. From Ḫattuša. (Image available online on HPM).

Fig. 57. Bo 9/e; SBo I 80. Cretula sealed with "Tawananna" seal. 15th-14th c.? (Beran 1967, taf. V, n. 151).

Fig. 58. Bo 90/1005. Cretula with seal of "Tawananna"; 15th c.(?). Ḫattuša (Herbordt et al. 2011, taf. 1, n. 1.1).
Inscription: ^{na4}KIŠIB ^{munus}*ta-wa-na-an-na / ŠA UŠ-PA-ḪU* BA.ÚŠ

Fig. 59. Mşt 74/62. Cretula with seal of Tabarna; late 15th c. Maşat Höyük-Tapikka (Alp 1991a, 468 abb. 4).
Inscription: ^{na4}KIŠIB ^{m}*ta-ba-ar-na* LUGAL.GAL; TI SIG_5

Fig. 60. Bo 90/1013. Cretula with seal of Tudḫaliya (probably I); late 15th c. Ḫattuša (Herbordt et al. 2011, taf. 1, n. 7.1). Inscription: $^{m[r]}$ *Tu-ut-ḫa-li-ya* ; TI

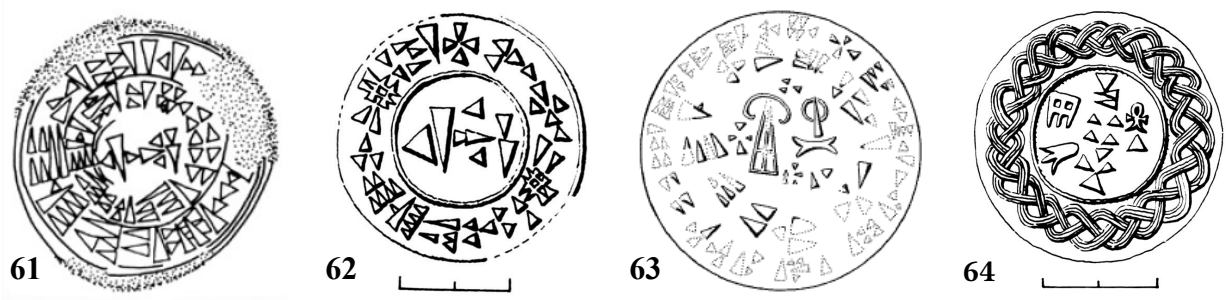


Fig. 61. Cretula with seal of Arnuwanda I; early 14th c. (publ. in Alparslan/Doğan Alparslan 2017, 53 fig. 5b without ref.). Inscription: ^{na4}KIŠIB ^{m}*Ar-*[*nu-w*]*a-an-ta* LUGAL.GAL DUMU / ^{m} *Tù-ut-ḫa-li-ya* LUGAL.GAL; SIG_5.

Fig. 62. SBo I 77A. Cretula with seal of queen Ažmo-Nikkal; early 14th c. Ḫattuša (Beran 1967, taf. V, n. 152). Inscription: ^{munus}*Aš-mu-ni-kal* MUNUS LUGAL.GAL / DUMU MUNUS *Ni-kal-ma-ti;* SIG_5.

Fig. 63. Kp 09/12. Cretula with seal of Tudḫaliya I and Nikkal-madi. Late 15th c. From Kayalıpınar-Šamuḫa. Inscription: [^{na4}KIŠIB ^{m}*Tù-ut-ḫ*]*a-l*[*i-ya* LUGAL GAL KUR *Ḫa-*]*ti-i*[*ù*] / ˹MUNUS˺[*N*]*i-*˹*kal-ma*˺*-t*[*i* MUN]US LUGAL˺.˹GAL˺ (Integration after Müller-Karpe/Müller-Karpe et al. 2009; image p. 188 fig. 6.1).

Fig. 64. VAT 7692; SBo II n. 192. Cretula with seal of scribe Ziti, Ḫattuša (Beran 1967, taf. II, n. 117). Inscription: Cun. *Zi-ti* / AH: SCRIBA-*la*; VITA $BONUS_2$

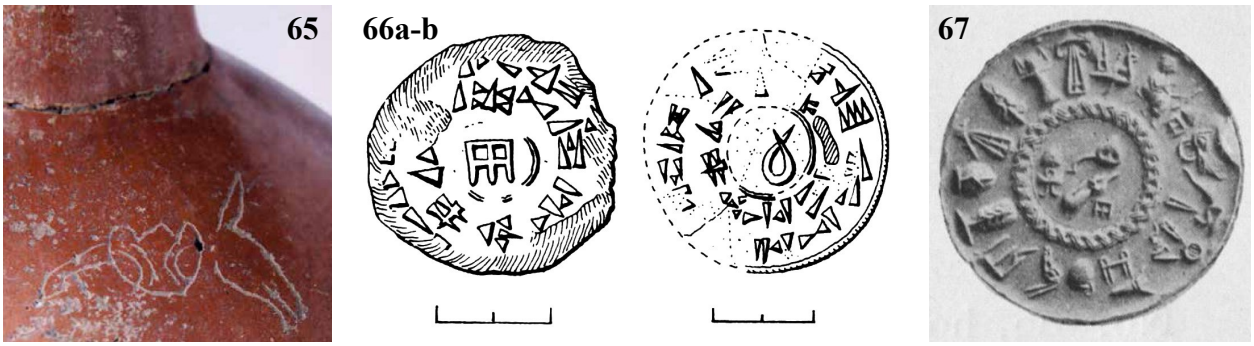


Fig. 65. Detail: graffito with possible AH signs on vessel. From Kaniš-Kültepe (Alparslan 2017, 56 fig. 10b).

Fig. 66. Bo 479/d and Bo 185/a. Cretulae with seal impressions of "Tabarna seals" featuring AH titles SCRIBA and PASTOR; Ḫattuša (Beran 1967, taf. IV, n. 148-149 = Bo 479/d; SBo I n. 91 and Bo 185/a; SBo I 90).

Fig. 67. Modern print of a seal from Baltimore (WAG 42.352). Late 15th-e. 14th c.? (Hogart 1920, 75 fig. 79).

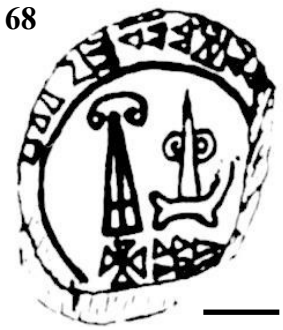


Fig. 68. Bo 424/f. Cretula with seal of Tudḫaliya. Inscription: MAGNUS.REX MONS.*TU*; TI LUGAL. (Beran 1967, taf. IX, n. 203).

Fig. 69. Seal of Kantuzili (the Priest?) from Šamuḫa (Kp 06/13). (From Müller-Karpe 2009, fig. 15).

Fig. 70. Royal seal of Suppiluliuma I and Ḫenti; mid-14th c. (From Herbordt et al. 2011, 112 n. 14).

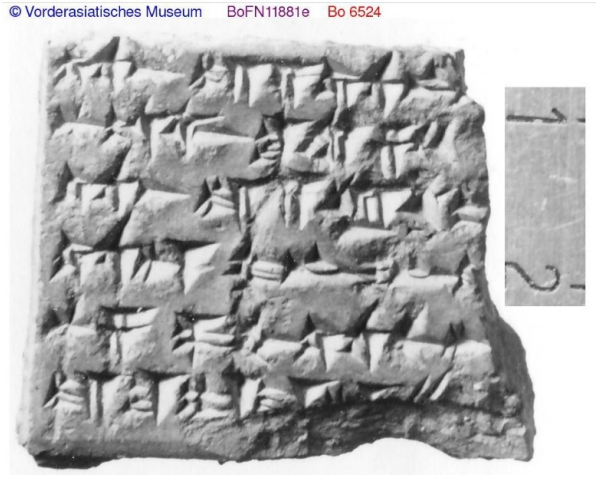


Fig. 71. KUB 48.81 (Bo 6524; OH, NS). Fragment of historical content.
(Image: hethiter.net/: BoFN11881e).

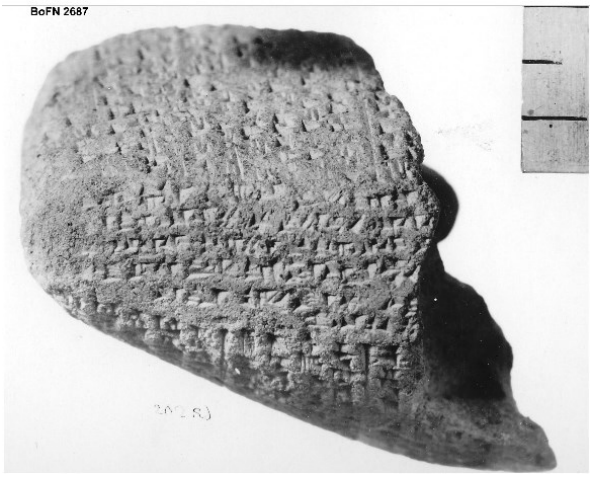


Fig. 72. KUB 31.103 (202/a). Agreement with the people of Paḫḫuwa; sealed. Arnuwanda I or Tudḫaliya III (early 14th c). Image: hethiter.net/: BoFN02687a.

Fig. 73. KBo 3.54 (Bo 3944, NS). Fragment of Annalistic text, attributed to Ḫattusili or Mursili. Lines 28′′-35′′.
Image: hethiter.net/: fotarch BoFN09997a

Fig. 74. Seal impression of Taḫurwaili, found 1969.
(From Neve 1970, 7, fig. 2).

Fig. 75. Seal impression of Taḫurwaili, found 2008.
(From Rüster-Wilhelm 2012 n. 89, taf. XLVI).

Fig. 76. Treaty between Tudḫaliya and Sunaššura of Kizzuwatna (KBo 1.5; MS). Late 15th c.
(Image: hethiter.net/: fotarch B0560)

Fig. 77. Sworn declaration of Kuruntiya of Tarḫuntašša, sealed (544/f, CTH 96).
(Image: hethiter.net/: fotarch BoFN05960; © Vorderasiatisches Museum)

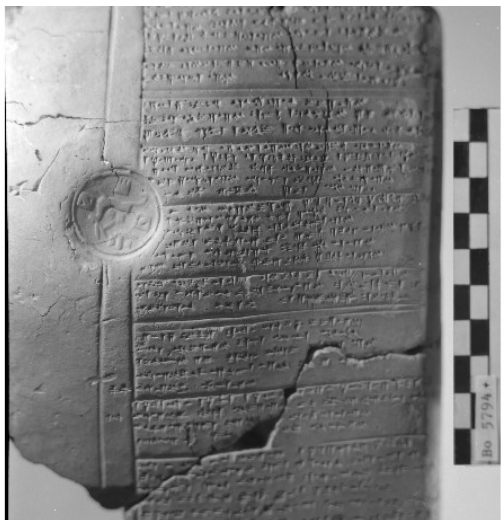


Fig. 78. KUB 25.32 (CTH 681.1). Detail of festival for the tutelary god of Karaḫna,sealed by Taprammi (reign of Tudḫaliya IV, late 13th c.), reverse.
(Image: hethiter.net/: fotarch N11940).

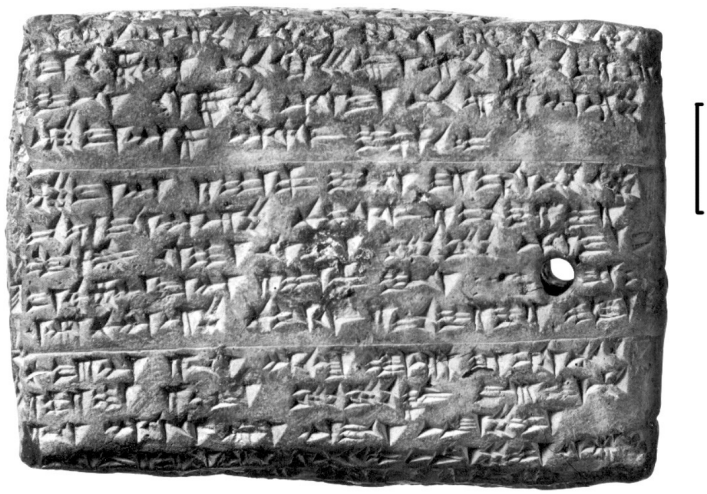


Fig. 79. Bird oracle for Šavoška of Šamuḫa "of the Field" (KUB 32.130; MS). Late 15th c., probably Tudḫaliya I.
(Image: hethiter.net/: fotarch BoFN03473 © Vorderasiatisches Museum).

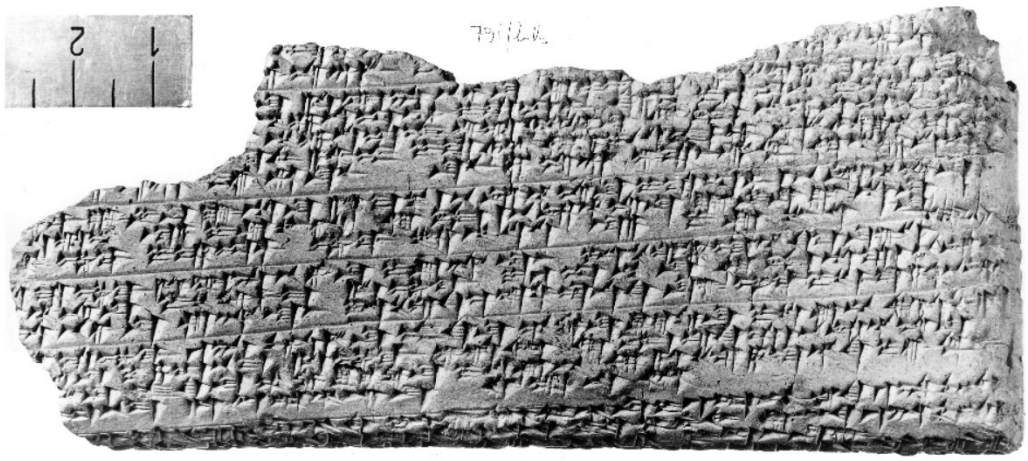


Fig. 80. Treaty with Paddatiššu of Kizzuwatna, (CTH 26); 15th c. (KUB 34.1+, bottom of the obverse (791/b; "Syrian" script). (Image: hethiter.net/: fotarch. BoFN03714).

**Note: fig. 80 and 81 are in the same scale.*

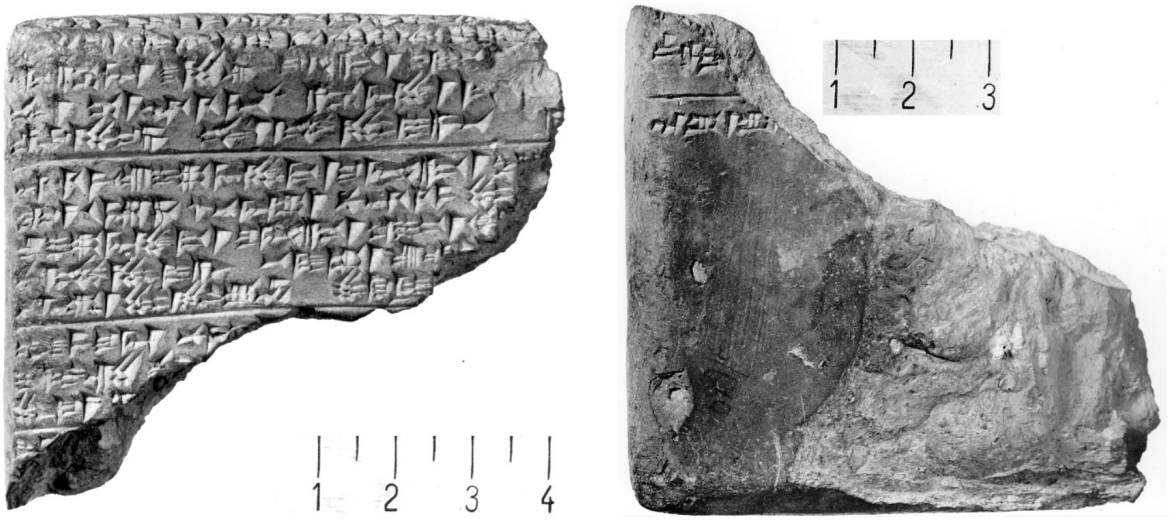


Fig. 81 a-b. Treaty between Zidanza II and Pilliya of Kizzuwatna (CTH 25; MS); 15th c. KUB 36.108, obverse and reverse.
(Images: hethiter.net/: fotarch BoFN04934b; fotarch BoFN04933b, © Vorderasiatisches Museum).

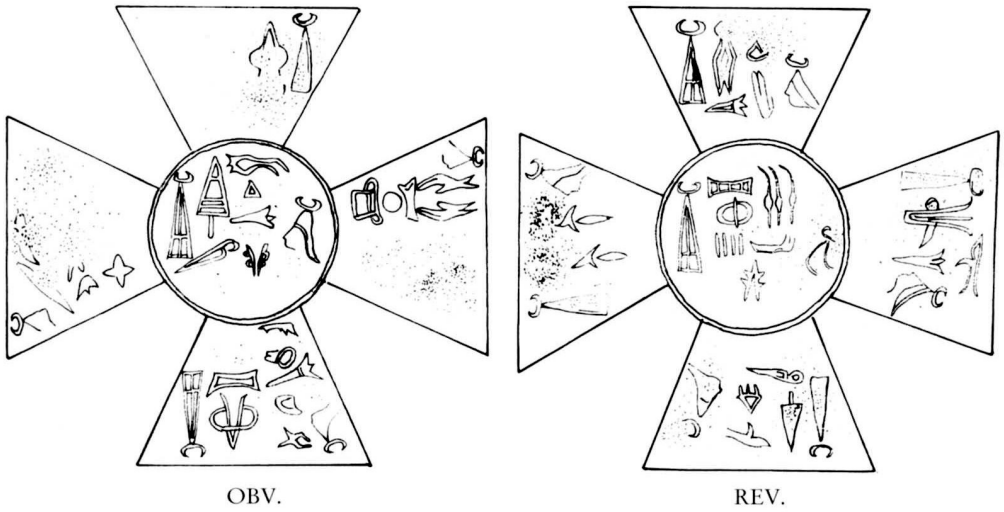


Fig. 82 a-b. Reconstruction of the 'Cruciform seal' of Mursili II.

(From Dinçol et al. 1993, 88, fig. 1 and 2).

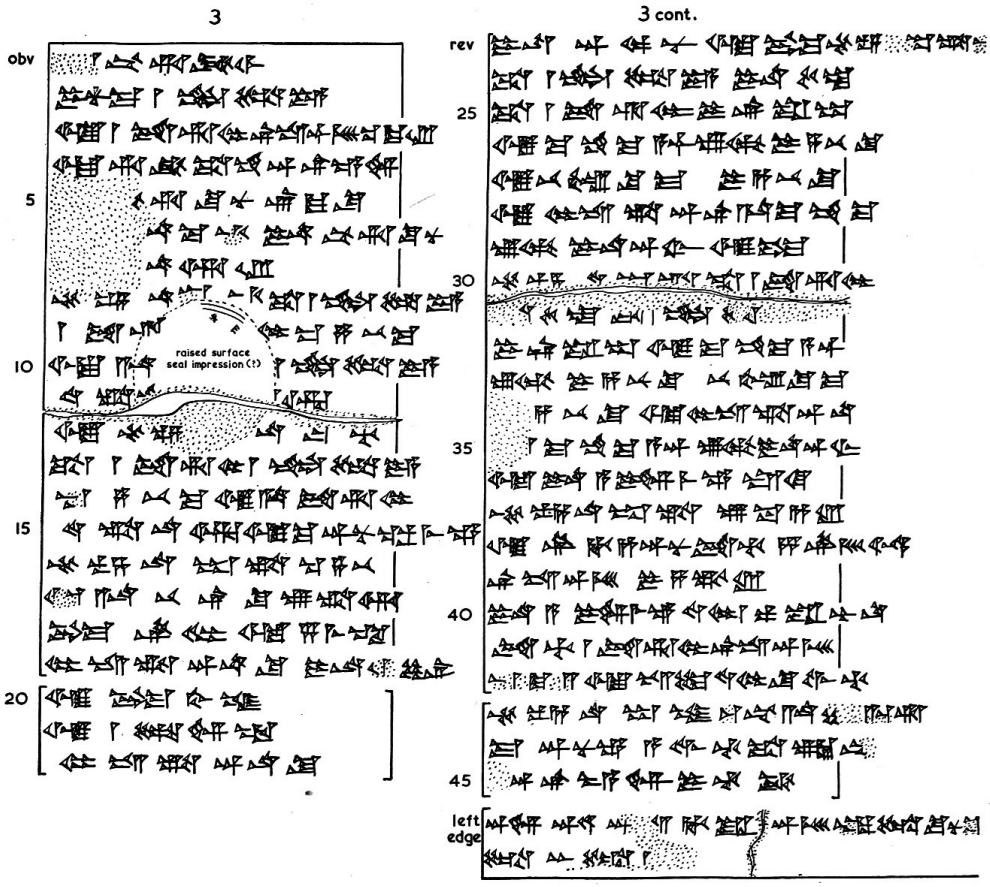


Fig. 83. Agreement between Pilliya and Idrimi of Alalaḫ (AlT 3). 15th c. (Hand copy from Wiseman 1953, plate IV n. 3).

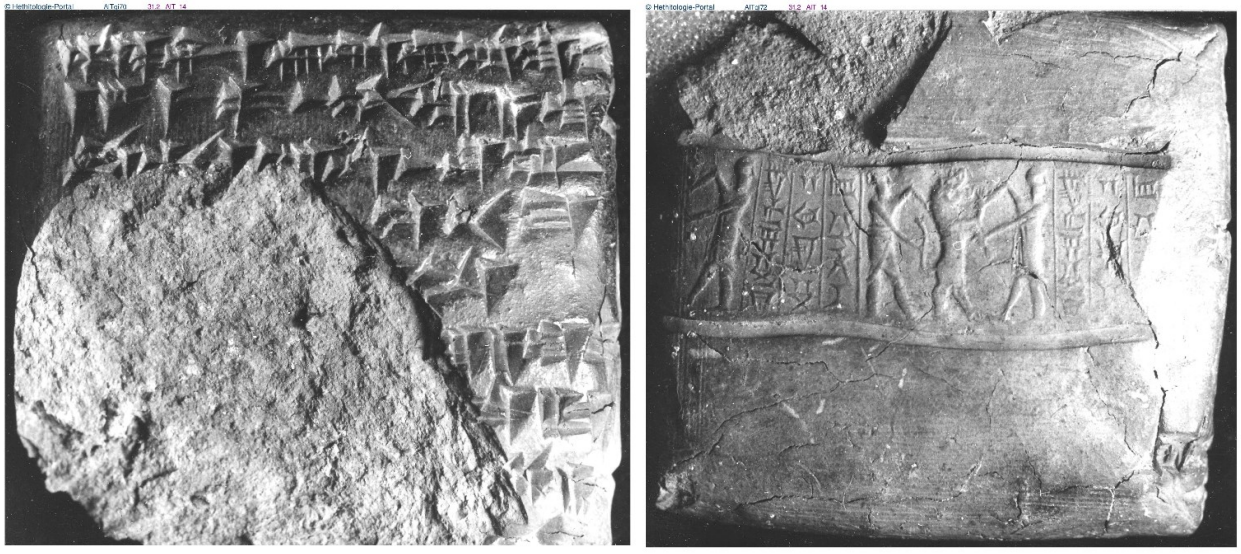


Fig. 84. Deliberation of Sauštatar of Mittani concerning a case between Sunaššura of Kizzuwatna and Niqmepa of Alalaḫ (AlT 14). Late 15th c. (Photo: AlTqi70 and AlTqi72; ©Hethitologie Portal).

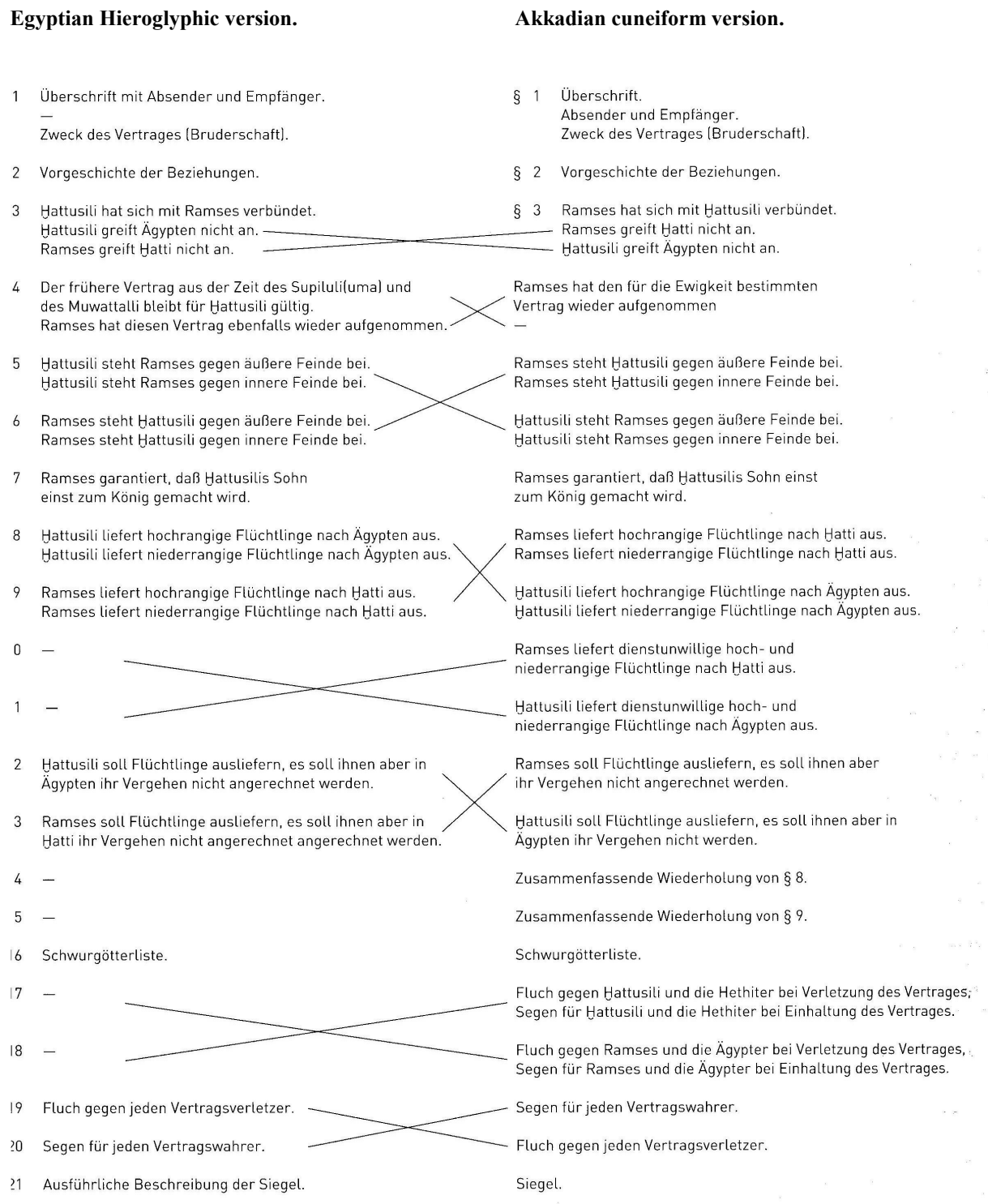
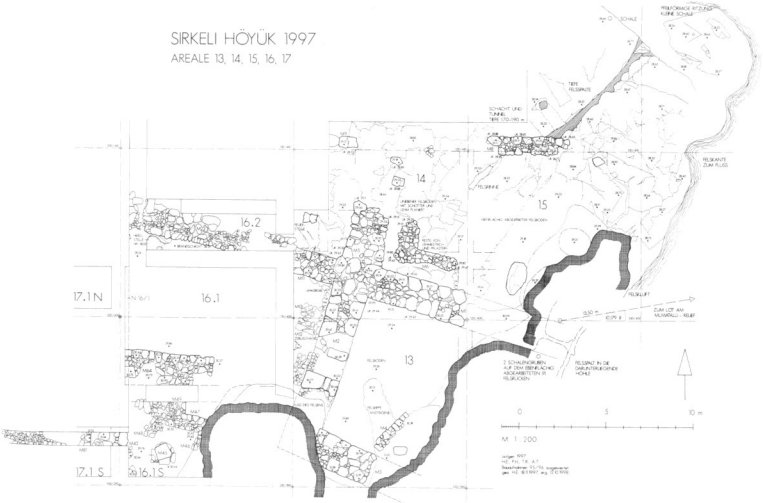

Egyptian Hieroglyphic version.
Akkadian cuneiform version.
1 Überschrift mit Absender und Empfänger. — Zweck des Vertrages (Bruderschaft).
2 Vorgeschichte der Beziehungen.
3 Ḫattusili hat sich mit Ramses verbündet. Ḫattusili greift Ägypten nicht an. Ramses greift Ḫatti nicht an.
4 Der frühere Vertrag aus der Zeit des Supiluli(uma) und des Muwattalli bleibt für Ḫattusili gültig. Ramses hat diesen Vertrag ebenfalls wieder aufgenommen.
5 Ḫattusili steht Ramses gegen äußere Feinde bei. Ḫattusili steht Ramses gegen innere Feinde bei.
6 Ramses steht Ḫattusili gegen äußere Feinde bei. Ramses steht Ḫattusili gegen innere Feinde bei.
7 Ramses garantiert, daß Ḫattusilis Sohn einst zum König gemacht wird.
8 Ḫattusili liefert hochrangige Flüchtlinge nach Ägypten aus. Ḫattusili liefert niederrangige Flüchtlinge nach Ägypten aus.
9 Ramses liefert hochrangige Flüchtlinge nach Ḫatti aus. Ramses liefert niederrangige Flüchtlinge nach Ḫatti aus.
10 —
11 —
12 Ḫattusili soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern, es soll ihnen aber in Ägypten ihr Vergehen nicht angerechnet werden.
13 Ramses soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern, es soll ihnen aber in Ḫatti ihr Vergehen nicht angerechnet angerechnet werden.
14 —
15 —
16 Schwurgötterliste.
17 —
18 —
19 Fluch gegen jeden Vertragsverletzer.
20 Segen für jeden Vertragswahrer.
21 Ausführliche Beschreibung der Siegel.
§ 1 Überschrift. Absender und Empfänger. Zweck des Vertrages (Bruderschaft).
§ 2 Vorgeschichte der Beziehungen.
§ 3 Ramses hat sich mit Ḫattusili verbündet. Ramses greift Ḫatti nicht an. Ḫattusili greift Ägypten nicht an.
Ramses hat den für die Ewigkeit bestimmten Vertrag wieder aufgenommen —
Ramses steht Ḫattusili gegen äußere Feinde bei. Ramses steht Ḫattusili gegen innere Feinde bei.
Ḫattusili steht Ramses gegen äußere Feinde bei. Ḫattusili steht Ramses gegen innere Feinde bei.
Ramses garantiert, daß Ḫattusilis Sohn einst zum König gemacht wird.
Ramses liefert hochrangige Flüchtlinge nach Ḫatti aus. Ramses liefert niederrangige Flüchtlinge nach Ḫatti aus.
Ḫattusili liefert hochrangige Flüchtlinge nach Ägypten aus. Ḫattusili liefert niederrangige Flüchtlinge nach Ägypten aus.
Ramses liefert dienstunwillige hoch- und niederrangige Flüchtlinge nach Ḫatti aus.
Ḫattusili liefert dienstunwillige hoch- und niederrangige Flüchtlinge nach Ägypten aus.
Ramses soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern, es soll ihnen aber ihr Vergehen nicht angerechnet werden.
Ḫattusili soll Flüchtlinge ausliefern, es soll ihnen aber in Ägypten ihr Vergehen nicht werden.
Zusammenfassende Wiederholung von § 8.
Zusammenfassende Wiederholung von § 9.
Schwurgötterliste.
Fluch gegen Ḫattusili und die Hethiter bei Verletzung des Vertrages; Segen für Ḫattusili und die Hethiter bei Einhaltung des Vertrages.
Fluch gegen Ramses und die Ägypter bei Verletzung des Vertrages, Segen für Ramses und die Ägypter bei Einhaltung des Vertrages.
Segen für jeden Vertragswahrer.
Fluch gegen jeden Vertragsverletzer.
Siegel.

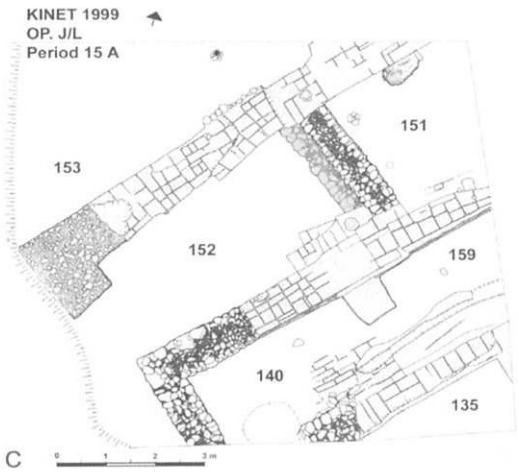
Fig. 85. Treaty between Ḫattusili III and Ramses II, schematic content of the Hieroglyphic Egyptian and Akkadian versions (from Quack 2002, 293).

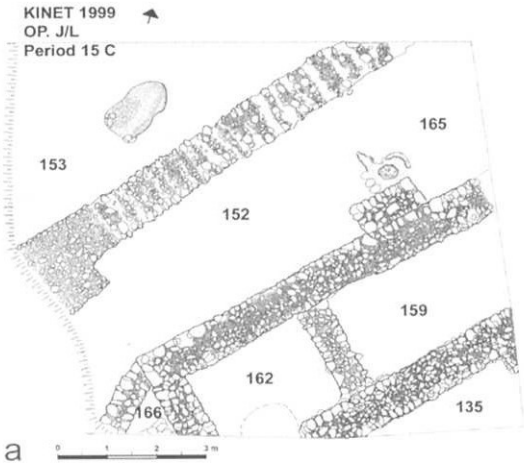
(Above) **Fig. 86.** Relief of Muwatalli II. Photo: Mirko Novak, Universität Tübingen (retrieved online).



(Left) **Fig. 87 a-b**. The monumental building by the Muwatalli relief at Sirkeli, aerial view and plan. (From Ehringhaus 1999, 86-87 abb. 3, 5).

(Below) **Fig. 88**. LB I Monumental building at Kinet Höyük (level IV/phase 15), sub-phases A-C. (From Gates 2006, 297 fig. 4).





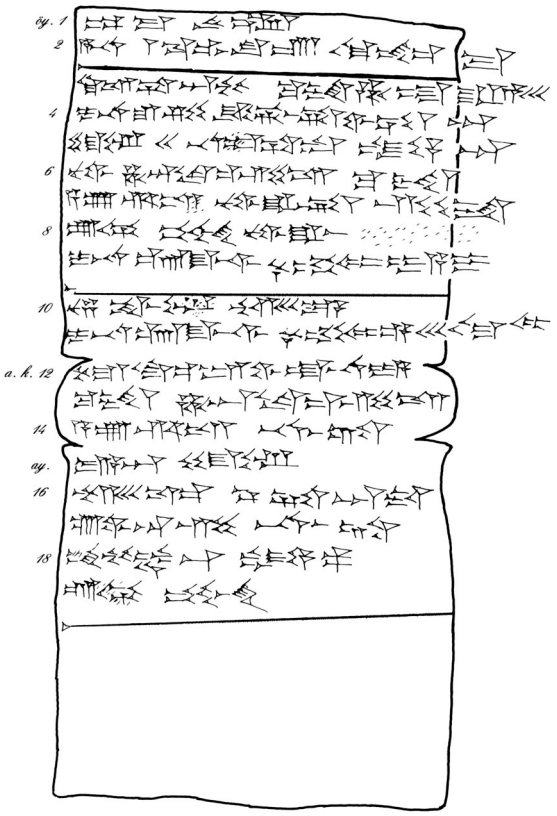


Fig. 89. Letter of Kantuzili to Kaššu, from Tapikka (HKM 74).
(Autography from Alp 1991b, 78 n. 74, Mşt 75/52).

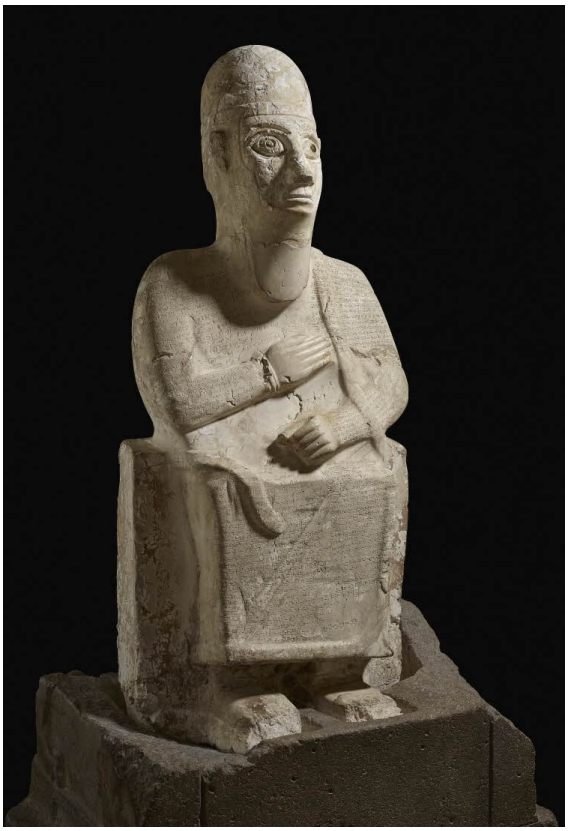


Fig. 90. Statue of Idrimi of Alalaḫ, 15th c. (?)
(Photo: © 2017 Trustees of the British Museum, available online)

Fig. 91. Rock reliefs at the sanctuary of Yazilikaya (Ḫattuša). Central panel, the Storm-god (Teššob) and Ḫebat of Aleppo lead the procession of the male and female gods of the pantheon of Aleppo/Kizzuwatna.
Image: retrieved online (© S.E. Wood)

10. Bibliography

Bibliographical abbreviations: journals, series and repertoires

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin.
AHW$_2$	W. von Soden, (1959-1981; 1985 2nd ed.). *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch: unter Benutzung des lexikalischen Nachlasses von Bruno Meissner (1868-1947). Band I-III.* Wiesbaden.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology.
APA	Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica.
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen.
CHDS 3	O. Soysal – B. Yıldız Gülşen (2019). *Unpublished Bo-Fragments in Transliteration II (Bo 6151-Bo 9535).* Chicago Hittite Dictionary Supplements 3. Chicago, IL.
ChS	V. Haas – M. Salvini – I. Wegner – G. Wilhelm (eds.) *Corpus der Hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler,* Vv. 1-10. Roma.
ChS I/1	V. Haas (1984). *Die Serien itkaḫi und itkalzi des AZU-Priesters. Rituale für Tašmišarri und Tatuḫepa sowie weitere Texte mit Bezug auf Tašmišarri,* Roma.
ChS I/3-1	I. Wegner (1995). *Hurritische Opferlisten aus hethitischen Festbeschreibungen. Teil I: Texte für Ištar-Ša(w)uška.* Roma.
ChS I/3-2	I. Wegner (2002). *Hurritische Opferlisten aus hethitischen Festbeschreibungen. Teil II: Texte für Teššub, Ḫebat und weitere Gottheiten.* Roma.
ChS I/8	M.C. Trémouille (2005). *Texte verschiedenen Inhalts.* Roma.
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology.
GHL	H. Hoffner – C. Melchert (2008). *A Grammar of the Hittite Language.* Winona Lake, Indiana.
HKM	S. Alp (1991). *Hethitische Keilschrifttafel aus Maşat Höyük.* Ankara.
JANEH	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History.
JANER	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt. Boston, MA.

JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies.
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap “Ex Oriente Lux”.
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, voll. 1-70, 1916-1921; 1979-2015.
KRI	K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical. I – VII* (Oxford, 1969-1990).
KST	Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı.
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, voll. 1-60, 1921-1990.
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires.
OA	Oriens Antiquus. Studia Biblica et Orientalia.
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis.
Or(NS)	Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici. (Nova Series).
PdP	La Parola del Passato. Rivista di studi antichi. Napoli.
RGTC	(1977-2001) AA. VV., *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B 7).
RGTC 6	G. Del Monte – J. Tischler (1978). *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte* (RGTC 6). Wiesbaden.
RGTC 6/2	G. Del Monte (1992). *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte. Supplement*, (RGTC 6/2) Wiesbaden.
RGTC 12/2	J. A. Belmonte Marín (2001). *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2. Jt. v. Chr.* (RGTC 12/2). Wiesbaden.
RlA	Reallexiccon der Assyriologie.
SBo I	H. G. Güterbock (1940). *Siegel aus Boğazköy. Erster Teil. Die Königssiegel der Grabungen bis 1938* (AfO Bh. 5). Berlin. (Neudrück 1967).
SBo II	H. G. Güterbock (1942). *Siegel aus Boğazköy. Zweiter Teil. Die Königssiegel von 1939 und die übrigen hieroglyphensiegel.* (AfO Bh. 7). Berlin. (Neudrück 1967)
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians.

SHS I	N. Boysan – M. Marazzi – H. Novicki (1983). *Sammlung Hieroglyphischer Siegel, Band I, Vorarbeiten,* Würzburg.
SHS I-S	N. Boysan Dietrich – M. Marazzi – H. Novicki (1985). *Supplement zu* "*Sammlung Hieroglyphischer Siegel, Band I, Vorarbeiten*", Würzburg.
SMEA (NS)	Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici. Nuova serie.
StBot	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten.
StMed	Studia Mediterranea. Pavia.
Urk.	*Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums* (8 vols. ed. K.Sethe, H.W. Helck, H. Schäfer, H. Grapow, O.Firchow, 1903-1957 (Leipzig/Berlin).
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.

Other bibliographical abbreviations

AlT	Alalaḫ texts (ed. Wiseman 1953).
EA	El-Amarna letters (ed. Rainey 2015).
KpT	Kayalıpınar Texte.

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